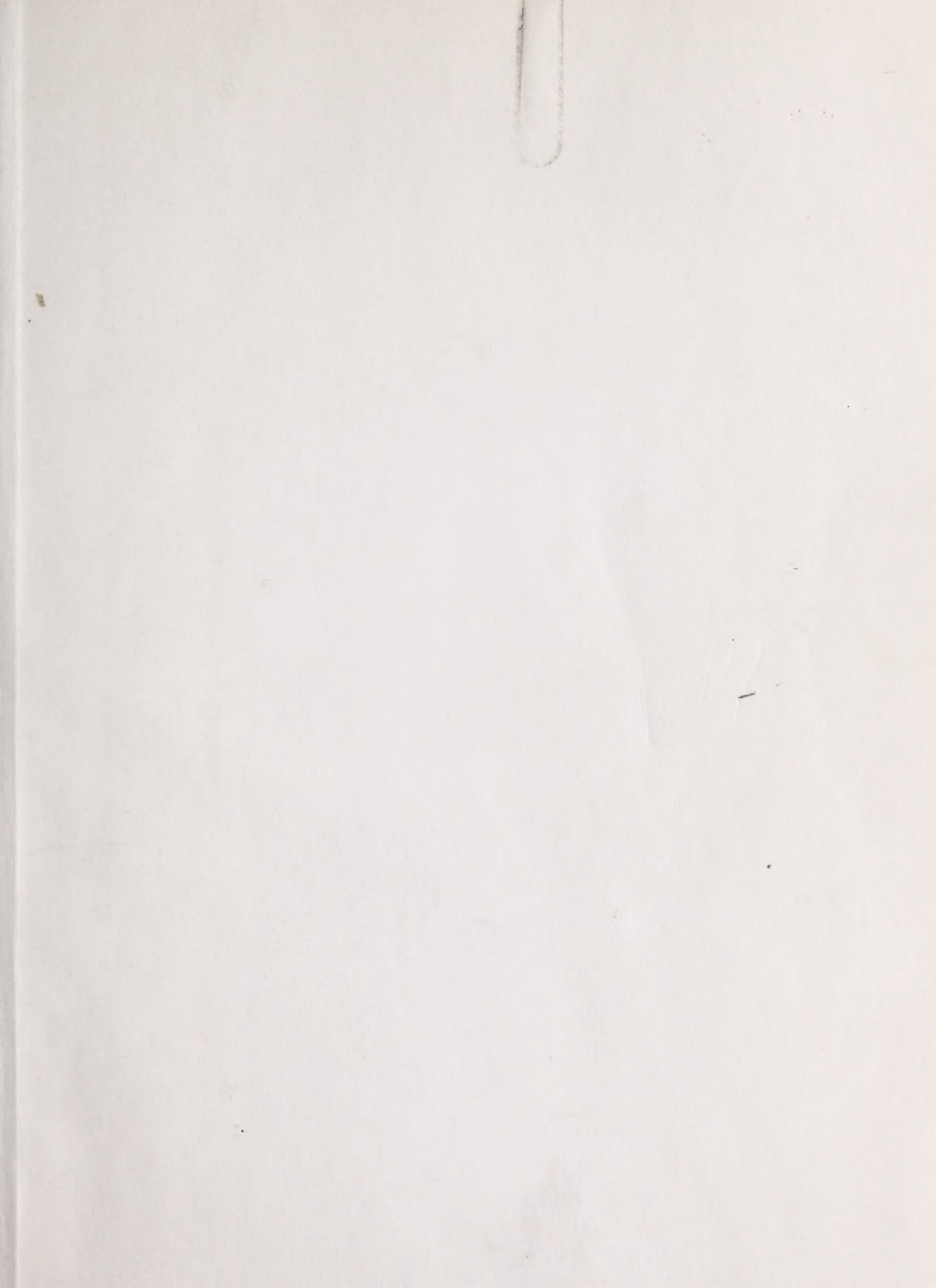
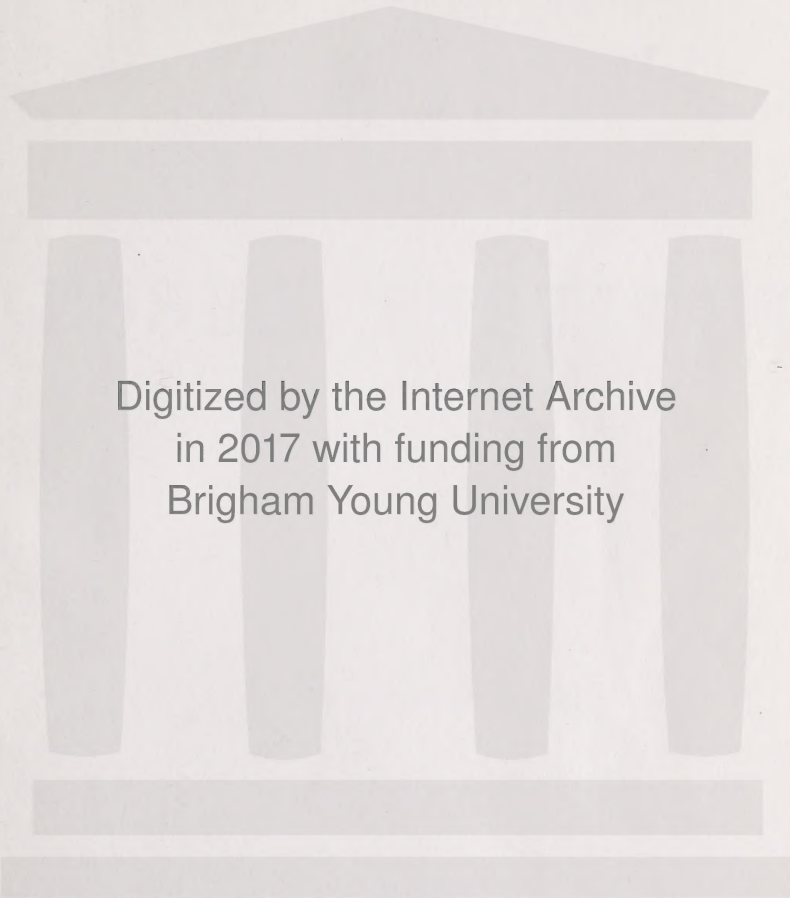


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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOLUME I.

SALEM:

Published for the Essex Institute.

BY HENRY WHIPPLE & SON,

1859.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. I.

April, 1859.

No. 1.

INTRODUCTION.

The principal object, that the founders of the Essex Historical Society had in view, at the organization of said Society, (which, in 1848, was incorporated with the Essex County Natural History Society, under the name of the Essex Institute,) was the collection and preservation of all authentic memorials relating to the civil history of the County of Essex, in the state of Massachusetts, and of the eminent men who have resided within its limits, from the first settlement; and thus to provide ample materials for a correct history of this part of our Commonwealth.

In furtherance of the plans contemplated by these early Pioneers in our local history, it is proposed to issue, occasionally, as circumstances may permit, a serial publication, to be called THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

This publication will contain abstracts of WILLS, DEEDS, and other documents which are deposited in the offices of the County of Essex; Records of BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS, BAPTISMS, &c.,

gleanings from TOWN and CHURCH RECORDS, in said County; Inscriptions and Epitaphs from the old Burial Grounds; also, such other materials of a kindred nature as may be obtained from other sources.

Selections from the reports and communications of a historical character, which have been read at the meetings of the Essex Institute, will appear in its pages, or such abstracts of the same as may be deemed advisable.

Genealogical sketches of the families of the early settlers, will occasionally be inserted; several have already been prepared with much care and accuracy. Also, brief biographical notices of those individuals who have been identified with the prominent interests, or have held responsible positions in the public affairs of this section of the state.

Finally, such facts and statements as will tend in any manner to elucidate the history of this county, in all the various relations to society, will be duly chronicled.

It will be our earnest endeavor to make this publication the medium of

communication with the public, of all materials of the above-named character, which may come into our possession, provided that sufficient patronage be extended to authorize its continuance.—When we consider that this County is one of the earliest, settled by Europeans, in New England; that the various records extend back nearly to its first settlement; and that the descendants of these Pioneers, or their immediate followers, are now scattered over every section of this Union, it is reasonable to infer, that, if our work is faithfully executed, a liberal response will be given. We cordially invite the co-operation of all friends of historic research, in this undertaking.

LESLIE'S RETREAT.

Messrs. Editors: I have in my possession a humorous letter, written shortly after "*Leslie's Retreat*," at the North Bridge in Salem, in 1775. I send you an exact copy of this letter for publication, if you think it of sufficient importance to print. It may be of interest to some persons, as showing that the excitement on the occasion alluded to, extended as far as the towns on the Merrimack River. D.

AMESBURY, March 1, 1775.

Honr'd Sir—An account of the Amesbury Expedition May not be disagreeable to you as you are a Son of Liberty.

having ben. informed that a few Days ago a Small Party of Troops took a Sail & a Walk for an airing &c. It was suppos'd their designs was to seize some Military Stores at Salem. The alarm soon reach'd us & Set all the Country round us in motion. Happening at that (time) to be at dinner I saw upwards an hundred men from Various Parts of Merrimack river, moving towards the scene of action. Cyder being exceeding Scarce & the Last Season but an indifferent one for That, they Look'd pale & meagre & seemed to Tremble under the burden of their guns & bread &

Cheese, which some ill Natured People attributed to their Fear, but very unjustly: indeed had they really ben Cowards they Would not have had much reason to be afraid, because they knew the Soldiers must have done their Bussiness & returned to Boston, before they could reach Salem, and this they soon Learnt to be the Case on their first Halt, which was at a Tavern, when they meditated a return, which was Performed in martial order. But bloody Minded men as they were, they resolved not to go home without doing some execution, and therefore they valiently attacked and demolished several *Barrels*, whose Precious blood they drew and intirely exhausted. Flushed with Victory they made a much better appearance than when I first saw Them. However such another Victory would have brought them all to the ground, if not have ruined them, as it was they were scarce able to Crawl home; and most of them haveing disgorged the blood of the slain which they had so plentifully drank, returned as pale and feeble as they set out, and Look'd as Lank as tho' they had ben drawn thro' the river instead of Passing over it. So much for this military Expedition.

Your Efectionate Son

WM. GALLISON.

Addressed—To

COLL. JOHN GALLISON

Marblehead.

THE HATHORNES. *Messrs. Editors:* I was present this morning at the Auction Sale at "Hollingsworth Hill"; and in my rambles over the old place, I found in a book printed in 1610 a record of the births of William Hathorne's children, written by himself, on a blank leaf. I thought the item was worth saving, and have sent it to you for publication.

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM HATHORNE.

Sarah,	born,	11th	1 mo.	1634—5.
Eleazer,	"	1st	6 "	1637.
Nathaniel	"	11th	6 "	1639.
John,	"	4th	6 "	1641.
Anna,	"	12th	10 "	1643.
William,	"	1st	2 "	1645.
Elizabeth,	"	22d	5 "	1649.

Salem, March 12, 1859.

JIP

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c.,
ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF
COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Bethiah Cartwright, 4th mo. 1640.

Will of Bethiah Cartwright of Salem, dated 2d May, 1640, mentions her sister, Elizabeth Capon, in Walderswich, in Sussex; Mary Norton, the wife of George Norton in Salem; John Jackson, son of John Jackson; Margaret, wife of John Jackson, of Salem; Elizabeth Pellen; Elizabeth Wickson.

Witnesses—Elizabeth Wickson, Thomas Warren.

(The above will was the first to be brought into Court.)

Samuel Smith, 10th mo., 1642.

Will of Samuel Smith, of Enon, dated 5th October, 1642, mentions wife Sarah bequeaths her "My farme in Enon, with all the housen vpon it, as alsoe all the frutes vpon it, as corne, hemp, and the like, for har owne proper vse for the tearme of har lif, vpon consideration that she shall discharg me of that promise vpon maridge, which is vnto my Sunn, William Browne, fiftie pounds; alsoe that she shall giue vnto his two children, William and John Browne, 20 lb. betweene ym all, which shall be paid by my exequeters hereafter named." son Thomas, daughter Mary, his wife Sarah and son William Brown, ex'ors; and his son, Thomas Smith, supervisor of his will, proved 27th, 10th mo, 1642.

Inventory of above estate taken 18th, 9 mo., 1642, amounting to £395 09s 02d; returned and sworn to 28th, 10 mo., 1642.

Ann Scarlet, 4th mo., 1643.

Will of Ann Scarlet, of — dated 2d 1st mo., 1639, mentions brother Samuel, in old England, her children Mary, Margaret and Joseph, her sister Dennis, her brother, James Lind, her brother Browning and his wife, her brother Joseph Grafton, admr.

John Sanders, 10th mo., 1643.

Will of John Sanders, of Salem, dated 28 October, 1642, mentions son John Sanders, under age, his father Joseph Grafton. Goodman Hardie and Joseph Grafton, his adm'rs. His wife living.

Ab'r'm Belknap, 12 mo., 1643.

Inventory of estate of Abraham Belknap of Lynn, who deceased the beginning of the 7th mo., 1643, taken 16th, 12 mo 1643 amounting to £53 10s 3d. Signed by Mary Belknapp.

Hugh Churchman, 5th mo., 1644.

Will of Hugh Churchman of Lynn dated 4th, 4th mo. 1640, mentions William Winter and wife, and their son Josiah and daughter Hanna, both under age, widow Ambrose. Edward Burt, Mr. Whiten and Mr. Hobert. Wm. Winter, sole ex'or. Probated 9th 5 mo. 1644.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £24 9s 11d, returned by Hugh Burt, Robert Driver.

John Mattox, 5th mo., 1644.

Inventory of estate of John Mattox, who deceased 22d April, 1643, amounting to £14 03s 09d, returned by Goodm Edwards and Prince, 6th day 5th mo., 1644.

Thomas Payne, 5th mo., 1644.

Will of Thomas Payne, dated 10th 2d mo., 1638, mentions his wife, son Thomas, a weaver, dan, Mary, two sons, is part owner of Ship Mary Ann, of Salem, his kinsman, Henry Bloomfield, son Thomas, Ex'or, and Mr. John Fiske, of Salem, Supervisor. Probated 10th 5th mo., 1644.

Robert Lewis 5th mo., 1644.

Inventory of Robert Lewis, deceased 4th of May, 1643, amounting to £26 12s 8d; returned by Goodm Edwards and Prince, 6th of 5th mo., 1644.

Joan Cummins, 5th mo., 1644.

Will of Joan Cummins, of Salem, dated ———, mentions son John, Goodman Cornish, Mr. Noris, grandchildren Mary Bourne and Johannah Borne; to the Church twenty shillings, Goody Cotta, Goody Wathin, Goody field, Goody Broagham, Ann Shiply, Goodman Boyce, Goody Corning, John Browne's wife, Deborah Wathin, Dec Gott, and Goodman Horne, exors. Probate 10th 5th mo., 1644.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £33 0s 0d, returned by Jeffrie Massey, Jarvis Garford, George Eardry, 17th 3d mo., 1644.

Robert Pease, 6th mo., 1644.

Inventory of estate of Robert Pease, of Salem, amounting to £39 12s 6d, returned by Jo Alderman Myhill Shadinge, 3d 11th mo., 1644, mentions his widow, Maria Pease, admx. 2 sons, John and Robert.

John Talby, 11th mo., 1644.

Inventory of the estate of John Talby, amounting to £28 18s 5d, returned by Peter Palfrey and William Lord, 11th mo., 1644.

Margery Wathen, 11th mo., 1644.

Inventory of the estate of Margery Wathen, widow, amounting to £39 13s 5d, returned by Peter Palfrey, Wm. Alfard and Nathaniel Porter, 28 6 mo., 1644. Deacons Charles Gott and John Horne appt by J. Endicott Govr to settle the estate, 3d 11th mo., 1644.

Isabel West, 11th mo., 1644.

Inventory of estate of Isabel West, amounting to £51 12s 0d, returned by Henry Skerry, Robert Cotta, and George Ropes, 2d 11th mo., 1644.

Jane Gaines, 5th mo., 1645.

Inventory of estate of Jane Gaines, of Lynn, amounting to £43 5s 7d, returned by Nicholas Brown and Edmund Needham, 10th 5th mo., 1645.

Robert Hawes' Wife, 7th mo., 1645.

Will of Robert Hawes' wife, testified to by witnesses William Googes, Katherine Darlin, Sarah Bartlett, who heard her on her death bed, on the 12th June, 1645, dictate her will, mentions the young child Thomas she had by Robt. Hawes, £20, her three sons, Robert Edwards and Matthew Edwards, Robert Hawes' daughter, Alise, his sons, Robert and Matthew, her sister, Ellen Hibbert, in Old England, two maids who tended in her sickness, viz: Kathrin Darlin and Sarah Bartlett.— Probate 10th 7th mo., 1645.

Margaret Pease, 10th mo., 1645.

Will of Margaret Pease, widow, of Salem, dated 1st 7th mo., 1644, mentions grandchild John Pease, son of Robert Pease, Thomas Watson of Salem, to be foffeye of trust. Ann Isball testifies to taking great pains with her when sick; also that said Pease made a bequest to Edith Barber after her will was written.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £19 2s 8d, returned by John Alderman and John Bulfinch, 1, 11 mo., 1644.

Wm. Place, 2d mo., 1646.

Inventory of estate at Thomas Weeks's house, of William Place, deceased 14th 2d mo., 1646. Also an inventory of tools in hands of Richard Waters, returned 5th 6th mo., '46: acct of charges of Thomas Weeks against estate of Wm. Place, incurred during his last sickness, amounting to £3.

Wm. Googs, 4th mo., 1646.

Inventory of estate of William Googe, amounting to £28 11s 6d, returned by Nathaniel Handforth and Francis Lightfoot.

Ann, his widow, app'd admx., left 3 small children. Probate 30th 4th mo., 1646.

John Thorne, 6th mo., 1646.

Elliz'h Harwood, Margaret Jackson, and

Eliz'h Esticke, testify as to the will of John Thorne, that they heard him "say these words vinsit that hee did giue unto Ann Pallgrave all his estate, as money, goods, apparell & debts, out of which sayd aparell it was the will of the sayd John that John Jackson, Junior, should haue his best Hatt, and further moure it was his will that James Thomas should haue something out of the estate, if the sayd Ann Paulsgrave so pleaseth." Dated 27th July, 1646. Probate 4th 6th mo., 1646.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £27 16s 2d, returned by Jeffrey Massey, Geo. Emery and John Herbert, 4th 6th mo., 1646.

R. Bartholomew, 6th mo., 1646.

"Boston the 6th, 11th '45.

Brother Henry. heare in clossed is a notte of whatt estate I have shipp't with me, & what is here owing to mee wth whatt I owe in England, wch is all I owe in the world as I know off these things only the bills of Ex., I haue consigned to Mr. Edward Shrimpton, in London, hee is ye brassers bro at Boston. to him I have wrighten yt in case God should not bringe me to London, yt he would these goods, pay my debts, and returne ye remaynder to you. I should haue been glad to haue seen you before I went, but if god should not returne mee againe, but take mee away by death, my desire is yt the returns of these goods come to yo'r hands, that they may be thus disposed of, viz: To your two children £40 apeece; to my bro William's 3 children, £20 apeece; to my mother, yr likinge, £10; to Mr. Gearringe, beinge very poore, £10; and the remaynder of my estate, bee it whatt it will, more or less, all that is mine I dessire may be equally devided betweene our bro Thomas, Abraham, and Sister Sara, (only what Jacob Barney owes to mee I give it to him,) but for my other debts, house, ground, &c., deuide as before. This is my desire, and that I would haue done if God should please to take me away. I desire to cast myself only vpon him, and to rest myself only in the

armes of his mercy in Christ Jesus, intreatinge of him to stay my soule there in the worst howers, even in death itself, vnto him I leave you with yors together with myself and all his, and rest, yor faithful and loving Brother,
RICHARD BARTHOLOMEW."

SUPERScription.—"To my Lovinge Brother, Henry Bartholomew." Probate 4th 6th mo., 1646.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £286 9s 1d, returned by Wm. Hathorne and Jeffrey Massey, 4th 6th mo., 1646.

Francis Lightfoot, 10th mo., 1646.

Will of Francis Lightfoot, of Lynn, dated Dec. 10, 1646, mentions brother John Lightfoot, of London, in case he be living, or his children. Sister Isabell Lightfoot, living in "Linckhoonshire, in ffrestone, near olde Boston," brother Idell, Samuel Cockett, Hannah Idell, Dorythe Whiting, Elizabeth Whiting, Samuel Cobit; his wife executrix. Probate 29th 10th mo., 1646.

Debts due.—To James Ayer, for keeping sheep and swine; to Mr. George Burrill; to Goodmn Mansfield: to Allin Breed.

Debts owing, by Samuel Bennet, Hugh Ally, Edward Ireson, John Witt.

Anne Lightfoot, widow, app'd admx. by the Court.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £51 0s 2d, returned by Nath. Ingalls, William Tilton, and Edward Burthum, 29th 10th mo., 1646.

Emma Mason, 10th mo., 1646.

Inventory of the estate of Widow Emma Mason, deceased the 26th 3d mo., 1646, amounting to £26 16s 8d, returned by George Corwin and Walter Price, 30th 10th mo., 1646. Estate ordered to be divided, to the elder brother a double portion, and the remainder equally between the rest of the children.

Michael Sallows, 10th mo., 1646.

Will of Michael Sallows, of Salem, dated 14th 9th mo., 1646, mentions Micha Sallows,

his youngest son, his daughter Martha, son Thomas, Robert, John and Samuel, and Edward Wilson, his son in law, Edward Wilson, and Robert Sallows, ex'rs. Probate 31st 10th mo., 1646.

Edward Wilson and Robert Sallows having declined, Jeffrey Massy, John Jolhson and George Emery are appointed ex'rs in their stead. 31st 10th mo., 1646.

Mary Hersoine, 10th mo., 1646.

Inventory of estate of Mary Hersoine, widow, of Wenham, deceased the 2d 7th mo., 1646, amounting to £21 17s 1d, returned by John Fairfield, Wm. Fiske, and George Norton, 29th 10th mo., 1646.

Geo. Pollard, 10th mo., 1646.

Will of George Pollard, of Marblehead, dated 13th 3d mo., 1646, mentions Goodman Tyler of Lynn, John Hart, Jr., Christopher Nicholson, son of Edmond Nicholson, appoints Mr. Walton of Marblehead, ex'or. Mr. Maverick and Wm. Charles to assist Mr. Walton. Probate 31st 10th mo., 1646.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £66 4s 3d, returned 31st 10th mo., 1646.

Edward Candall, 10th mo., 1646.

Inventory of estate of Edward Candall, deceased the 15th of November, 1646, amounting to £5 12s, returned by Wm. Ager and Peter Palfrey.

Joane Cummins, 11th mo., 1646.

Inventory of Joane Cummins, amounting to £39 3s 4d, returned by Henry Skerry and George Emery, 14th 11th mo., 1646.

Mrs. Goodale and John Lowle, 5th mo., 1647.

Adm'n granted on estate of Mrs. Goodale, unto Mr. Edward Rawson, Richard Kent and Henry Choot of Newbury, until order of Gen'l Court. Adm'n granted on estate of John Lowle, of Newbury, unto Wm. Gerish, Richard Lowle, Richard Noyes, John

Saunders, and Richard Knight, until order of Gen'l Court, 6th 5th mo., 1647.

Wm. Clarke, 5th mo., 1647.

Inventory of estate of Mr. Wm. Clarke of Salem, amounting to £587 3s 2d, returned by Mrs. Katherine Clark.

John Fairfield, 5th mo., 1647.

Will of John Fairfield, of Wenham, dated 11th 10th mo., 1646, mentions wife Elizabeth, Benjamin, youngest son, under age, son Walter, his cousin, Matthew Edwards, wife Elizabeth, sole executrix, and Mr. Henry Bartholomew and Robert Hawes, both of Salem, to be supervisors. Probate 7th 5th mo., 1647.—John Fairfield died 22d 10th mo., 1646.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £113 3s 7d, returned by Eliz'h Fairfield, widow, adm'x, 7th 5th mo., '47.

Charges against said estate—for the keeping of two children, the one 2 yr old, 5 mo., and the other 8 yrs old, 2 mos., £10; for 1 child, old, 5 mos., £1.

The estate being divided into four parts is to each £9 12s 10d.

Christopher Young, 5th mo., 1647.

Will of Christopher Young, of Wenham, dated 19th 4th mo., 1647, mentions three children, who are to be sent to Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, Old England, to his father in law, Mr. Richard Elvin, and his mother in law, Mrs. Elvin; the said father and mother in law, with John Phillips, of Wenham, to be his feoffees of trust. Said Phillips to adopt his son if he be living; mentions his sisters, the wife of Joseph Young, and the wife of Thomas Moore, of Salem; gives his great bible to his daughter Sarah, and his other bible to his daughter Mary, and a book entitled "God's all sufficiency to Christians," to his son; gives a book entitled the "Deceitfulness of many Hearts" to his dear friend, Ezdras Read, appts. William Browne, of Salem, Ezdras Reed of Wenham, and the wife of Joseph Young, ex'rs

his friend Henry Bartholomew, supervisor.—
Probate 8th 5th mo., 1647.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £5
11s, returned by Phineas Fiske, William Fiske,
and Edward Spaulding, 7th 5th mo., 1647.

—
Luke Heard, 7th mo., 1647.

Will of Luke Heard, of Ipswich, as testified
to by John Wyatt and Simon Tompson, who
heard him make his will, to wit: To his eld-
est son, John, £10, to be paid at 21 years of
age; to his son Edmond, £5, to be paid at 21
years of age; his books to his two sons, to be
equally parted between them; "alsoe this is
my will yt my two sonnes be brought up to
writing and to reading, and then when they
shal be fitt, to be putt forth to such trades as
they shall choose," his wife Sarah, sole execu-
trix. Probate 28th 7th mo., 1647.

—
Bond of Joseph Bigsby and Sarah Heard,
widow, both of Ipswich, to the Court of Ips-
wich, in the sum of £30, dated 15th 10 mo.,
1647. Signed Joseph Bigsby, the mark | of
Sarah Heard. Witness—Margaret Rogers,
John Rogers.

"The condition of this obligation is such,
yt ye above bounden Joseph Bigsby and Sarah
Hearde, (in case they proceed together in
marriage intended,) if they or either of them
shall doe or cause to bee done these things
following:

1. That the two children of the said widow,
wch were left unto her by her late husband,
Luke Hearde, of Ipswich, Linnen weaver, be
well brought up and due meanes be used to
teach them to read and write well as soone as
they are cappable.

2. That at the age of thirteen yeares at the
furthest, they be put forth to be apprentices in
such trades as Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, their
Grandfather Wyat, and Ensigne Howlet, in
writing under their hand, or any two of them
in like manner shall advise unto, and the chil-
dren like of.

3. That unto the said children be paid, at

the age of one and twenty yeares, fifteen pounds
given them by will of their father, viz: ten
pound to the elder, at his time of one and
twenty yeares, and five pounds to the younger
when he shall bee at the like age; also that
the bookes bequeathed them by their father
be given them by equall division, according to
his will.

4. That five pounds more be paid to the
children of the said Sarah, (if living,) or ei-
ther of them at her will and discretion, as shee
shall see cause to divide it in even or unequall
portions to them, or to give the whole to the
younger in case the elder be better provided
for.

5. That the said Joseph and Sarah shall
doe, or admit to bee done, any such further
order as the Court of Ipswich shall see meet
to require upon the motion of the said advis-
ors, for the securing of the forementioned dues
to the children, as well as for the freing of the
said Joseph and Sarah from any entangle-
ments on the children's part, by reason of her
exequetrixship, or otherwise from hence arising
beside the direct and true meaning and intent
of these conditions.

6. That whereas, there is a portion of land
in Asington, in Suffolke, in England, wch
shall bee the right of the said Sarah after the
decease of her mother, (the tenor whereof is
not certainly known to us,) if the said lands
bee not entailed, then the said Joseph shall
not claim any title hereunto by virtue of mar-
riage wth the said Sarah, but the said Sarah
shall have the whole and sole power to dispose
of it, both the use and the gift of it, when and
to whom she shall thinke meet.

That then this obligation shall bee void and
of none effect, otherwise to stand and bee of
force." Signed Joseph Bixby, the mark | of
Sarah Heard. Witnesses—Margaret Rogers,
John Rogers.

—
Richard Woodman, 10th mo., 1647.

John Gillow and Henry Bartholomew tes-
tify as to will of Rich'd Woodman, of Lynn,
as follows: four pounds to the elders of Lynn,

fortie shillings apiece; all the residue of his goods he would give to Joseph Belknap, Richard Moore, and his master, John Gillow, equally divided. Appoints Joseph Belknap, exor. Probate 1st 10th mo., 1647.

—
John Pride, 10th mo., 1647.

Inventory of estate of John Pride, of Salem, amounting to £88 16s.

—
Rich'd Bayley, 1st mo., 1648.

Will of Rich'd Bayley, of Rowley, dated 15th 12th mo., 1647, mentions son Joseph Bayley, wife Edna, brother James Bayley, and Michael Hopkinson, his nephew, John Bayley, Thomas Palmer, his wife Edna ext'x. Probate 28th 1st mo., 1648.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £106 18s 10d, returned by Joseph Jewett, Maximillian Jewett and Mathew Boyes, 27th 7th mo., 1648.

—
John Balch, 4th mo., 1648.

Will of John Balch, of Salem, dated 15th May. 1648, mentions Annis his wife, eldest son Benjamin, second son John, youngest son Freeborn, wife Annis and son Benjamin ex'ors, and John Proctor and William Woodbury, overseers. Witnesses, Peter Palfrey, Nicholas Patch, Jeffrey Massey. Probate 28th 4th mo., 1648.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £220 13s 4d, returned by John Porter, Peter Palfrey, Jeffrie Massy, and Nicholas Patch.

—
John Jarret, 7th mo., 1648.

Inventory of estate of John Jarret, of Rowley, amounting to £69 16s 2d, returned 7th mo., 1648.

—
Edmond Ingalls, 9th mo., 1648.

Will of Edmond Ingalls, of Lynn, dated 28th August, 1648, mentions wife Ann, and appoints her ext'x, leaves Katherine Skipper with his wife. Son Robert, daughters Elizabeth, Mary, dau Faith wife to Andrew Al-

len, sons John, Samuel, dau Sarah wife to William Bitnar, son Henry, brother Francis Ingalls and Francis Dane, son in law, overseers. Probate 14th 9th mo., 1648.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £135 8s 10d, returned 14th 9th mo., 1648.

—
Allen Keniston, 10th mo., 1648.

Will of Allen Keniston, of Salem, dated 10th 9th mo., 1648, mentions Capt. Hathorne £5, Capt. Davenport, £3, John Bayley, either a heifer or a cow, Mr. Curwin and Mr. Price, 20s apiece, his wife Dorothy to take the rest, and appoints her ext'x.

Gives to Mr. Norris 50s, to Mr. Sharpe, 40s, and to Mr. Bartholomew, 40s. Probate 27th 10th mo., 1648.

—
Wm. Southmead, 12th mo., 1648.

Inventory of estate of William Southmead, of Gloucester, amounting to £43 10s. Probate 20th 12th mo., 1648.

—
George Varnum, 1649.

Will of George Varnum, of Ipswich, dated 21st 2d mo., 1649, mentions wife, son Samuel, dau Hannah (single,) appoints Thomas Scott and son Samuel, ex'ors.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £86 17s, 6d, taken 12th 8th mo., 1649.

—
Miles Ward, 7th mo., 1650.

Inventory of estate of Miles Ward, of Salem, what debts to receive, and what debts to pay, related by himself, in Virginia, the 3d of the 1st mo., 1650.

"In England, given by his father as a legacie, fortie pounce, to bee payd to the sd Miles by his brother, wch he both giueth and bequeath to his foure children." His wife living.

—
Thomas Cook, 7th mo., 1650.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Cook, amounting to £40, returned by Wm. Bartholomew, and Wm. Varney.

Hugh Burt, 10th mo., 1650.

Will of Hugh Burt, of Lynn, dated——, mentions his wife, and appoints her ext'x, 2 children, uncle and aunts in England. Probate 21st 10th mo., 1650.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £65 15s 11d, returned 31st 10th mo., 1650.

Edmund Lewis, 12th mo., 1650.

Will of Edmund Lewis, of Lynn, dated 18th 11th mo., 1650, mentions eldest son, John Lewis, his wife to be sole ex'or, son Thomas Lewis. Probate 25th 12th mo., 1650.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £122 7s 6d, returned 25th 12th mo., 1650.

Joseph How, 4th mo., 1651.

Will of Joseph How, of Lynn, dated 10th Feb., 1650, mentions his wife, daughter Elizabeth, mother How. Probate 26th 4th mo., 1651.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £107 10s 8d, returned 26th 4th mo., 1651.

John Osgood, 9th mo., 1651

Will of John Osgood, of Andover, dated Apr. 12th, 1650, in his 54th year, born in 1595, July 23, mentions son John, Stephen, daughters Mary, Elizabeth, Johannah, daughter Sarah Clement, daughter Rakah, son John and wife, ex'or. Probate 25th 9th mo., 1651.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £373 7s, returned by Sarah Osgood, ext'x, 25th 9th mo., 1651.

James Boutell, 9th mo., 1651.

Will of James Boutell, of Lynn, dated 22d 6th mo., 1651, mentions son James, daughter Sarah, appoints wife Alice ext'x., son John. Probate 26th 9th mo., 1651.

Inventory of above estate returned 26th 9th mo., '51.

Henry Birdsalls, 9th mo., 1651.

Inventory of estate of Henry Birdsalls, amounting to £47 19s, returned 9th mo., 1651.

Walter Tibbetts, 1651.

Will of Walter Tibbetts, of —, dated 5th 4th mo., 1651, mentions his wife, making her ext'x, grandchild Richard Dicke, daughter Mary Haskell, wife of Wm. Haskell, Joseph, son to Wm. Haskell, William, another son of Wm. Haskell, son in law Edmund Clarke, John and Joseph Clarke, Elizabeth Dicke, Elenor Luscombe, Salome Trill.

John Hardy, 4th mo., 1652.

Will of John Hardy, of Salem, dated 30th 1st mo., 1651, mentions Roger Haskell, his son in law, and his 4 children, viz: John, William, Mark and Elizabeth, Elizabeth, daughter of my son Joseph Hardy, daughter Elizabeth Haskell, wife Eliz'h, and appoints her his ext'x. Probated 30th 4th mo., 1652.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £393 4s 6d, returned by Edmond Batter and Walter Price.

Thomas Warren, 7th mo., 1652.

Deposition of Rebecca, the wife of Water Joy, aged about 27 yrs., the 17th 7th mo., 1652, says that Thomas Warren, who dyed with Prince Rupert, was cousin German to Wm. Sergeant, of Gloucester, and that there is none nearer of kin in this country, and I, being a little related, do desire Wm. Sergeant may adm'r on the estate and be accountable before me, Increase Nowell.

I, John Hill, formerly living in Bristol, in Old England, being hear, testifieth, That Thomas Wathing, son to Edmun Wathin, is cousin to Wm. Sergeant, the said Wm. being his father's sister's son. This deponant further saith, that this Thomas Wathing went with RoIert Gray in Captain Wal serves. 27th 7th mo., 1652, before Wm. Townens, Robert Tucker, Robert Elwell.

John Cross, 7th mo., 1652.

Inventory of estate of John Cross, Ipswich, amounting to £382 5s 2d, returned by Richard Kimball, Sr., and Robert Lord, 7th mo., 1652.

Henry Somerby, 9th mo., 1652.

Petition of Judith Somerby, widow of Henry Somerby, Newbury, mentions son Daniel under 18 years, daughters Sarah and Eliz'h under 16 years—18th 9th mo., 1652.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £164 4s, returned by Edmund Greenleaf, Richard Browne, and Anthony Somerby, 30th 9th mo., 1652.

Wm. Averill, March, 1653.

Will of Wm. Averill of Ipswich, dated 3d 4th mo., 1652, mentions 7 children, Abigail his wife, appoints her ext'x. Witnessed by Andrew Hodges and Reginald Foster. Probate 29th March, 1653.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £50, returned by A. Hodges and R. Foster, 29th March, 1653.

Thomas Wathen, 4th mo., 1653.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Wathen, amounting to £3 15s, returned by Zebulon Hill and Stephen Glover, both of Gloucester.

Geo. Cole, 4th mo., 1653.

Inventory of estate of George Cole, of Lynn, amounting to £32 0s 8d, returned by Edward Burthum, Nathaniel Handsoth, 28th 4th mo., 1653.

Wm. Stevens, 4th mo., 1653.

Will of Wm. Stevens, of Newbury, dated May 19, 1653, mentions eldest son John, son Samuel, both under 21 years, appoints Eliz'h his wife, ext'x—30th 4th mo., 1653. Died May 19, 1653.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £166 14s 6d, returned by Eliz'h Stevens, ext'x. Samuel Bitfield, George Little, Anthony Somerby, Francis Plummer, and Nicholas Noyes, appraisers. Taken June 13, 1653.

Wm. Tilton, 5th mo., 1653.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Tilton, of Lynn, amounting to £128 4s 10d, returned by Fran-

cis Ingalls, Henry Collins and Edward Burthum.

Thomas Millard, 9th mo., 1653.

Will of Mr. Thomas Millard, of Newbury, declared in the presence of Wm. Colton and Ann, his wife, and John Butler, on the 30th day of August, A. D., 1653, mentions wife Anne and 2 children, Rebecca and Eliz'h, the children to have their share when they are married, and his wife not to hinder them, when they are eighteen years of age. Probate 25th 9th mo., 1653. Died Sept. 2, 1653.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £343 3s 4d, returned by Richard Towle and Anthony Somerby, 24th 9th mo., 1653.

John Robinson, 9th mo., 1653.

Inventory of estate of John Robinson, amounting to £57 8s 6d, returned by Elias Stileman and Richard Prince.

Wm. Bacon, 9th mo., 1653.

Will of Wm. Bacon, of Salem, as declared in presence of George Emery and Elizabeth Boyce, mentions son Isaac, under 21, if he dye before 21, his (Wm. B.) wife to have his share. Ann Potter, wife Rebecca Bacon.—Overseers, Joseph Boyse, Lawrence Southwick.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £184 16s, returned by Thos. Gardner, Sr., and Joseph Boyce, 9th 9th mo., 1653.

Abrah'm Warre, 1654.

Will of Abraham War, of Ipswich, married man, dated 22d day 2d month, 1654, mentions daughter Sarah and wife, to bring her up in the fear of the Lord, and to have a care of her as if she were her own, his wife ext'x. Witnessed by Roger Sampson, Wm. Simonds, John Warren.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £47 5s 1d.

Wm. Varney, March, 1654.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Varney, of Ips-

wich, amounting to £57 2s 8d, returned 30th 1st mo., 1654.

John Cooly, March, 1654.

Inventory of estate of John Cooly, of Ipswich, amounting to £66 14s 8d, returned by Edward Browne and Robt Lord, 28th 1st mo., 1654.

Richard Hollingworth, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of R. Hollingworth, of Salem, amounting to £365 14s 6d. returned by Walter Price and Samuel Archard, 25th 4th mo., 1654.

Dan'l Rolfe, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of Daniel Rolfe, of Ipswich, amounting to £73 17s 8d, returned by Daniel Thurston, John Gage, Robert Lord, prized 24 June, 1654, mentions father Humphrey Bradstreet, Goodman Weeks, of Salem.

Geo. Burrill, 4th mo., 1654.

Will of George Burrill, Sr., of Lynn, dated 18th October, 1653, mentions sons Francis, John, free, George, free, his son Francis' child. Mr. Whiting, Mr. Cobbett, and Thos. Laugh-ton, with his son Francis, to see the will fulfilled.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £848 10s, returned by Edward Burcham, Francis Ingalls, taken 21st 4th mo., 1654.

Wm. Wake, 4th mo., 1654.

Will of Wm. Wake, dated 17th 2d mo., 1654, mentions daughter Kathrin Wake, in England, if she be living, and brother John Wake, in England. Hilliard Veren and Walter Price to be overseers. Witnesses, Thomas Smith and Jonathan Porter.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £60 8s 6d, returned by Edmond Batter and Elias Stileman, taken 22d 4th mo., '54.

Thos. Trusler, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Thos. Trusler, (died 5th 1st mo., 1654,) amounting to £188 12 8d,

returned by Thos. Browne and Robert Moulton, Sr

Thomas Buxton, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Buxton, amounting to £52 8s, taken 5th 4th mo., 1654, returned by Thomas Gardner, Sr., and Michael Shafin.

Wm. Ager, 4th mo., 1654.

Will of Wm. Ager, of Salem, dated 3d 1st mo., 1654, mentions Joseph Ager, if he be living, if not, his (J. A.) son Benjamin to have his father's share, mentions son Jonathan, daughter Abigail Kibben, wife Alice, appoints his wife ext'x. Witness, Nathaniel Pickman, Tabitha Pickman, Elias Stileman, jr. Probate Nov., 1654.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £43 14s 8d, taken by Em'd Batter and Elias Stileman, 20th 4th mo., '54.

Thos. Scruggs, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Scruggs, taken 24th June, 1654, amounting to £244 10s 2d, returned by Roger Conant, Nicholas Patch, and Wm. Dodge.

Deed of Margery Scruggs, widow, dated 24th 4th mo., 1652, to her son in law, John Rayment, of all her right of dower in her husband Thomas Scruggs' estate, for certain valuable considerations, asset forth in said deed on file 4th mo., 1654. Witnessed by Roger Conant, Nicholas Patch, William Dodge.

Wm. Fiske, 7th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Fiske, of Wenham, taken 16th 7th mo., '54, amounting to £141 12s 6d, returned by Phineas Fiske, Austin Killam and Edward Kemp.

Geo. Williams, 9th mo., 1654.

Will of Geo. Williams, of Salem, dated 23d 7th mo., 1654, mentions his wife Marie, John eldest son, his dau Marie Bishop and her 2 children, sons Sam'l, Joseph and George, daughters Sarah and Bethia, his daughter Sa-

rah to have a double portion, "in respect of her infirmities." His wife Marie and son John joint ex'ors. Thomas Norton, Henry Woodberry and Jeffrey Massy, overseers. Witnesses, John Horne, Elias Stileman, Jr., Thos. Cromwell.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £326 11s 11d, taken 18th 8th mo., 1654, by Elias Stileman, Jr., Rich'd Bishop.

To be Continued.

MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE INGERSOLL FAMILY IN SALEM.

In an old Manuscript book, running from 1685 to 1695, in which the writer, Capt. Samuel Ingersoll, of Salem, recorded many matters relating to the sale of his cargoes, disbursement of his voyages, and his own and his wife's birth, and their marriage, and the dates of births and names of his children, and many miscellaneous memoranda, I find the following formula for a Hair Restorer, which may perhaps be as useful as many of the present day nostrums. It is, however, defective, in that it does not specify whether the 'Metson' is for internal or external use, nor whether it is as efficacious for a woman as for a man.

"A Metson to make a man's hear groe when he is bald :

"Take sum fier flies and sum Redd wormes, and black snayls, and sum hune bees, and dri them, and then pound them to powder, and mixt them in milk or water."

On another page is the following record :

"Samuel Ingersoll was born the 6th day of October, 1658. Sarah, his wife, was born the 11th day of December, 1665, and we were marred ye 28th April, 1684. Sarah, our Daffet, was born ye 12th October, 1686. Margaret was born ye 8th of April, 1690. Susana was born ye 4th Day of December, 1692."

This Samuel Ingersoll was the son of John, who was the son of Richard Ingersoll, or Inkersall, the first of the name in New England. He emigrated from Bedfordshire, England, in

1629, and settled at Salem. He was recommended to Gov. Endicott by Matthew Crock, the Governor of the Company in England. He was granted a farm of 80 acres, at Riall Side, which descended to his sons John and Nathaniel. He was authorized in 1637, to establish a ferry over the North river, in Salem, and to charge one penny for every passenger. He died about 1644, Anne, his wife, was a member of the Church at Salem, 1634. After Richard's decease, she married John Knight, of Newbury, and died 1677: His children were George, Nathaniel, John, Sarah, Joana or Jane, Alice and Bathsheba.

George Ingersoll, son of Richard, was born in England, 1618, and came to Salem with his father. In 1655, he lived at Falmouth (now Portland,) where he built one or two mills, and in 1657 he was of Gloucester, where he had previously lived in 1652, and was a Representative to the General Court from that town in that year.

Alice, daughter of Richard Ingersoll, was married to Josiah Wolcott, Bathsheba, to John Knight, Jr., of Newbury, Sarah to William Haynes and afterwards to Joseph Houlton, and Jane to Richard Pettingall,

Nathaniel, son of Richard Ingersoll, married Hannah Collins, and lived at Salem Village, and was Deacon of the church there.— He had one daughter who died before he did. He appears to have been a very worthy man and much respected in the community. He died early in 1718-19, his wife surviving him. By his will he left fifty shillings to the church at the village to purchase some Silver Cups for the more adorning the Lord's table, and he left two acres of land to the inhabitants of the village for a training place forever. The bulk of his property, after his wife's decease, he left to his adopted son, Benjamin Hutchinson, subject to the payment of some legacies to several of his relatives.

John Ingersoll, son of Richard, and father of Samuel, was born in England, 1625, and married Judith, daughter of Nathaniel Felton,

His children were John, Nathaniel, Ruth, Richard, Sarah, Samuel, Joseph and Hannah.

Samuel, the owner of the Manuscript, appears to have been a shipmaster, and his voyages seem to have been to Barbadoes, Newfoundland and Saltatudos, and from some entries of "great and little general;" he seems occasionally to have gone on fishing voyages.—He died about 1695, and his widow became the second wife of Philip English. Estate £538 15s.

As illustrating the relative value of land and stock, I give some items of the appraisement of the estate of Richard Ingersell, as made by Townsend Bishop and Jeffrey Massy, October 4th, 1644 :

7 Cows, £34; 2 Young Steers, £4; one Bull, £7; p oxen, £14; 2 horses and mare, and a Young Colt, £25, a Farm of 80 acres, £7; among other items was a Moose Skin Suit.

B. F. B.

A REVOLUTIONARY LETTER.

The following letter, written to Joshua Ward, Esq., of Salem, by a gentleman who afterwards held a conspicuous position as one of the most respected members of our community, exhibits the condition of our troops during the revolutionary struggle, and on that account may not be devoid of interest.

A. N.

CAMPS NEAR WEST POINT, FEB'Y 12, 1782.

Dear Sir:—Poverty Drives me to trouble you at this time that is to se if you will be so kind as to Creadet me for the Following arteceles to it—for Linen a nough for six shirts and 12 yards of Jane of a Dark Snuf Collar it Being for a Patton for two Pare of Overallis and two Wescoats—and a patton of White Ribed Stuff for a Wescoat & Briches such as would answer for Somer ware what you should think most Proper if you will Creadet me for the a bove arteceles while I Come whome or while we draw wages you Shall be well Paid for the Same and you will greatly a Bleage me at this time—as I am entirley Destetute of money and am not able to get these things at this time without Some gentlemon will give me

Short Creadet for them—and it will be very Difecolt for me to Do without them as I have the Command of the Light Infentry Company and our Regt is under marchen orders Sposed to go to Alboney and if we go into that Conterey most Certain my duty will Consist in Scouten the woods which will be very uncofetebel in Hot wather with thick Cloathen.

Theirfore I am under the absolute Nesety of asken this Faver of you for which I hope you will be Pleased to grant and you shall be wal Paid as soon as Posable.

Sir you must think that it is a hard thing that after I have Resked my life for upward of six years in the Publick Servis to Be Brought so Low as to not be able to By a Small matter of Somer Cloathen But it is in fackt the Case Prohabs you will Say it is by Reason of my one enprudens but I think it is not the case. I engaged in the Servis in 1777 and Received the Nomenel Sum of my wages in old Contineton Dollars and all I have Received sens Jany 1st 1780 is Sixty Hard Dollars and Sixty New omision—it is true Some of the troops have Received some new omesion for the year 1781 but my Company being at the Sotherd the money was Drawn for them for 3 months and it grue so Bad that the Coll. Saw Proper to Return the money again as it was of no Vallew in Virgeny where they were.

I hope you wont think I am a Blamen you or Eny other gentlemon for it, I am ondy menshenen to you our Hard fortien—but it dont all Discourage me in the least. I hant none what it was to Command one Dollar this 2 months ner I Dont no as I shall for six months to come but if I Can get a few shirts and a few thin cloathen I feel my Self Pritey wal Contented to be with out money for I am Detarmend as I have beene so long in the servis to se it out if I am even a bleage to fight with even a Shirt.

Sir, I must Beg your Parden for Trobelen you with so long a Serall and Conclude Subscriben my Self your Most obedient and Humble Servent.

S — A —.

N. B. Sir if you Should be Pleased to Send the a bove arteicels by the Barer Pleas to Send a bill of the Coast for I will Send the money as Soon as in my Power if I dont Come whome my Self. S. A.

their would want a Small matter of Corsen Linn for Pockets and waggon Linens.

RELICS OF A "PECULIAR INSTITUTION" IN SALEM.

Among my old papers, I find the following scraps, which, together with some other old matters of a quaint and curious nature, which I propose to send you from time to time for publication, serve to illustrate the manners and customs of our Ancestors in "ye quiete and peaceable Towne of Salem."

"Janeuary ye 4th 1710 Rescued of Wm. Pickering fifteen pounds in money being in full for an Indian Gerl sd Pickering boft of me in augustt Lastt. Fra's Holmes.
p.

Salem, May 11, 1732.

This Day Sold to Mr. Myles Ward Jun'r A Negro Girl Caled Betty for fifty five pounds and took obligation for the same. James Lindall.

Witness, James Lindall, Jun'r, Satah Lindall, Tertius.

ANCIENT PULPIT NOTICES.

Messrs. Editors:—The certificate, of which I send you a copy, refers to the old custom of notifying Town Meetings, Trainings, and other secular occasions, at the Thursday Lecture in the Meeting House. It reminds us of a little incident which was said to have taken place in one of the churches in New Orleans one Sunday, a few years since. The officiating clergyman, at the close of his sermon, made the following announcement: "I am requested to give notice that there will be a Horse Race in the rear of this house, immediately after divine service. My hearers, I trust you will all be present." B.

Salem, March 19, 1859:

This may signify to whom it may concerne, that on February the 18th, 1701, being our Lecture day at Salem, Joseph Neal, being at meeting, continued quietly and orderly at the time of the publick worship, and read not the papyr (paper) of Notification for the Commoners' meeting till such time after the public worship as is usual with us, when training days are warned, or Town meetings appointed; and he was not forbid reading of it as I know, or any dissatisfaction signified against his reading of it,

whilst he was reading of it. I was in the meeting all the while the papyr of Notification for the Commoners' meeting was reading, and can testify to the truth above written, if I should be called there to.

NICHOLAS NOYES.

Salem, March 30, 1702.

CURIOUS INDENTURE BETWEEN A MASTER AND SERVANT, IN 1713.

Messrs. Editors:—The following Indenture is, I think, worthy of being preserved in print, as a record of at least two by-gone institutions, viz: "bound servants," and the custom of teaching servants "to read a chapter well in the Bible." B. M. H:

This Indenture, Made the first Day of September, RRæ, Annæ Nunc Magnæ Brittanïæ Duodecimo annoq Dom., 1713, Witnesseth that Nicholas Bourguess, a youth of Guarnsey, of his own free and voluntary will, and by and with the Consent of his present Master, Capt. John Hardy, of Guarnsey; aforesaid, Marriner; hath put himselfe a Servant vnto Mr. William English, of Salem, in the County of Essex, within the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Marriner, for the space of four yeares from the Day of the Date hereof, vntill the aforesaid Terme of four yeares be fully Compleat & Ended, During all which time the said Servant his said Master, his heires, Executors, administrators or assignees Dwelling within the provinces aforesaid, shall well and faithfully serve, their lawful commands obey; he shall not absent himselfe from his or their service without Leave or Lycense first had from him or them; his Master's Money; goods or other Estate he shall not Purloine; embezzle or wast; at unlawfull Games he shall not Play; Tavernes or Alehouses he shall not Frequent; fornication he shall not Committ, nor Matrimony Contract; but in all things shall Demean himselfe as a faithfull Servant During the Terme aforesaid, and the aforesaid Master, on his part, doth for himselfe, his heires and assignees, Covenant, promise and agree to and with the said Servant; that he or they shall and will provide & find him with sufficient Meat, Drink, Cloathing, washing & Lodging, & in Case of Sicknes, with Phisick, and attendance During the Terme aforesaid, and to Learn him to read a Chapter well in the bible, if he may be capable of Learning it, & to Dismiss him with two suits of Apparell for all parts of his Body—the one for Lord's Days, the other for working Days. In Testi-

mony & for Confirmation whereof the parties aforementioned have Interchangably set their hands and Seales the Day & Yeare first above written.

nicollas bourgaize, John Hardy.

Signed, Sealed & Delivered in presence of us,—
Marg't Sewall, Jun'r, Susannah Sewall, Stephen
Sewall, Not. pub. & Justice peace.

NARRATIVE OF THE PIRACY, AND PLUNDER
OF THE SHIP FRIENDSHIP, OF SALEM, ON
THE WEST COAST OF SUMATRA, IN FEB-
RUARY 1831, AND THE MASSACRE OF PART
OF HER CREW: ALSO, HER RE-CAPTURE
OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE MALAY PI-
RATES.

BY CHARLES M. ENDICOTT.

Read at a meeting of the Essex Institute, Jan. 28, 1858.

Before proceeding with the narrative, I will say a few words upon the character of the natives of this coast; the impression having gone abroad, and has even been stated in our pulpits and elsewhere, that the wrongs they have experienced at our hands have led to their bad faith and perfidy; and that *we, Americans*, are, after all, responsible for it. That this is a base calumny and has no foundation in truth, we shall first endeavor to show.

*[It may be proper perhaps to state in the outset, that the whole of the pepper coast is inhabited by emigrants from Acheen, the residence of the king, and the capital of his dominions; and although they are generally spoken of by us as Malays, are nevertheless a distinct race from them, speaking an unwritten language wholly unlike the Malay tongue, and differing from them in everything but their religion. The Acheenise have an imperfect and vague tradition, which savors more of fable than reality, that they are the descendants of a people, who, at a very remote period, emigrated from the Mediterranean, or, as they express it, from "Roma;" (by which is meant, no doubt, a colony of Phenicians,) who, in

the course of their extensive maritime enterprises, visited the northern part of this island by way of the Red Sea, and formed a settlement at Acheen, where intermarrying with the natives their posterity have ever since resided.

The coast from Acheen southward was originally peopled by Malays, but wherever the Acheenise have made settlements the aborigines have invariably been exterminated, either by secret assassination or poison: and by such and kindred foul practices they have possessed themselves of the whole of the pepper coast, and scarcely a real native Malay is now met with. All writers, for centuries past, have agreed in representing these people as the most subtle, crafty and treacherous of all the nations of the East. Our dealings with them *generally* (I will not say *always*—for bad and unprincipled men are *sometimes* found engaged in all trades,) but *generally* our dealings with them are such as of necessity they must be with a people from whom we can never obtain redress for any bad faith or dishonesty; who acknowledge no laws, have no tribunals of justice to which we can appeal for broken faith or violated contracts, and hold themselves bound by no ties of integrity or honor; for it would be as difficult to carry out equitably any compact made with them, if it should conflict with their interests, as it would be vain to expect mercy from the ferocious tenants of their forests. That they have at times been over-reached at their own play in their attempts to defraud and impose upon us, and that the measure they mete unto others has been measured to them again, will not be denied; and that our interests have also frequently suffered severely by their fraudulent practices, is equally certain. If we were not always on the alert to detect and counter-balance their frauds, and sometimes even to *anticipate them*, we should be obliged to abandon the trade altogether. But the *Munchausen* stories which are sometimes banded about, are often without any foundation in truth, and

*The matter contained between these brackets was published in the Boston Courier by the author of this account, in the summer of 1852.

are not unfrequently the offspring of the brain of individuals, who hope to gain in this way a character for great shrewdness in their dealings. But these trials at circumvention, in which they as often gain the advantage as lose it, do not certainly justify the piracy and murder of our countrymen trading upon their shores.

So far from becoming corrupt, perfidious and treacherous, by our intercourse with them, it will be found, by a little research, that these attributes in their characters existed, in as eminent a degree, upwards of two centuries ago, as at present; and setting aside the insignificance into which the king's power has dwindled, the accounts of them then would answer as well as any description which could now be given. In Mayor's historical account of early voyages, is one of Commodore Bieulieu's to the East Indies in 1619—22, undertaken for commercial purposes, under the auspices of the French government. Mons. Bieulieu is represented as an officer of distinguished character, both for the integrity of his conduct and the extent of his abilities.—The account he has given of his enterprise is universally admired, for candid statement, and easy, unaffected detail. He left France October 2, 1619, with three vessels under his command, and in the course of his voyage visited Acheen, to obtain the king's permission to traffic within his dominions. He describes his reception by the king, and the pomp and magnificence of his court at that time, and also details several instances of his majesty's savage cruelty in mutilating his subjects upon the most trifling pretext, to which he was a painful eye-witness. Finally, after a long negotiation, and submitting to much extortion, he succeeded in obtaining the desired permission, and, in his first attempts to avail himself of it, he gives the following account:

"The avarice of this monarch was not less detestable than his cruelty. No representations or presents could get the better of it. Notwithstanding I had procured a license to pur-

chase pepper of his subjects, the first person who sold me any was laid in irons. At last I found it impossible to procure a grain, unless I consented to take it of him at his own price; and after I had agreed for three hundred bahars at nearly double its value, to my astonishment, I found he exacted seven per cent, by way of custom, for the very pepper I had purchased of himself. I afterwards contracted with a person who was distinguished for his knowledge of the laws of Mahomet, and even passed for a prophet himself, but finding some *black sand* among his pepper, I remonstrated. At last I found he weighed out the commodity *wet*, and although a complaint to the king might have procured me revenge, I chose rather to *submit to the loss* than enter into a *dispute* with this sanctified personage. *Wearied out at length with the impositions of the tyrant, and disgusted with the chicanery of his subjects*, I resolved to depart." This author also adds, "The inhabitants of Acheen are the most vicious of any on the coast. They are proud, perfidious and envious. With an outward show of being strict Mahometans, they are the most consummate hypocrites. If they only suspect that any one bears them any ill will, they endeavor to ruin him by false accusations." Commodore Bieulieu's account is corroborated by all the early English navigators, who visited Acheen under the direction of the East India Company, immediately after its first charter by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. The character of these people, since that period, has undergone no radical or material change; it is essentially the same in all respects, now as then. We omitted to remark that Commodore Bieulieu had one of the vessels under his command burnt by the natives, and all the plunder detained by the king. We think no candid, liberal and unprejudiced mind will seek far, or look deep, for motives to stimulate such a mercenary people to acts of violence on our ships whenever opportunities offer; and that no other incentives are needed than such as are found

inherent in their own breasts, that is, a love of plunder, to deeds of crime and outrage.]

This, let it be borne in mind, was their character in the year 1620, the very year of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, at Plymouth. One can therefore appreciate how far *we*, *Americans*, who had then no existence as a nation, and who had no intercourse with these people for 170 years after this period, are responsible for these traits of character, and how far *we* therefore have corrupted their integrity. Having now finished our preface, we will commence our narrative.

And here we would remark, in compiling this account, we have met with a serious obstacle, which has baffled all our skill to overcome—that is, how to avoid the too frequent and objectionable use of the little personal pronoun I, which must strike every reader of the narrative, in common with myself. We trust, however, the peculiar circumstances of the case will be considered and appreciated, and *that* charity extended to me which the subject seems imperatively to demand.

The ship *Friendship*, of this place, under my command, belonging to the Messrs. Pickman and Silsbees, sailed from Salem for the west coast of Sumatra, with a crew of seventeen men, including officers and seamen, on the 26th of May, 1830. The persons composing the ship's company, were as follows: Charles M. Endicott, Master; Charles Knight, 1st Mate; John Barry, 2d Mate; William Bray, Carpenter; George Chester, Algornon Warren, John Davis, John Massey, George Collins, William Parnell, Gregorie Pedechie, Charles Converse, Philip Manning, John Patterson and John Byrne, Seamen; William Francis, Steward; George Migill, Cook; and after the usual succession of fair winds and foul, calms and storms, arrived safely at her place of destination on the 22d September following. We touched first at the port of Qualah Battoo, (i. e., in English, Rocky River,) in Lat. 3° 48m North. This place is inhabited by natives from the Pedir Coast, on the north

of the island, as well as Acheenise, and is therefore governed jointly by a Pedir and Acheenise Rajah. We remained here for the purposes of trade, until the 5th of November following, at which time, having obtained all the pepper of the old crop, and the new pepper not coming in until March or April, we left that port, and in prosecution of our voyage visited several others, and finally returned to Pulo Kio, (i. e., in English, Wood Island,) about two miles from Qualah Battoo, the latter part of January, 1831, intending to remain there until the coming in of the pepper crop.

One bright moonlight night, shortly after our arrival at this place, I was awakened by the watch informing me that a native boat was approaching the ship in a very stealthy manner, and under suspicious circumstances. I immediately repaired on deck, and saw the boat directly in our wake under the stern, the most obvious way to conceal herself from our observation, and gradually approaching us with the utmost caution, without the least noise or apparent propelling power, the oars being struck so lightly in the water that its surface was scarcely ruffled. Having watched their proceedings a few minutes, we became convinced it was a reconnoitering party, sent to ascertain how good a look-out was kept on board the ship, and intending to surprise us for no good purpose, to say the least, if they were not discovered. We therefore hailed them in their own dialect, asking them where they came from, what they wanted, and why they were approaching the ship in such a stealthy, tiger-like manner. We could see that all was instantly life and animation on board her, and after a few moments we received an answer that they were friends from Qualah Battoo, with a load of smuggled pepper, which they were desirous to dispose of to us. We however, positively forbade them to advance any nearer the ship, or to come along side; but, after considerable discussion, we at length gave our consent for them to come *abreast* the

ship at a respectful distance, and we would send some of our own men on board to ascertain if their story was correct; and if there was nothing suspicious about her, on their giving up their side arms we would rig a whip upon the main yard, and in this way take on board their pepper, and allow one man to come on board ship to look after it. All our own crew had, in the mean time, been mustered and armed, and a portion of them placed as sentinels on each side the gangway. In this manner we passed on board some 50 or 60 bags of pepper. We were afterwards informed by the 2d officer, that while this was going forward, the chief officer, who subsequently lost his life, was secretly scoffing at these precautions, attributing them to cowardice, and boasting he could clear the decks of a hundred such fellows with a single hand-spike. This boat, we subsequently ascertained, was sent by a young man named Po Qualah, the son of the Pedir Rajah, for the express purpose which we had suspected; the pepper having been put on board merely as an excuse in case they should be discovered. It was only a sort of parachute, let off to see from what quarter the wind blew, as a guide in their future evil designs upon us. Ascertaining, however, by this artifice, that the ship was too vigilantly guarded, at least, in the night, to be thus surprised, they set themselves at work to devise another plan to decoy us to Qualah Battoo, in which, I am sorry to say, they were more successful.

A few days after this occurrence, a deputation was sent to invite us to Qualah Battoo, representing that the new crop of pepper was beginning to make its appearance, and they could now furnish us with from one to two hundred bags per day, and would no doubt be enabled to complete loading the ship in the course of forty days. Being in pursuit of a cargo, and having been always on friendly terms with the natives of this place, who I did not consider worse than those of other parts of the coast, and feeling beside some se-

curity from the fact that we had already been warned by some of our old friends not to place too much confidence in any of them, all of whom, in consequence of the low price of pepper, and from various other causes, were actually contemplating piracy along the whole coast, whenever a good opportunity should offer, we considered, with a suitable degree of caution, the danger was but trifling, and therefore concluded a contract with them, and proceeded at once with the ship to Qualah Battoo. Strict regulations were then established for the security and protection of the ship. Two of the most important were, that, in the absence of the captain, not more than two Malays were to be permitted on board at the same time; and no boats should be allowed to approach her in the night time upon any pretence whatever, without calling an officer.—Then mustering all hands upon the quarter deck, I made a few remarks, acquainting them with my apprehensions, and impressing on their minds the importance of a good look-out, particularly in the night, and expressed my firm conviction that vigilance alone would prevent the surprise and capture of the ship, and the sacrifice of all our lives; that the words of Po Adam, which they had so often heard him utter, "*must look sharp*," had no idle meaning. Having thus done all we could to guard against surprise, and put the ship in as good a state of defence as under the circumstances was possible; keeping her entire armament in good and efficient order, and firing every night an eight o'clock gun, to apprise the natives that we were not sleeping upon our posts, we commenced taking in pepper, and so continued for three or four days, the Malays appearing very friendly, and everything went on satisfactorily.

On Monday, February 7, 1831, early in the morning, while we were at breakfast, my old and tried friend, Po Adam, a native well-known to traders on this coast, came on board in a small canoe from his residence at Pulo Kio, in order to proceed on shore in the ship's

boat, which shortly after started with the 2d officer, four seamen and myself. On our way Po Adam expressed much anxiety for the safety of the ship, and also an entire want of confidence in Mr. Knight, the first officer, which, however, I then considered unfounded, remarking in his broken English, "*he no look sharp, no understand Malay-man.*" On being asked if he *really* believed his countrymen would dare to attack the ship, he replied in the affirmative. I then observed to the 2d officer, it certainly behooved us, the boat's crew, who were more exposed than any of the ship's company, to be on our guard against surprise, and proposed when we next came on shore, to come prepared to defend ourselves; but did not think the danger sufficiently imminent to return to the ship for that purpose at the present moment. When we reached the landing we were kindly received, as usual,—a man who was a stranger to me, of rather prepossessing appearance, pretended to be very much pleased with my knowledge of the language, for which he was profuse in his compliments, and, to hear me speak it, followed close upon my footsteps through the bazars, and was very assiduous in his attentions.—Such circumstances being, however, of almost daily occurrence, there was nothing particular in this to excite suspicions of any evil intent, and we were soon upon easy and familiar terms. The natives were bringing in pepper very slowly; only now and then a single Malay would make his appearance with a bag upon his head, and it was not until nearly 3 o'clock in the afternoon that sufficient was collected to commence weighing; and between 3 and 4 o'clock the first boat started from the shore. The natives were, however, still bringing in pepper, with a promise of another boat-load during the day. This was, however, a mere subterfuge to keep us on shore. As the boat was passing out of the river, I noticed her stop upon one of the points, and believing it the object of her crew to steal pepper, and secrete it among the neighboring high grass, two men were sent down to look after them. They

soon returned, remarking there appeared to be nothing wrong. The ship lay about three-fourths of a mile from the shore, and between the scale-house and the beach there was a piece of rising ground, so that standing at the scales we could just see the ship's topgallant yards. I had observed a vessel in the offing in the course of the day, apparently approaching this place or Soosoo, and, being at leisure, walked up towards the beach to ascertain if she had hoisted any national colours. The instant I had proceeded far enough to see our ship's hull, I observed the pepper-boat, which was at this time within two or three hundred feet of her, as she rose on the top of the swell, appeared to have a large number of men in her. My suspicions were instantly aroused that there was something wrong, and I returned to inquire into the circumstance of the men who were sent down to the mouth of the river. I was *then* informed, for the first time, as they approached the boat 6 or 7 Malays jumped up from the high grass and rushed on board her; and as she passed out of the river, they saw her take in from a ferry boat, that was passing, about the same number; but as they all appeared to be "*youngsters,*" to use their own expression, they did not think the circumstance of sufficient importance to mention it. They were reprimanded for such an omission of duty, accompanied with the remark, "*your youngsters, as you call them, will, I suspect, be found old enough in iniquity, at least, to capture the ship, if once admitted upon her decks.*" The words of Po Adam, that morning, that "*Mr. Knight no look sharp, no understand Malay-man,*" now struck me with their full force and a fearful foreboding, and I appealed to Mr. Barry, the 2d officer, for his opinion as to what would be Mr. Knight's probable course, remarking "*he certainly will not disobey his orders.*" Mr. Barry, however, expressed his fears as to the result, remarking he knew so well the contempt which Mr. Knight entertained for these people, "*that he will probably conclude your pre-*

cautions to be altogether unnecessary, and that he can allow them to come on board with impunity, without your ever knowing anything of the circumstance, and no harm will come of it." This view of the case certainly did not have the effect, in any degree, to allay my anxiety, and I observed, "if your predictions prove correct, the ship is taken;" but concluding it to be altogether too late for us on shore to render any assistance to the ship, and still clinging to the hope that Mr. Knight would, after all, be faithful to his trust, Mr. Barry and two men were directed to walk up towards the beach without any apparent concern, and watch the movements on board. I should have remarked, on my own way up to the beach, just before, I passed near a tree, under the shade of which a group of 10 or 12 natives were apparently holding a consultation, and, as I approached, all conversation ceased. The object of this meeting, as I was afterwards informed, was to consider whether it would be better to kill us *before* attempting to take the ship, or *afterward*; and the conclusion arrived at was to be sure of the ship *first*, the killing of us appearing to them as easy, to use their own simile, as cutting off the heads of so many fowls: the manner *how* had already been decided, the time *when* was all there was to be considered,—a native having been already appointed, and the price fixed for the assassination of each of the boat's crew. The price set upon my life was 1000 dollars, for the 2d officer's, 500 dollars, and for each of the seamen 100 dollars. It was the business of my officious friend, whom I met that morning on landing, to bestow that delicate little piece of attention upon me.

As soon as Mr. Barry had reached an elevation where he could fairly see the ship's hull, I noticed a quick convulsive movement of his limbs, and that he turned short round, and walked, without hastening his steps, directly towards me:—passing me, however, without discovering any emotion, our eyes not being even directed towards each other, and said,

"there is trouble on board, Sir,"—to the question "What did you see?" he replied, "Men jumping overboard." Convinced at once, of our own perilous situation, and that our escape depended on extremely cautious and judicious management, I answered "We must show no alarm, but muster the men, and order them immediately into the boat." At this moment we did not know, of course, whether it was the natives or our own crew who were jumping overboard, there was nothing certain further than that the ship was undoubtedly attacked, and we on shore must look out for our lives.—The men got into the boat in their usual deliberate manner, and winded her head round towards the mouth of the river, when Philip Manning, one of the crew, who had yet no suspicion of what was going on, reminded me I had not locked the chest containing the weights. And here I ought, perhaps, to remark that in this trade the weights are as much a matter of contract and bargain as the price of pepper, and for the better satisfaction of both parties I had recently adopted the plan of locking up the weights over night in a chest kept on shore for that purpose. This was in the first place to prevent the Malays taking out the lead, and in the next, convincing them that we did not violate our part of the contract by putting any secretly in. Such is the mutual want of confidence manifested in our dealings with each other on this coast.

Everything being now in readiness, we pushed off from the shore, the Malays having no suspicion of our design, believing we intended to remain for the other boat load of pepper, and thinking it to be our intention, by our apparently unconcerned manner, to cross the river for a stroll in the opposite Bazar, as was our frequent custom. The moment the boat's stern had left the bank of the river, Po Adam sprang into her in a great state of excitement, to whom I exclaimed, "What! do you come too, Adam?"—he answered "You got trouble, captain, if they kill you, must kill Po Adam first." He suggested we should immediately steer the

boat as far as possible from the western bank of the river, which was here not more than one hundred feet wide, when I remarked to the boat's crew, "now spring to your oars my lads for your lives, or we are all dead men." Adam exhibited the utmost alarm and consternation, encouraging my men to exert themselves, and talking English and Acheenise both in the same breath,—now exclaiming in Acheenise, *di-yoong di yoong hi!*" and then exhorting them to "pull, pull trong!" The men worked with a will at their oars, and what with their efforts and the assistance of a favourable current, we made rapid progress out of the river. As we doubled one of the points we saw hundreds of natives rushing with wild impetuosity towards the river's mouth, brandishing their weapons, and otherwise menacing us.—Adam upon seeing this was struck with dismay, and exclaimed "if got blunderbuss will kill all,"—but luckily they were not provided with that weapon, and we therefore escaped its dangers. A ferry-boat was next discovered with ten or twelve Malays in her, armed with long spears, evidently waiting to intercept us. I ordered Mr. Barry into the bows of the boat, and with Adam's sword to make demonstrations of being armed, and also to *cun* the boat in such a manner as to run down the ferry boat, which I concluded was our only chance to escape. Our own boat being a pinnacle of some twenty-five feet in length, high out of water, and the ferry boat a long low canoe, the thing appeared quite feasible. With headlong impetuosity we were rushing towards our antagonist, nerved with the feeling of desperation. The distance between us was rapidly diminishing. With profound stillness and breathless anxiety we awaited the moment of collision, like a fated boat over the cataract of Niagara, with scarcely one chance in a thousand to escape death. The points of their pikes could be plainly seen. Already I observed Mr. Barry with his sword elevated, as if in the act of striking. But when we had approached within some twenty feet, her crew all at once, as if by the direct interposition of Providence, ap-

peared completely panic struck, and made an effort to get out of our way. It was, however, a close shave,—so close that one of their spears was actually over the stern of our boat, which with my hand, as we passed, I pushed aside. It was long before the countenances of those men, as they sat resting on their spears, faded from my recollection, so indelibly were they engraven on my memory. They often visited me in my dreams, and disturbed even my waking hours. We are not at all inclined to a belief in special providences, but this incident to my mind is as remarkable as the cessation of surf, related by Riley, which enabled him to escape from the shore out of the hands of the Arabs on the West Coast of Africa.—The Malays on the last point of the river as we passed, appeared perfectly frantic at our escape, and ran into the water up to their arm-pits, in their endeavors to intercept us, waving their swords above their heads, and shouting at the tops of their voices. Having now run the gauntlet, all danger for the present was passed, and during the breathing spell which it allowed us, we quietly proceeded the remainder of the distance out of the river without any further incident or molestation. We had now time calmly to contemplate the scene through which we had just passed, with hearts, I trust, grateful to God for his kind protection and safe guidance in the midst of its perils.—This was the part of their plan, otherwise well conceived, which was defective,—they had taken no measures to prevent our escape from the shore, not believing for a moment that our lives were not at their disposal, unprotected and defenceless as they saw us.

The whole scene would furnish an admirable subject for the pencil of the artist,—the fragile boat running the gauntlet, and forcing her way through the narrow passage out of the river—maugre the efforts of hundreds of Malays who are endeavoring to intercept her; the neighboring bazar and the points of the river crowded with natives, many of whom are actually in the water up to their arm-pits, while others are running to and fro, and all in a state o

the greatest excitement, vociferating to the extent of their voices. The doomed ship lay tranquilly in the roads, with sails furled, and a pepper boat alongside, with a multitude of natives in every part of her, and none of her own crew visible, with the exception of a man on the top gallant yard, and some 10 or 12 heads just even with the surface of the water. High mountains in the back ground densely clothed with wood, and a long range of low thatched houses, with here and there a few coconut trees surrounding them, and a sandy beach of miles in extent, on which the surf is beating most furiously. Its well drawn sketch could not fail to gratify the lovers of marvelous and thrilling adventures.

Having thus cleared the river, which was like passing the limits of the valley of the shadow of death, our first attention was directed to the ship, and judge of our feelings when, after a moment's observation, we were convinced she was captured. None of our crew, except one man aloft on the fore top gallant yard, could anywhere be seen, and the pirates were conspicuous in every part of her, waving their cloths, and making evident signals of success to the natives on shore. Without consideration my first impulse was to propose boarding her, and was very properly reminded that if the ship with her full armament had been taken with so many of her crew on board, we could do comparatively nothing in our unarmed state, towards her recapture; and the idea was as soon abandoned as entertained,—if, indeed, it was ever seriously entertained at all.

We however continued to row up towards the ship until we could see the Malays pointing her muskets at us from the quarter deck, and that they appeared also to be clearing away the stern chasers, which we knew to be loaded to their muzzles with grape and langrage, which would be exceedingly unwelcome visitors in our defenceless situation to encounter. At this moment, three large Malay boats crowded with men, were seen coming out of the river, and to pull directly towards us. While debating what to do, and whether it would not be best to pro-

ceed at once to Muckie for assistance, which was some 25 miles distant, where we knew two or three American vessels were laying, heavy clouds commenced rolling down over the mountains, and the rumbling of distant thunder, and sharp flashes of lightning, gave sure indications that the land wind would be accompanied with deluges of rain, rendering the night, at least the first part of it, one of Egyptian darkness, in which it would be almost impossible to grope our way safely along shore towards that place. Under these discouraging prospects, Po Adam advised us to proceed to Pulo Kio, and take shelter in his fort. Submitting ourselves almost wholly to his guidance, we at once pulled away for that place, but before we reached it his heart failed him, and he represented his fort as not sufficiently strong to resist a vigorous assault, if one should be made, and would not therefore be responsible for our lives,—but suggested we should proceed to Soosoo, which being some two miles further remote from the scene of the late outrage, he concluded we might be safe. We accordingly proceeded for Soosoo river, which we had scarcely entered when Po Adam's confidence again forsook him, and he advised us not to land. We therefore only filled a keg with water from the river and came out over the bar, intending to make the best of our way to Muckie, having more confidence, after all, in the elements, than in the treacherous specimens of humanity with which we were then surrounded.

The night now came on dark and lowering, and just as we had left Soosoo river, the land wind, which had been some time retarded by a strong sea breeze, accompanied with heavy thunder and torrents of rain, overtook us, and came pelting down upon our unprotected heads. Sharp flashes of lightning occasionally shot across the gloom, which rendered the scene still more fearful. We double manned two of the oars with Mr. Barry and Po Adam, and I did the best I could to keep the boat's head down the coast, it being impossible to see any object on shore, or even to hear the surf, by which we could judge our distan-

from it. Having proceeded in this way until we began to think ourselves near North Tallapow, off which was a dangerous shoal, it became a matter of concern how we should keep clear of it. We frequently laid upon our oars and listened, to ascertain if we could hear it break, but the noise of the elements rendered it impossible. Directly we felt the boat lifted upon a high wave, which we knew immediately must be the roller upon this shoal, which passing, broke with a fearful crash some three or four hundred feet from us. It is almost unnecessary to say, had we been that distance nearer the shore, it would have been the last known of the Friendship's boat's crew, as the boat would undoubtedly have been dashed to pieces on the shoal, and all on board her must have perished. But through the kind protection of an all-merciful God, we were preserved from such a fate.

Having thus providentially passed this dangerous spot in safety, the weather began to clear a little, and here and there a star made its appearance, and looked compassionately down upon us. The off shore wind, too, became more steady and the rain ceased. To clear the boat of the quantity of water which had rained into her, now occupied our first attention, which, however, we found a slow and tedious process, as we had nothing larger than a tin pot to bail with. We also commenced ripping up some gunny bags which were left in the boat, and tying them together for a sail, under which we found the boat bounded along quite briskly; we therefore laid in our oars, all hands being now quite exhausted, and proceeded in this way the rest of the distance to Muckie, where we arrived at about 1 o'clock, A. M. We found here the ship James Monroe, Porter, of New York, brig Gov. Endicott, Jenks, of Salem, and brig Palmer, Powers, of Boston. On approaching the roads, we were first hailed from the Gov. Endicott, and to the question "What boat is that?" the response was, "the Friendship's, from Qualah Battoo," which answer was immediately followed with the question "Is that

you, Capt. Endicott?" "Yes," was the answer, "with all that are left of us." It was but the work of a moment to clamber up her sides on to her decks, where we were instantly surrounded with captain, officers and crew, all anxious to learn the particulars of our sad misfortune. We could tell them only of our own adventures; the circumstances of the capture of the ship, and the massacre of part of her crew, were to be hereafter revealed.

Having communicated with the other vessels, their commanders repaired on board the Gov. Endicott, when it was instantly concluded to proceed with their vessels to Qualah Battoo, and endeavor to recover the ship. These vessels were laying with most of their sails unbent, but their decks were quickly all life and animation, and the work of bending sails proceeded so rapidly that before 3 o'clock all the vessels were out of the roads and heading up the coast towards Qualah Battoo. Both the land and sea breeze were light throughout the day, and it was not until about the middle of the afternoon that we sighted the ship. Every arrangement was now made for her capture. It was our intention to throw as many of the crews of the Gov. Endicott and Palmer as could be prudently spared, on board the James Monroe, being the largest vessel, and proceed with her directly into the roads, and lay her alongside the Friendship, and carry her by boarding,—the other vessels following at a short distance. But as soon as we had completed all our arrangements, and while we were yet several miles outside the port, the sea breeze began to fail us, with indications that the land wind, like that of the day before, would be accompanied with heavy rain. We however stood on towards the place until the off shore wind and rain reached us, when all three vessels were obliged to anchor, and suspend further operations until the next morning. Before dark I had taken the bearings of the ship by compass, intending, if circumstances favored it, to propose a descent upon her during the night; but the heavy rain continued the most part of it, and we were baffled

in that design. The first indications of daylight found us upon the decks of the Monroe, watching for the ship, which, in the yet indistinct light, could not be discerned in the roads. The horizon in the offing was also searched unsuccessfully with our glasses; but as objects became more distinct we at last discovered her close in shore, far to the westward of her late anchorage, inside a large cluster of dangerous shoals, to which position, as it then appeared, the Malays must have removed her during the night. What I now most apprehended was that they had got her upon one of the reefs, and if so, her recapture would have been useless; but when the day had sufficiently advanced to enable us with our glasses to make a careful examination of her position, to our great relief we ascertained this was not the case. One thing was however, certain, we could not carry out our original design of running her alongside in her present situation; the navigation would be too dangerous for either of the ships, and must therefore be abandoned. At this moment we saw a Prou, or Malay trading craft, approaching the roads from the westward, with which I communicated, and of which I hired a canoe, and sent a messenger on shore to inform the Rajahs if they would give the ship up peaceably to us we would not molest them, otherwise we should fire both upon her and the town. This was considered the most advisable course; all the fleet being in pursuit of cargoes, some apprehensions began to be entertained lest hostilities should be the means of breaking up their voyages, or at least vitiating their insurance. After waiting considerable time for the return of the messenger, during which we could see boats passing close in shore from the ship loaded with plunder, we concluded this delay was only a subterfuge to gain farther time for that purpose, and we fired a gun across the bows of one of them, which arrested her progress. In a few minutes the canoe which we had sent on shore was seen putting off. The answer received, however, was one

of defiance,—“that they should not give her up so easily, but we might take her *if we could.*” All three vessels then opened their fires upon the town and ship, which was returned by the forts on shore, the Malays also firing our ship’s guns at us. The first shot from one of the forts passed between the masts of the Gov. Endicott, not 10 feet above the heads of the crew, and the second struck the water just under her counter. This vessel had been kedged in close to the shore within point blank shot of the fort, with springs upon her cable, determined on making every gun tell. The spirited manner in which their fire was returned soon silenced this fort, which mounted 6 six-pounders and several small brass pieces. It appeared afterward, by the testimony of one of my crew, who was confined here, that the firing was so effectual that it dismounted their guns and split the carriages. The other two forts, which were situated at a greater distance from the beach, continued firing, and no progress was made towards recapturing the ship, which, after all, was our only object. It was now between 3 and 4 o’clock; and the land wind began to make demonstrations of another rainy night, and it was certain if the Malays were allowed to hold possession of the ship much longer, they would either get her on shore, or burn her. We then held a council of war on board the Monroe, and concluded to board her with as large a force as we could carry in three boats; and that the command of the expedition should of course devolve upon me. Just at this juncture the ship ceased firing, and we observed a column of smoke rise from her decks abreast the mainmast, and that there appeared to be great confusion on board. We subsequently ascertained that they blew themselves up by setting fire to an open keg of powder, from which they were loading the guns, after having expended all the cartridges. Everything being in readiness for our expedition, we pushed off. The ship lay with her port side towards us, and, with the intention of

getting out of the range of her guns, pulled to the westward at an angle of some 33 deg., until we opened her starboard bow, when we bore up in three divisions for boarding, one at each gangway, and the other over the bows. We were now before the wind, and two oars in each boat were sufficient to propel them; the rest of the crew, armed to the teeth with muskets, cutlasses and pistols, sat quietly in their places, with their muskets pointed at the ship as the boats approached. The Malays now, for the first time, seemed to comprehend our design, and as we neared the ship, were struck with consternation, and commenced deserting her with all possible dispatch, and in the greatest confusion. The numerous boats of all descriptions, alongside, were immediately filled, and those who could find no other means of conveyance, jumped overboard and swam for the shore. The beach was consequently lined with boats, and the Malays took to the jungle with the greatest precipitation, so that when we reached the ship, there was, to all appearance, no one on board. Still fearing some treachery, we approached her with the same caution, and boarded her, cutlass in hand, in the same order we should have done had we known her to be full of men.— Having reached her decks, and finding them deserted, before we laid aside our arms a strict search was instituted throughout the ship, with instructions to cut down any who should be found, and give no quarter. But she was completely forsaken,—not a soul on board. Her appearance, at the time we boarded her, defies description; suffice it to say, every part of her bore ample testimony of the scene of violence and destruction with which she had been visited. That many lives had been sacrificed, her blood-stained decks abundantly testified. We found her within pistol-shot of the beach, with most of her sails cut loose, and flying from the yards. Why they had not succeeded in their attempts to get her on shore, was soon apparent. A riding turn in the chain around the windlass, which they were not sailors enough to clear, had no doubt prevented it.

There had been evidently a fruitless attempt to cut it off. While we were clearing the chain, and preparing to kedge the ship off into the roads, the Malays, still bent upon annoying us, and unwilling to abandon their prize, were seen drawing a gun over the sandy beach upon a drag, directly under our stern, which, having fired, it jumped off the carriage and was abandoned. The rain, with the land wind, now set in again; it was, however, the work of but a short time to kedge the ship off into deep water, and anchor her in comparative security alongside the other ships in the roads.

The next morning a canoe was seen approaching the *James Monroe*, from Pulo Kio, with five or six men in her, whom we took, as a matter of course, to be natives; but we were soon bailed from that ship, and informed that four of the number were a part of our own crew. I proceeded immediately on board and found them to be Wm. Parnell, John Muzzey, Sigurdson Warren, seamen, and Wm. Bray, carpenter. Their haggard and equalled appearance bespoke what they had suffered. It would have been impossible that in the space of four days, men could, by any casualty, so entirely lose their identity. They bore no resemblance to their former selves, and it was only by asking their names that I knew either of them. They were without clothing, other than loose pieces of cotton cloth thrown over their persons, their hair matted, their bodies emaciated and burnt in large, running blisters, besides having been nearly devoured by mosquitoes, the poison of whose stings had left evident traces of its virulence; their flesh wasted away, and even the very tones of their voices were changed. It is no exaggeration to say their appearance forcibly reminded me of the print of Capt. Riley and his men, at their first interview with Mr. Willsbire, under the palace walls, near Mogadore. The few pieces of cloth, which covered their nakedness, being all their flesh could bear, and these it was necessary first to oil, to enable them to do even that. They had been wandering about in the

jungle without food ever since the ship was taken, and the story of their sufferings was a painful one. Their account of the capture of the ship was as follows:—When the pepper-boat came alongside, it was observed by the crew that all on board her were strangers, and not one was recognized as having been off to the ship before. They were also better dressed than boatmen generally, all of them having on white or yellow jackets, and new ivory-handled creises. No notice appeared to be taken of these suspicious circumstances by the mate, and all except two men, who were left to pass up pepper, were admitted indiscriminately to come on board. One of the crew, named Wm. Parnell, who was stationed at the gangway to pass along pepper, made some remark, to call his attention to the number of natives on board, and was answered in a gruffy manner, and asked if he was afraid. No, replied the man, not afraid; but I know it to be contrary to the regulations of the ship. He was ordered, with an oath, to pass along pepper, and mind his own business. The natives were also seen by the crew sharpening their creises upon the grindstone, which stood upon the fore-castle, and a man named Chester, who was subsequently killed while starting pepper down the fore-hatch, asked them in pantomime, for he could not speak the language, what so many of them wanted on board, and was answered in the same way, that they came off to see the ship. He was heard by one of the crew to say, "we must look out you do not come for anything worse," at the same time drawing a handspike within his reach. The Malays had distributed themselves about the decks in the most advantageous manner for an attack, and at some preconcerted signal a simultaneous assault upon the crew was made in every part of the ship. Two Malays were seen by the steward to rush with their creises upon Mr. Knight, who was very badly stabbed in the back and side, the weapons appearing to be buried in his body, up to their very hilts.—Chester, at the fore hatch, notwithstanding his distrust and precaution, was killed out-

right, and supposed to have fallen into the hold. The steward, at the galley, was also badly wounded, and was only saved from death by the creis striking hard against a short-rib, which took the force of the blow. Of the two men on the stage over the ship's side, one was killed, and the other so badly wounded as to be made a cripple for life. The chief officer was seen, after he was stabbed, to rush aft upon the starboard side of the quarter deck, and endeavor to get a boarding pike out of the becketts, abreast the mizzen rigging, where he was met by Parnell, to whom he exclaimed, "*do your duty*;" at the same instant two or three Malays rushed upon him, and he was afterwards seen lying dead near the same spot, with the boarding pike under him. On the instant the crew found the ship attacked, they attempted to get aft into the cabin for arms, but the Malays had placed a guard on each side of the companion-way, which prevented them; they then rushed forward for handspikes, and were again intercepted; and being completely bewildered, surprised and defenceless, and knowing that several of their shipmates had already been killed outright before their eyes, and others wounded, all who could swim plunged overboard, and the others took to the rigging, or crept over the bows out of sight. The decks were now cleared, and the pirates had full possession of the ship.

The men in the water then consulted together what they should do, concluding it certain death to return to the ship; and they determined it would be the safest to swim on shore, and secrete themselves in the jungle;—but as they approached it they observed the beach about Qualah Battoo lined with natives, and they proceeded more to the westward, and landed upon a point called Ouj'ong Lamah Moodah, nearly two miles distant from the ship. On their way they had divested themselves of every article of clothing, and they were entirely naked at the time they landed. As it was not yet dark, they sought safety and seclusion in the jungle, from whence they emerged as soon as they thought it safe, and

walked upon the beach in the direction of Cape Felix and Annalaboo, intending to make the best of their way to the latter place, with the hope of meeting there some American vessel, on board which they would find shelter and protection. At the approach of daylight they sought a hiding-place again in the bushes; but it afforded them only a partial protection from the scorching rays of the sun, from which, being entirely naked, they experienced the most dreadful effects. Hunger and thirst began also to make demands upon them; but no food could anywhere be found. They tried to eat grass, but their stomachs refused it. They found a few husks of the cocoanut, which they chewed, endeavoring to extract some nourishment from them, but in vain. They staid in their hiding-place the whole of this day, and saw Malays passing along the beach, but were afraid to discover themselves. At night they pursued their journey again, during which they passed several small streams, where they slaked their thirst, but obtained no food. About midnight they came to a very broad river, which they did not venture to cross. The current was very rapid, and they had no means of conveyance other than their own limbs, and having been 36 hours without food of any kind, they did not dare attempt it. This river I have always supposed to be Qualah Toepah, about midway between Cape Felix and Annalaboo. Here, then, they were put completely *hors de combat*; they found for want of food their energies were fast giving way, and still they believed their lives depended on not being discovered. I have since been struck with the remarks of Dr. Kane, on the effects of a want of food, which are so much like the account given by my men, that I cannot refrain from inserting it. "The first symptom," says he, does not show itself in hunger, but in a loss of power often so imperceptibly brought on that it becomes evident only by an accident,"—such, for instance, as the inability felt to cross this river. Since further progress towards Annalaboo appeared impossible, they resolved

to retrace their steps, endeavor to pass Qualah Battoo in the night, without being discovered, and reach the hospitable residence of Po Adam, at Pulo Kio. They accordingly took up their line of march towards that place, immediately, and reached, as they supposed, the neighborhood of Cape Felix by the morning, when they again retreated to the jungle, where they lay concealed another day, being Wednesday, the day of the recapture of the ship, but at too great distance to hear the firing. At night they again resumed their journey, and having reached the spot where the Malays landed in so much haste when they deserted the ship, they found the beach covered with canoes, a circumstance which aroused their suspicions, but for which they were at a loss to account. They now concluded each to take a canoe, as the most certain way of passing Qualah Battoo without discovery, and so proceeded to Pulo Kio. As they passed the roads, they heard one of the ship's bells strike the hour, and the well-known cry of "*All's well*," but fearing it was some decoy of the natives, they would not approach her, but proceeded on their way, and landed at Pulo Kio, secreting themselves once more in the jungle, near the residence of Po Adam, until the morning, when four naked and half-famished white men were seen to emerge from the bushes, and approach his fort with feeble steps, who, as soon as recognized, were welcomed by him with the strongest demonstrations of delight; slapping his hands, shouting at the top of his lungs, and in the exuberance of his joy committing all kinds of extravagances. They now heard of the recapture of the ship, and the escape of the boat's crew on shore, which it had never occurred to them were not already numbered with the dead. They were clothed as we have described, and a breakfast of boiled rice prepared, being the first food that they had tasted for the period of 72 hours. Having refreshed themselves, they were conveyed by Adam and his men on board the James Munroe, in the pitiful condition of which we have before spoken.

In the course of the latter part of the same day, another canoe, with a white flag displayed, was observed approaching the fleet from the direction of Qualah Battoo, containing three or four Chinamen, who informed us that four of our men, two of whom were wounded, one very severely, were at their houses on shore, where their wounds had been dressed, and they had been otherwise cared for; and that we could ransom them of the Rajahs at ten dollars each. To this I readily agreed, and they were soon brought off to the ship in a sampan, and proved to be Charles Converse and Gregorie Pedechio, seamen, Lorenzo Migell, cook, and William Francis, steward. Converse was laid out at full length upon a board, as if dead,—evidently very badly wounded. The story of the poor fellow was a sad one. He, with John Davis, being the two tallest men in the ship, were on the stage over the side when she was attacked. Their first impulse was, to gain the ship's decks, but were defeated in this design by the pirates, who stood guard over the gangway, and making repeated thrusts at them. They then made a desperate attempt to pass over the pepper-boat, and thus gain the water, in doing which they were both most severely wounded. Having reached the water, Converse swam round to the ship's bows, and grasped the chain, to which he clung as well as he was able, being badly crippled in one of his hands, with other severe wounds in various parts of his body. When it became dark, he crawled up over the bows as well as his exhausted strength from the loss of blood would permit, and crept to the foot of the fore-castle stairs, where he supposed he must have fainted, and fell prostrate upon the floor without the power of moving himself one inch further. The Malays believing him dead, took no heed of him, but travelled up and down over his body the whole night. Upon attempting to pass over the boat, after being foiled in his endeavor to reach the ship's decks, a native made a pass at his head with his "*parrung*," a weapon

resembling most a butcher's cleaver, which he warded off by throwing up his naked arm, and the force of the blow fell upon the outer part of his hand, severing all the bones and sinews belonging to three of his fingers, and leaving untouched only the fore finger and thumb. Besides this he received a creis wound in the back, which must have penetrated to the stomach, from whence he bled from his mouth the most part of the night. He was likewise very badly wounded in the ham just below the groin, which came so nearly through the leg as to discolor the flesh upon the inside. Wonderful, however, to relate, notwithstanding the want of proper medical advice, and with nothing but the unskillful treatment of 3 or 4 ship masters, the thermometer ranging all the time, from 85 to 90 deg., this man recovered from his wounds, but in his crippled hand, he carried the marks of Malay perfidy to his watery grave, having been drowned at sea from on board of the brig Fair American, in the winter of 1833-4, which was, no doubt, occasioned by this wound, which unfitted him for holding on properly while afloat.

The fate of his companion Davis, was a tragical one. He could not swim, and after reaching the water was seen to struggle hard to gain the boat's tackle fall at the stern, to which he clung until the Malays dropped the pepper boat astern, when he was observed apparently imploring mercy at their hands, which the wretches did not heed, but butchered him upon the spot. Gregory was the man seen aloft when we had cleared the river, cutting strange antics which we did not at the time comprehend. By his account, when he reached the fore topgallant yard, the pirates commenced firing the ship's muskets at him, which he dodged by getting over the front side of the yard and sail and down upon the collar of the stay, and then reversing the movement. John Masury related that after being wounded in the side, he crept over the bows of the ship and down upon an anchor, where he was sometime employed in dodging the thrusts of

a boarding pike in the hands of a Malay, until the arrival of a reinforcement from the shore, when every one fearing lest he should not get his full share of plunder, ceased further to molest the wounded. The story of the steward has already been told.

The ship, the first night after her capture, according to the testimony of these men, was a perfect pandemonium, and a Babel of the most discordant sounds. The ceaseless moaning of the surf upon the adjacent shore, the heavy peals of thunder, and sharp flashings of lightning directly over their heads,—the sighing of the wind in wild discords through the rigging, like the wailings of woe from the manes of their murdered shipmates; and all this intermingled with the more earthly sounds of the squealing of pigs, the screeching of fowls, the cackling of roosters, the unintelligible jargon of the natives, jangling and vociferating, with horrible laughter, shouts and yells, in every part of her, and in the boats alongside carrying off plunder; their black figures unexpectedly darting forth from every unseen quarter, as if rising up and again disappearing through the decks, and gambolling about in the dark, so like a saturnalia of demons, that it was easy to fancy the fumes of sulphur were actually invading their olfactories, and the whole scene more fully realized their ideas of the infernal regions, than any thing with which their imaginations could compare it. It is the general impression that Malays, being Mussulmen, have a holy horror of swine, as unclean animals; the very touch of which imposes many ablutions, and abstaining from food for several days together,—but, according to the testimony of my men, it was perfectly marvellous how they handled, that night, those on board our ship,—going into their pens, seizing, struggling, and actually *embracing* them, until they succeeded in throwing every one overboard.

The morning succeeding her capture, affairs on board appeared to be getting to be a little more settled, when several Chinamen came off and performed the part of good Samaritans,

in taking the wounded men on shore to their houses, and dressing their wounds with some simple remedies, which at least kept down inflammation. In doing this, however, they were obliged to barricade their dwellings, to guard them against the insulting annoyances of the natives.

Qualah Battoo bazar that day presented a ludicrous spectacle. Almost every Malay was decked out in a white, blue, red, checked, or striped shirt, or some other European article of dress or manufacture, stolen from the ship, not even excepting the woolen table cloth belonging to the cabin, which was seen displayed over the shoulders of a native,—all seemingly quite proud of their appearance, and strutting about with a solemn gravity and oriental self-complacency, that was perfectly ludicrous. Their novel and grotesque appearance could not fail to suggest the idea that a tribe of monkeys had made a descent upon some unfortunate clothing establishment, and each to have seized and carried off whatever article of dress was most suited to his taste and fancy.

According to Gregory, who, not being wounded, remained on board, the ship was all day filled with Malays searching into every possible nook and cranny where they thought money might be secreted, and carrying off the veriest trifles which could be of no use to them. In the afternoon, on the appearance of the fleet from Muckie, they were determined on running her ashore, lest she should be re-taken, and with that view commenced weighing anchor, and everything for some time gave assurances of the fulfilment of their wishes.—The ship was already drifting towards the beach, when the anchor came in sight, and they let go the chain, ceased heaving at the windlass, and made a rush forward to see it. At this moment the weight of the anchor caused the chain to commence running out with great velocity, and when some 12 or 13 fathoms had thus disappeared, it jumped, and caught a riding turn around the windlass, which brought it to a stand. Poor Gregory

was now brought forward to clear it,—but he persisted it was past his skill, which of course they did not believe, and tied him in the rigging, and made demonstrations of ripping him open, flourishing their knives in fearful proximity about his person in a state of great exasperation. They next made a fruitless attempt to cut it off with the cook's axe. Thus matters stood, when the land wind with heavy rain set in, and the natives sought shelter in the cabin, leaving the ship to her fate; and she drifted to the westward into shoal water, where the anchor again took hold and brought her up in the place we discovered her the next morning, and where we boarded and took possession of her. Gregory was then taken on shore, and confined in the fort, which was silenced by the Gov. Endicott.

The ship was now once more in our possession, with what remained of her cargo and crew. She was rifled of almost every movable article on board, and scarcely anything but her pepper remaining. Of our outward cargo every dollar of specie, and every pound of opium had of course become a prey to them. All her spare sails and rigging were gone—not a needle or ball of twine, palm, marling spike, or piece of rope were left! All our charts, chronometers and other nautical instruments—all our clothing and bedding, were also gone; as well as our cabin furniture and small stores of every description. Our ship's provisions, such as beef, pork and most of our bread, had, however, been spared. Of our armament nothing but the large guns remained. Every pistol, musket, cutlass, and boarding pike, with our entire stock of powder, had been taken.

With assistance from the other vessels we immediately began making the necessary preparations to leave the port with all possible dispatch, but owing to much rainy weather we did not accomplish it for three days after recapturing the ship, when we finally succeeded in leaving the place in company with the fleet bound for South Tallapow, where we arrived on the 14th February. When we landed at this place with the other masters and super-

cargoes, we were followed through the streets of the bazar by the natives in great crowds; exulting and hooting, with exclamations similar to these,—“Who great man now, Malay or American?” “How many man American dead?” “How many man Malay dead?”

We now commenced in good earnest to prepare our ship for sea. Our voyage had been broken up, and there was nothing left for us but to return to the United States. We finally left Muckie, whither we had already proceeded, on the 27th February, for Pulo Kio, accompanied by ship *Delphos*, Capt. James D. Gillis, and the Gov. *Endicott*, Capt. Jenks, where I was yet in hopes to recover some of my nautical instruments. With the assistance of Po Adam, I succeeded in obtaining, for a moderate sum, my sextant and one of my chronometers, which enabled me to navigate the ship. We sailed from Pulo Kio on the 4th of March, and arrived at Salem on the 16th of July. The intense interest and excitement caused by our arrival may still be remembered. It being nearly calm, as we approached the harbor, we were boarded several miles outside by crowds of people, all anxious to learn the most minute particulars of our sad misfortune, the news of which had preceded us by the arrival of a China ship at New York, which we had met at St. Helena. The curiosity of some of our visitors was so great that they would not be satisfied until they knew the exact spot where every man stood, who was either killed or wounded. Even the casing of the cabin, so much cut up in search of money, or other valuables, was an object of the greatest interest.

But the feeling of presumptuous exultation and proud defiance exhibited by the natives, was of brief duration. The avenger was at hand. In something less than a year after this outrage, the U. S. Frigate, *Potomac*, Com. Downes, appeared off the port of Qualah Battoo, and anchored in the outer roads, disguised as a merchantman. Every boat which visited her from the shore was detained, that her character might not be made known to the natives. Several amusing anecdotes were told, of the

fear and terror exhibited in the countenances of the natives, when they so unexpectedly found themselves imprisoned within the wooden walls of the Potomac, surrounded by such a formidable armament, which bespoke the errand that had attracted her to their shores. They prostrated themselves at full length upon her decks, trembling in the most violent manner, and appearing to think nothing but certain death awaited them—which it required all the efforts of the officers to dispel.

A reconnoitering party was first sent on shore, professedly for the purpose of traffic.— But when they approached, the natives came down to the beach in such numbers, it excited their suspicions that her character and errand had somehow preceded her, and it was considered prudent not to land. Having, therefore, examined the situation of the forts and the means of defence, they returned to the frigate. The same night some 300 men, under the guidance of Mr. Barry, the former 2d officer of the *Friendship*, who was assistant sailing-master of the frigate, landed to the westward of the place, with the intention of surprising the forts and the town, but by some unaccountable delay, the morning was just breaking when the detachment had effected a landing, and as they were marching along the beach towards the nearest fort, a Malay came out of it, by whom they were discovered, and an alarm given. They however pushed on, and captured the forts by storm, after some hard fighting, and set fire to the town, which was burnt to ashes. The natives, not even excepting the women, fought with great desperation in the forts, many of whom would not yield until shot down or sabred on the spot. The next day the frigate was dropped in within gunshot, and bombarded the place, to impress them with the power and ability of the United States to avenge any act of piracy, or other indignity offered by them to her flag.— When I visited the coast again, some five months after this event, I found the deportment of the natives materially changed. There was now no longer exhibited either arrogance

or proud defiance. All appeared impressed with the irresistible power of a nation that could send such tremendous engines of war as the Potomac frigate upon their shores, to avenge any wrongs committed upon its vessels; and that it would in future be better policy for them to attend to their pepper plantations, and cultivate the arts of peace, than subject themselves to such severe retribution as had followed this act of piracy upon the *Friendship*.

Perhaps, in justice to Po Adam, I ought to remark, before closing, that the account circulated by his countrymen of his conniving at, if not being actually connected with this piracy, a falsehood with which they found the means of deceiving several American Ship-Masters, soon after the affair, is a base calumny against a worthy man, and has no foundation whatever in truth. The property he had in my possession on board the ship, in gold ornaments of various kinds, besides money, amounting to several thousand dollars, all of which he lost by the capture of the ship, and never recovered, bears ample testimony to the falsity of this charge. His countrymen also worked upon the avarice and cupidity of the king by misrepresentations of his exertions to recover the ship, thereby preventing them from making him a present of her, which they pretended was their intention. His sable majesty, in consequence, absolved every one of his debtors, all along the coast, from paying him their debts. He also confiscated all his property he could find, such as fishing-boats, nets and lines, and other fishing tackle, and appropriated the proceeds to his own use, so that he was at once reduced to penury. All this was in accordance with Commodore Bieulieu's account, already cited, upwards of two hundred years before, viz: "If they even *suspect* that any one bears them an ill will, they endeavor to ruin him by false accusations." The king also sent a small schooner down the coast, soon after, to reap further vengeance upon Po Adam. Arriving at Pulo Kio, while Adam was absent, they rifled his fort of everything

valuable, and even took the ornaments, such as armlets and anklets, off the person of his wife. Intelligence having been conveyed to Po Adam of this outrage, he arrived home in the night before the schooner had left the harbor, and incensed, as it was natural he should be, at such base and cowardly treatment, he immediately opened a fire upon her and sunk her in nine feet of water. She was afterwards fished up by the Potomac frigate, and converted into fire-wood.

We do not know if Po Adam is now living, but some sixteen years since, we saw a letter from him to one of our eminent merchants,* asking for assistance from our citizens, and stating truthfully all the facts in his case. I endeavored at the time, through our then representative to Congress, to bring the matter before that body, but from some cause it did not succeed, and the poor fellow has been allowed to live, if not to die, in his penury. We will, however, permit him to state his own case, in his own language, which he does in the following letter, written at his own dictation :—

QUALAH BATTOO, 7th October, 1841.

Some years have passed since the capture of the Friendship, commanded by my old friend, Capt. Endicott.

It perhaps is not known to you, that, by saving the life of Capt. Endicott, and the ship itself from destruction, I became, in consequence, a victim to the hatred and vengeance of my misguided countrymen; some time since, the last of my property was set on fire and destroyed, and now, for having been the steadfast friend of Americans, I am not only destitute, but an object of derision to my countrymen.

You, who are so wealthy and so prosperous, I have thought, that, if acquainted with these distressing circumstances, that you would not turn a deaf ear to my present condition.

I address myself to you, because through my agency many of your ships have obtained cargoes, but I respectfully beg that you will have the kindness to state my case to the rich pepper merchants of Salem and Boston, firmly believing that from their generosity, and your

own, I shall not have reason to regret the warm and sincere friendship ever displayed towards your Captains, and all other Americans, trading on this Coast.

I take the liberty, also, to subjoin a copy of a letter,* recently received from Capt. Hammond, of the ship Maria, of New York; as he left this place lately, it will show whether I have been telling you otherwise than the melancholy truth, or grieve without a cause.

Wishing you, Sir, and your old companions in the Sumatra trade, and their Captains, health and prosperity, and trusting that, before many moons I shall, through your assistance, be released from my present wretched condition, believe me very respectfully,

Your faithful servant,

(signed) PO ADAM, in Arabic characters.

Copy of the letter from Capt. Hammond above referred to :

Soosoo, 21 July, 1841.

To the Commander of any U. S. Ship of War, touching on the West Coast of Sumatra :

This may certify that the bearer, Po Adam, at present residing at Qualah Battoo, has applied to me to write this statement of his situation, that he can present it as above.

I therefore state the following : I have been acquainted with him for the last twenty-five years, and have known him in prosperity and in adversity the same. It is well known that he was the principal means of saving the life of Capt. Charles M. Endicott, with his boat's crew, at the time that they captured the Friendship, of Salem, and by that act he has lost his property, and incurred the hatred and jealousy of the Acheenise. He is the most intelligent man among them, and one of the best pilots; is ever ready to render assistance to any American, and as he is at present very destitute, it would be an act of charity, as well as duty, if the American Government would assist him in his present circumstances.

He wishes to proceed to the United States to visit his old friends, and wishes to go in some Ship of War, of our nation. I hope his request may be granted, as he would there find influential men to represent his case to the Government of the United States.

(signed,)

JOHN HAMMOND,

Master of the ship Maria, of New York, and a resident of Salem.

*To Joseph Peabody, Esq., of Salem, Mass.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS, OF
THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

John Attwater, sonne of Mr. Jno. Attwater, borne by Mehittabell his wife, 20th day of December, 1687.—sone Francis borne 2d October, 1690.

Jno. Adams—his daughter Elizabeth, borne by Sarah his wife, the 20th October, 1682.—his daughter Sarah borne 13th October, 1684. Mary born 15 February, 1687.—John born March 16, 1689 —Margarett Borne March the 8th, 1695-6.—1st daught'r, Margarett, Borne Feb'y 11, 1692. & deceased May 14th 1694.

Ebenezer Abby, son of Samuel Abby & Mary, his wife, was borne at Salem Village July the 31st, 1683, cue. Marcy Abby, daughter as abovesaid, was borne the first of March, 1684-5, cue.—Sarah Abby, daughter as abovesd, was born July 4th, 16—. Hepsibah Abby, Daughter as abovesd, was born February 14th 1688-9.—Abigail Abby, Daughter as abovesd, was born November 19th 1690.—John Abby, son, as abovesd, was born June 4th, 1692.—Ben'jn Abby, son as abovesd, was born the 4th of June, 1694.

Sarah Archer, daughter of Stephen Archer & Sarah his wife, born at Salem, 24 June, 1698.

Phillip Attwood & Sarah Tenney, (now of Bradford,) was married July 23d, 1684.

Mary Abbot, daughter of Robt. & Mary Abbot, was born Sept. 28th, 1706.

Samuel Andrew, son of Wm. Andrew & Seth his wife, was borne 4th August, 1693.

Jonath'n Ashby, son of Benja. Ashby & Hanah his wife, was borne 28th September, 1694.

Abigail Allin, daughter of Joseph Allin & Abigail his wife, was borne at Salem June the first, 1696.

Eliza Backster, daughter of Danyell Backster, by Eliza, his wife, was born 7 mo., 1644—their dau'r Susanna 7 mo., 1646—their dau'r Rebecca born 11th mo.—their daug'r Prissilla born in June, 1652.

Mary, dau'r of Tho's Barnes, by Mary his wife, born the 12th of 8th mo., 1658, & died ye 14 8 mo., 1660.—their dau'r Mary born 19th March, 1661.

Isaac Burnap Married to Hanna Antrum by Major Hathorne, 8th 9 mo, 1658.

James, son of Mr. William Browne, born by Sara his wife, 28th 10 mo., 1658, & died 6 mo.

John Browne, Jun. Married to Hanna Hubbard by Leift Lothrop, 2d June, 1658—their son, John born ye 4th 2d mo., 1659, & died ye 21st 3d mo., 1659.

Mary, dau'r of Sam'l Belknap, born by Sara his wife ye 17th 6 mo., 1658, & Mary borne 14th 8th mo., 1656.

The wife of Old Rich'd Bishop died 24th 6 mo., 1658.

Mr. Henry Bartholomew, his daughter Sara, born by Elizabeth, his wife, ye 29th 11th mo., 1658.

Benjamin-Bulflower, died ye 24th 12th mo., 1660.

Jeremiah Bootsman and Hester Lambert were Married by Major Hathorne, 8th of 8th mo., 1659.—their dau Mary born 4th July, 1660, son Jeremy born 4th November, 1662, son Mathew born 11th September, 1665.

Mr. William Browne, son John borne about 10th 8th mo., 1669.—son Joseph borne in the month of August, 1672, son Benjamin borne in August, 1674.

George Burch—his dau'r Mary, born by Eliza his wife, ye 30th 9 mo., 1659.—dau'r Eliza born 4th June, 1662.—dau'r Mary deceased 20th 12th mo., 1662.—son John born 28 May, 1664.

Jacob Barny & Hana Johnson maryed by Major Hathorne, 18th 6th mo., 1657.—their daugh'tr Hana born 30th 3d mo., 1659.—Hana the wife, dyed 5th 4 mo., 1659.

Jacob Barny & Ann Witt were maryed by Capt. Marshall 26th 2d mo., 1660.—their 2d dau'r, Hana, born 2 March, 1660.—Sarah born 12th 7th mo., 1662. Abigaile born 3d 8th mo., 1663.—John born 1st 6 mo., 1665. Jacob 21st 3d mo., 1667.—Ruth born 27th 7th mo., 1669.

Richard Bishop married to widow Golt, by Maj. Hathorne, 22d 5th mo., 1660.—the wife Dulsabell died ye 23d 6th mo., 1658.—Richard Bishop deceased 30th 10th mo., 1674.

Anthonyne Buxston—his son Anthony born ye 6th 7th mo., 1653, by Eliza his wife.—their son Samuell born 14th 6th mo., 1655.—their son James born 8th 6th mo., 1659.—their son Tho's born 24th 12 mo., '61.—son James died 15th 8th mo., 1662.—Tho's died 20 8th mo., 1662.—their son Joseph born ye 17 5 mo., 1663.—dau'r Hanna born 27 January, 1665.

James Betty, his Dau'r Mary born by Sara his wife 9th 9th mo., 1661.

Cornelius Baker maryed to Hanna Woodbery, 26th April, 1658.—their Daughter Hana born 14th 8 mo., 1660, & died 6th November, 1662.—2d dau'r Hanna born 28 9 mo., 1662.

John Buttolph Maryed to Hana Gardner ye 16th 8th mo., 1663, by Major Hathorne.—their son John borne 11th 7th mo., 1664, & died ye 23d Aprill, 1665.—son Jona. born 9th 2d mo., 16—

Sam'l, son of John Browne, Jun'r, borne by Hana his wife, ye 14th 1st mo., 1662, & died ye 31st 10th mo., 1663.—son John born ye 21st 12th mo., 1661, before.—son Peeter March, 1664, & died about 3 mo. after.—Abiell born 21st March, 1672-3.

John Bly & Rebecka Golt were Maryed by Majo. Hathorne the 11th of 9 mo., 1663.—their son John borne 27th January, 1664.

Henry Bullock, ye elder, dyed the 27th 10th mo., 1663.

Abram, son of Sam'l Belknap, by Sara his wife, born 4 4th mo., 1660.—son Samuel borne 2d 3d mo., 1662.

John Barnett (alias Barbant,) Married to Mary Bishop, 14th 8th mo., 1661.—their Dau'r Mary born 30th 8th mo., 1662.—their Dau'r Familiiar born 26th 7 mo., 1664.—Dau'r Eliza born 5th July, 1666.

Jonathan Brown Maryed Abyhaile Burrell, by ye worshipfull Mr. Symonds, 28 4 mo., 1664.

James Browne Married with Hannah Bar-

tholmew, by Majo. Hathorne, the 5th 7 mo., 1664.—son James bo. 3d 12th mo., '65.—their son Bartholmew borne 31 March, 1669.—son James deceased 10th mo., 1670. Daughter Elizabeth born the 26th January, '70.—Daughter Hanna born 9th March, 1672.—son James born 23d May, '75.

Edmond Bridges, his Daughter Hanna born 9th June, 1669.

Abigail Beadle, daughter of Samuel Beadle, born by Susana his wife, ye 24th 7th mo., '61, and deceased 14th 8th mo., '61.

Susana, wife of Samuel Beadle, deceased 13th 12 mo., '62.—ye said Samuel deceased ye 10th March, '63.

Samuel Beachum, son of Edward Beachum, deceased 20 9 mo., '62. Mary, the wife of Edward Beachum, deceased March 1667-8.—their daughter Mary deceased the same week.

Mr. William Brown, Jun'r, Married to Hana Corwin by Maj. Hathorne, 29th 10 mo., '64.—son William borne ye 28 July, 1666.

Ruth, dau'r of Christopher Babadg by Agnes his wife. bo. 21 1st mo., '63.—their son Jon borne 15th April, 1666.—Agnes his wife deceased the 17th November, 1667.—the said Christopher Babadg & Hana Carlton, Widow, were married the 5th 8th mo. 1674.—their daughter Hanna borne the 15th July, 1675.—daughter Mary borne 1st March, 1676-7.

Danyell Bacon married to Susan Spencer by Major Hathorne, ye 1st August, 1664.—their son Danyell bo. 14th October, '65.—daughter Alice bo. 28th 8th mo., '69, & deceased about 7 weeks after.—dau'r Susana born ye 18th July, 1670.—Mary borne 8th June, 1673.—

Ed'd Bush & Mary Hidz maryed by Maj. Hathorne, 17th Octo., '65.—their son Edward bo. the 2d 7th mo., '67, & died ye 5th 12 mo., '67.

Thomas Barnes, his son Benjamin born by Mary his wife, 1st Octob. '55.—their son Tho's bo. ye year '57, & died ye same year; the said Thomas Barnes the elder, was drown'd December, ('63.)

John Balden & Arrabella Norman were married by Maj. Dennison in Sept., 1664.—da Hana bo. 15th October, 1667.—John borne the 26 9th mo., 1668.

Thomas, son of Tho's Cromwell, deceased 16 March, '63.

John Buttolph, his son George borne by Hana his wife, the 15th of October, 1667.

Thomas Brackett, his son Joseph deceased May ye 15, 16—his daughter Lidea deceased 1 January, '67.—son Thomas deceased the 15th January, 1667.

Mr. William Browne, Jr., his son William deceased 24th 8th mo., 1666.—his daughter Hana, by Hana his wife, borne ye 16th March, 1667—8.—dau'r Hana deceased 30 4 mo., '68. their son Samuel borne by Hana his wife, 8 8th mo., 1669.—son William borne 5th 7th mo., '71.—son of John borne ye 2.9 mo., 1672.—son William deceased 18, 7, 72.—daughter Sara borne the 10th 10mo., 1674.

John Baxter & Abigaile Whiterig were married by Maj. Deneson, 25th November, 1667. their son John borne the 14th 10 mo., 1668.—their daughter Abigaill ye 15th 10th mo., 1670, their daughter Elizabeth the 25th May, 1673.—Mary borne the 26 10 mo., 1674.—the sd Mary died the 19th 7th mo., 1675.

John Browne & Hanna Collens were married the 27th of January, 1668.—their daughter Prissilla borne 1st 4 mo., '69.—Margarett borne 23d April, 1671.—Joseph borne 11th 7 mo., 1673.—Hanah Collens borne 22d July, 1678.—their son William born first of December, 1677.—Daugh'er Mary borne 4 January, 1692.

John Buxton & Mary Small were married by Maj'r Hathorne 30th of March, 1668.—their daughter Mary borne 3d 7th mo., 1669. Elizabeth borne ye 13th August, 1672.—son John borne the 29th 9th mo., 1675.—Mary his wife deceased the 27th 11th mo., 1675.

Samuel Beadle married to Hana Lemon the 20th June, 1668.—their son Nathaniel borne the 29th of March, 1669.—Samuel borne 11th 8th mo., 1672.—son Thomas borne 28th 9th

mo., 1673.—daughter Susanna borne 20th of April, 1676.—their son Thomas deceased the 20th May, 1676.

Mrs. Sarah Batter, the wife of Mr. Edmond Batter, deceased the 20th of the 9th mo., 1669.

Mr. Edmond Batter & Mrs. Mary Gookin were married ye 8th June, 1670.—their son Edmond borne the 8th January, 1673.

Edward Beachum & Elizabeth Metcalf were married the 8th of November, 1670.

John Best & Susana Durm were married ye 10th of 8th mo., 1670.—their son John ye 5th 7th mo., 1672.—daughter Susana borne the 28th 11 mo., 1673.

Joseph Boyce & Sarah Meachum were married 4th 12 mo., 1667.—their daughter Sara was borne 4th 10 mo., 1668.

Thomas Browning Deceased in February, 1670.

Nathaniel Beadle & Mary Hix were married the 20th of April, 1670.—his son Thomas borne by Mary his wife, 21st 11th mo., 1671. daughter Mary borne 20th 9th mo., 1673.—son Nathaniel borne the 17th 10th mo., 1675. their son John borne the 29th 2d mo., 1678. daughter Elizabeth borne the 25 October, 1679.—their son John ye second borne ye 12th August, 1683.

Peeter Baldin & Rachell Dellocloe, widow, were married by Major William Hathorne, ye 27th May, 1672.

Thomas Bouenton & Sara Sothwick were married ye 30th 10th mo.. '70.—their son Thomas Borne 1st March. 1671.—son Benjamin borne 24 July, 1675.—their Daughter Abigail borne the 25th July, 1695.

Thomas Burt & Mary Sothwick were married the 18 9th mo., '72.

Jacob Barney, Jun'r, his daughter Dorcas borne by Ann his wife, 22d 2d mo., 1671.—their son Joseph borne the 9th March, 1672—3. son Israell borne the 17th June, 1675.—son Jonathan borne the 29 March, 1677.—son Samuel borne the 10th 12th mo., 1678.—daughter Hannah borne the 6 12 mo., 1680.

Robert Bray, his son Daniell borne by Tam-
sen his wife, the 29th 9th mo., 1673.

Georg Burch, his dau Mary borne by Eliza
his wife, ye 26th 7th mo., 1667.—Abigaile
borne 16th August 1669,—son George borne
27th April, 1671, sd Georg, the father, de-
ceased 1st 8th mo., '72.

John Bly, his son Benjamin by Rebecka his
wife, borne the 8th of 8th mo., 1666.—Mary
borne 25th May, 1668.—Rebecka 20th July,
1670.—Edmond borne 14th 7th mo, 1672.—
Hanna 8th 8th mo., 1674.—son William borne
ye 17th 7th mo., 1676.

John Batcheler & Mary Herrick were mar-
ried the 14th of August, 1673.—their son
John borne ye 26 2d mo., 1675.—son Jona-
than borne the 29th March, 1678.

Joshua Buffum & Damarice Pope were mar-
ried——

Buth Batchellor, daughter of Jona. & Ruth
Batchellor, born Dec. 27th 1703.

Mary Batchellor, daughter of Josiah & Ma-
ry Batchellor, born Nov. 5, 1701.—their son
Wm. born Octobr 20, 1703.

Caleb Buffum & Hanna Pope were marryed
ye 26th March, 1672.—their son Caleb borne
14th May, 1673.—son Robert borne the 1st
10 mo., 1675.

Mr. James Bailey, his son James borne by
Mary his wife, the 12th Aprill, 1675.—sonn
John borne 29th 7th mo., '76, & dyed 29 10
mo., '77.—sonn John borne the 10th May,
'78.—Samu:ll borne 2d March, 1679-80.

Samuel Buxton & Rachell Buxton, the
children of Anthony Buxton, deceased the
24th 12 mo., 1675.—son Anthony deceased
May, 1676.

George Booth, his son Benjamin by Ales his
wife, borne the 10th March, 1675.—daugh'tr
Ales borne the 6th July, 1678.—theire daugh-
ter Susanna borne 21st September, 1680.

John Bachelor the elder deceased 13 9 mo.,
1675, & his wife Elizabeth deceased the 10th
day of the same month.

John Batchelor's son Zachariah born Feb'y
5th, 1701-2.—another son Zacha. died Dec.
20, 1700.

Nathal Batchellor born Feb'y 9th, 1703-4,
being ye son of Jno. & Bethia Batchellor.

Daniel Bacon, his son Michael borne by
Susanna his wife the 23d October, 1676.—
daughter Liddea 23d 12th mo., 1678.—son
John borne 24th 11 mo., 1680, the said Lid-
dea deceased 25 10 mo., 1681.

John Baxter, his son William borne by Ab-
igaile his wife the 14th October, 1676.—the
said Abigaile his wife deceased 22d 9 mo.,
1676.

John Baxter married to Elizabeth Mack-
mallen, widow, 4 9th mo., 1679.—theire
daughter Sarah borne 15 August, 1680 —
theire son Samuell borne the 10th June, 1683.

Mr. John Barton, his son John borne by
Lidea his wife, the 2d 12th mo., 1676, & de-
ceased the 7th of the same month.—theire son
John borne 30th January, 1677.—theire son
Thomas borne 7th July, '80.—son Zacheus
borne 1st 2d mo., 1682.—son Samuell born
30th August, 1688.

John Blethin & Jane Markes were marryed
10th May, 1674.—theire son John Blethin,
borne 14th March, 1676-7.

James Browne, Glazier, his daughter Sara,
by Hannah his wife, borne the 10th day of
August, 1678.

John Batchelor, his son Josiah borne by
Mary his wife, the 6th of March, 1679-80.

Ebenezer Buxton, son of John Buxton &
Elizabeth his wife, borne the 20th June, 1690.
Ledia Buxton borne October 16th, 1692.—
Penj'n Buxton, son as aforsd, borne 10th
March, 1694-5.—James Buxton, son as afors-
d, borne 28th Septemb., 1698.

Joseph Bachelor & Meriam Moulton were
maried the 8th 8th mo., 1677.—theire son Jo-
seph Bachelor borne the 18th July, 1678.

Hanna, daughter of Edmond Bridges, borne
by Sarah his wife, 7th mo., 1669.—theire son
Caleb borne 3d Jun., 1677.

William Bennett & Elizabeth Smith, wid-
ow, were married in March, 1674.—theire
daughter Grace born February, '76, & dyed
shortly after.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]



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OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. I.

May, 1859.

No. 2.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS KEPT BY THE
REV. JOHN FISKE, DURING HIS MINISTRY
AT SALEM, WENHAM AND CHELMSFORD.

By the kindness of David Pulsifer, Esq., of Boston, we have been permitted to print in our columns the following extracts, which are contained in a quarto manuscript volume in the handwriting of Mr. Fiske, which was given to him several years since by Sam'l Tenney, Esq.

Mr. John Fisk was born in the parish of St. James, in the county of Suffolk, England, about the year 1701. He was the eldest of four children, all of whom came to America afterwards with him, and left descendants.—His father, having devoted him to the service of Christ, first sent him to a Grammar school, and afterwards to the University of Cambridge, where he resided until he became a graduate. He then began to preach, but soon afterwards applied himself to the study of physick and obtained a license for practice. Soon after the death of his father, the care of his mother, two sisters, and a younger brother having devolved upon him, he removed to America, where he could quietly pursue the exercise of the ministry. He arrived at New England in 1637, and for three years he resided at Salem, where he was both a preacher and a tutor to divers young scholars (the well known Sir

George Downing was one.) From Salem he went to Wenham, and remained there fourteen years, when he removed to Chelmsford, with a part of his church. In this latter place he continued in the ministry until his death, which occurred on the 14th of January, 1676.

Gathx my Sts. togethx unto me yos yt haue made a Covenant with me by sacrifice. Ps. 50. 5.

We whose names are hunder written, members of ye pesent Church of X in Salem, haueing found by sad expience how dangerous it is to sit loose to ye Covenant we make with our god. And how apt we are to wander into bye pathes, yea, euen to ye loosing of our first aymes in entring Church Fellowship. Doe therefore solemnly in ye pesence of ye eternal God, both for our own comforts & yos who shall or may be joynd unto us, renew yt Church Covenant, we find yis church bound unto at there jst beginning, viz : That we covenant with ye Lord, & one with another, & doe hynd ourselves in ye pesence of god to walke together in all his waies, according as he is pleased to reveale hims. unto us in his Blessed word of truth, & doe more explicitly in ye name & feare of the Lord, p fesse and p test to walke as followeth. thro ye helpe & poux of ye Lord Jesus.

1st. We Avow ye Lord to be our god, &

ourselves his people, in ye truth and simplici-ty of or Spits.

2. We giue up or selues to ye Lord Jesus Christ, & ye word of his grace for ye teaching; ruling & sanctifying of us in matters of worship & conversation, resolving to cleaue to him alone for life & glory, & to oppose all Contrary wayes, cannons & 'stitutions of men in his worship.

3. We promise to walke with our Brethren & sisters in yis Congregation, with all watchfullness & tendernes, avoyding all Jealousies, suspitions, back bitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spit against them, but in all offences to follow ye rule of the Lord Jesus, & to beare & forbear, giue & forgive as he hath taught us.

4. In publick & private we will willingly doe nothing to ye offence of ye Church, but will be ready to take advice for or selues & ours, as occasion shal be p'sented.

5. We will not, in ye Congregation, be forward, either to shew our owne gifts or parts in speaking or scrupuling, or there discover ye fayling of or brethren or sisters, but attend an orderly cale there untoo, knowing how much the Lord may bee dishonoured, and his gospel in ye p'fession off it slighted by our distempers & weaknesses in publick.

6. Wee bind our selues to study ye advancement of the gospel in all truth & peace, both in regard of those yt are within or without, no waye sleighting our sister churches, but using there counsell as need shalbee, nor laying a stumbling block before any, no, not ye Indians, whose good we desire to promote, & so to converse as we may avoyd ye very appearance of euill.

7. We heereby promise to carry or selues in all lawfull obedience to those yt are set our us in Church, & common wealth, knowing how well pleasing it wilbee to ye Lord, yt they should haue encouragement in there places, by our not greiving their spirits through our Irregularities.

8. Wee resolve to approue or selues to ye Lord in or p'ticular callings, shunning Idlenes

as ye bane of any State, nor will we deale hardly or oppressingly with any wherein we are the Lord's stewards, also promising to or best abilities to teach our children & servants ye knowledge of ye Lord, & his will, that they may serue him also.

And all yis not by any strength of or owne, but by ye Lord Christ, whose blood we desire should be sprinkle. This or covenant made in his name.

Samuel Sharp, Eldr.
dis. to pacc:

John Endicott
Hugh Peter, pastor
Philip Verin
Hugh Laskin
Roger Conant
Laurance Leech
William Auger
Francis Johnson
Thomas Eborne
George Williams
George Norton
Henery Herriek
Peter Palfry
Roger Maury
Tho. Gardner
John Sibly
John Balch
Samuel Moore
John Holgraue
Ralph Fogge
John Horne
John Woodbury
William Traske
Townsend Bishop
Thomas Read
Rich. Raymond
Jeffry Massy
Edmond Batter
Elias Stileman
Edmond Giles
Richard Dauenport
John Black Leech
Tho. Scrugges
Will Allen
Will King
Rich. Rootes
John Moore
Dixey
John Sanders
Jacob Barney
Rich. Brackenbury
John Blacke
Joseph Pope
Peter Wolfe
Will Bann
Sam. A
Tho.
Edm
Joh

ims
derman

Eliz. Endicott
Alice Hutchinson
Eliz. Leech
Alice Sharpe
Johane Johnson
Eliz. Holgraue
Margarett Bright
Eliz. Dauenport
Mary Alford
Sara Conant
Jane Alderman
Agnes Woodbury
Judith Raymond
Johane Cotta
Dorcas Verin
Sara Batter
Eedith palfry
Eedith Herick
Hanna Maurie
Susanna Fogge
Joane Watson
Alice Ager
Ann Ingersoll
Elly
Eliz.
Marth
Elyn B
Anne Dixy
Anne Bound
Anne Horne
Margery Balch
Presca Kendall
Anne Scarlett
Gertrude Elforde, exc.
Katherin Digweed
Anne Moore, vid.
Lidia Bankes
Mary Gigles
Mary Lord
Anne Garford
Susanna Goodwin
Brayne, vid
Hart
Joane Ames
Eliz. Williams
Mary Norton
Bethia Rea
Isabel Robinson
Anne Robinson, vid.
Turner, vid. dead
Sanders, dead
Mary Gedney
Deborah Holme

Bartholomew	Marshal
no Browning	Eliz. Goldthwayt
Tho. Goldwhatye	Alice Baggerly
John Browne	Gift Gott
William Grose	Margaret Weston
Josua Holgraue	Anne Fiske
James Moulton	Mary Moulton
Jo. fiske	Sara Standish
John Gedney	Arabella Norman
John Hardy	Anne Spooner
Tho Venner	Anne Barney
Hen Burchal	Mary Symonds
Edw. Batcheler	Margaret Jackson
Henery Skerry	Ruth Ames
Jn. Hinds	Elizabeth Blackleech
Tho. Spooner	Jane Anthröp
Jo. Simonds	Anne Pickworth
Jo. Jackson	Lucy Downing
Ric. Waters	Tryphen Myrrel
Benj. Felton	Anne Stretton
Tho. Olney	Ray
Wm. Clerk	Southwick
Wm. Robinson	arkes
Mich. Shaffin	Marg euer
Tho. Avery	Mary
Eman Downing	Mary Port
Jo. Hart	Holmes
Daniel Ray	Susan Greene
James Gafford	Dorothy Kenniston
Wil Osborne	Alice Weekes
Laurance Southwick	Eliz. Pickering
Tho. Antru—	Eliz. Dunton
Obadiah Holmes	Mary Grafton
Francis Higginson	Edwards
Jos. Ketherell, drowned	Martha Tho'son
Hen Swan	
Jos. Grafton	

Salem, 1637.

At a x x meeting.

A qu ppounded to ye x x, by ye desire of ye Magist of yis 'try.

What way or course is best to be taken of ye x x s for Mrs, mayntenance, & ye continuance & upholding of x x ordinances?

R. ye x x hath taken it into yr 'sideration.

Will Walker. Or Bro: Walker's case brought to ye x x.

He had been distemped in head & distracted & s—yt time, suspended fr ye Sert of ye Lo: Supp.

now yt he is judged to be recoued thx of, he is 'sidered.

Eldr. 1. that he hath not manifested hims. to be humbled for his miscarriages in yt time.

2. that he refuseth to come to Assembly & to ptake in ye seales.

3. yt he hath not brought his child lately borne to him unto baptisme.

4. yt commonly he neglects to beg a blessing, & to giue thanks at his eating.

W. he ansurs.

1. To ye keeping back his child.

yt he judged hims. as —sufficient to one ordin. as to ye othx.

now ye x x had judged him, as insufficient one.

E. during ye time of his distraction & since ye Elder had told him now of ye necessity of it.

W. Yet he could not 'ceive but—ye opinion of ye x x, he was yet accounted insufficient bec. of his distraction.

E. Then yis should haue humbled him before ye x x. but, whithx does he now desire co—ion with ye x x? for he had manifested his desire of return to Engl.

W. he would demur on it, & by reason bec. of his unfittnes thro. god's visit—ng of him.

E. Thus he charges god, not hims. a. he charges ye devil: bec. his fall ws fro his tempting of him.

p. chxged him of a lazie idlenes disposition, as ye cause.

W. he justifies him as yt.

R. he hath sometimes desired freedom for ye x x com—n a. for com—g into ye assemblies, yt he hath sd yt he is not bound to sit within ye watch of ye congregation, but may be abroad in time of gods worp without ye meet—g house.

W. This he justifies also.

E. R. & c. There eyes (it is sd.) were fastened vpo—him a. many objects are tendered abroad to draw away ye mind.

To giueing of thanks at meate.

W. yt he is not bound to giue appa—ce of it.

E. 1. in' of offence.

2. in' of reverence so' gesture is to be used y—.

W. yt soule refernce suffice; & ye hatt may be on, &c.

E. to yt 1 Cor. 6-20.

When he had nothing to say—his defence furthx yr sd he was 'victed, yr urged: why he did not 'fesse his sin.

W. yt he desired not co—ion with ye x x unless ye x x were 'tented with ye hand of god on him.

'Twas objected ag him.

1. yt he would not stay fr—eating till othxs with him had begd a blessing.

2. yt he would answ ye x x why he saw cause only.

3. yt he was not bound in giueing thanks to exprse words before god.

4. yt was supposed he was vy Ignorant.

p. What ye 5t comdt was? he would not tell—& asked what dnce betwene vocation and Justification; he would but could not.

a. he 'fessed yt he read not a chap by ye whole weeke togethx.

a. yt he neglected ye duty of prayer comm—family.

a. yt he had sd yt poynts of Evideneeing of salvation, are not to be medled with by Euill men.

a. yt ye pastor shold catechize his boy & not him.

And ye day after he was taken • with a distracted distemp. in his head.

Issue. The x x gaue him an admonition out of p. 15, 19 & 21.

p. & vpon it pesntly tur'y his back he went forth ye assembly.

Rob. Cotty.—His case decided by ye x x wch was yt he 'ceived hims. a memb. of this x x [he ca—before ye x x with a portugal cap on. as pr objected.

1. fr—ye dang— of it, intimating yt soule reuence only is 'ry to 1 Cor. 11-7.

2. ,try to good report. Warranted things are of good report. Provide all things honest in ye sight of all men.]

C. he a memb of yis x x.

1. Bec. he recomended to ye x x.

2. bec. he was admitted to subscription to ye covenant.

R. 1 yt he was not dismissed but onely recomened to ye x x wch implied a purpose of stay for a time onely hx. to 2. if he were, it was thro' mistake of ye x x.

C. ye x x now dissolved f— whence he recomended go Es. 44, 5, Numb. 13.

R. 1. jt is denyed,

2. grant it yt recommendats' be so; [a man may bee off many x xs together.

P. to ye 2, scriptures, Numb. 13, was a rash vow.

a. yt ye x x enquired further upon him why he would subscribe & yt ye same day.

a. for recommendati thx are texes. tho not so manifest for dismission.

And yt in Col. 4, 8, 9, shewes yt yer is a distinction of membs & a pp'ety to euery church.

one of you & one of us.

a. ye Cov then not jst made but renued.

R. yt dismission is but a terme of distinction for recommendation Si—lettrs dismissive are nothing but letters recommendatory.

a. as or Lord hath diuers households, now tho ye Lord sends a srvant of one by ye bye upon a message or ye like to ye othx. Those s'vents shall giue him Intertaynmt. But he shall haue no powr of transacting any thing in yt house: like as thx fr— whence he ca—, so heere.

A qu was moued to ye church. 'tribution, viz: Whithx 'tribution was. 1. to be eury Sab:

2. to be done so as euy one might take notice what each doth 'tribute.

R. It is referred to ye furthx thoughts of x x.

Vpon an other day.—S. Weston. The case of or Sister Weston brought before ye x x.

When a matter of difference betweene hx & anothe was at ye Court put unto ye Jury.

she excepted ag. 2 of the Jury men who were therefore offended, & with them others also.

E. demanded her reason.

S. yt she did thinke it hx lib'ty.

E. True yt yr is a lib'ty. but exception implies a just cause or tis not equal. viz, yt he will not doe Justice, or, yt he regards not an oth, or yt he beare s—splene.

M. The law graunts it in case of 'sanguinitie or some nie relation. but then ye ground or reason must be shewed to ye Judge of ye Courte.

S. She denyed to render a reason, least yt impeachmt to his good name who—she excepted ag. g Misy. & sd yt ye othx was all one with ye pty agt hx & more frequent with him yn any one memb. Mr. Batter.

R. Mr. Batt at Mr. Pestors with Mr. Noyse p ter ward y othx haue had frequent dealings thx.

& yt S. hath broken a rule. Mat 18 & Leu 19, yt suspect—g will —yt she de't not with y—

For ye things were s— long time before ye Courtes.

S. She knew not yr should be of ye Jury. she intended not a scandall.

a. yt she 'ceived yr in a temptation & gifts blind ye eyes of ye wise.

R. Jn aggravation of hx fault: it brought in ag hx.

hx carriage to or bro. Johnson.

hx disorderly carriag yn before ye xx.

hx y taxing our pastor of Hypocrisy.

hx opening ye greivance thx ag. a bro. in hx owne case.

hx not dealing with such suspected brethren before afr so long a time.

hx 'fessing she saw no sin in y—

weh aggravated hx exception.

hx taking ye occasion fr—suspicious reports ag. ym.

So she referred to ye next xx meeting.

Br. Walker ye 2d time.—Eldr: He asks or Bro. Walker how ye Case stands now with him.

W. 1. yt he justifies not his practise in ye time of his distraction.

2. yt tis not—hx poww to reforme h—s.

3. yt he stands at ye dispose of ye xx.

E. ye xx expectes his repentance.

W. he knowes not what to say to it.

E. What he answer to ye xx as touching ye withholding his child fro— Baptisme.

W. he silent.

E. ye xx desires satisfaction.

W. yt he looks not vpon himselfe as meet for co—ion. But yt he shalbe meet when god shall turne his heart. (yet yt he well understands ye xx expectation) & yt bee 1 distemped 2 faith lesse.

Pastor. yt it appes he is undr a Temptation, & twere fit his case were commended to god by fasting & prayer.

E. Whithx he desires yis.

W. yt he knew not what to say to it.

Mr. Humfry.—Mr. Humfres case brought to ye xx.

Eldr. he 'plaines ag ye xx of Lin. yt twice he was thx hindred ye seales.

yt 1 bec. of s— difference betweene him & leiften. How who excepted ag. him.

ye 2d time, bec. one Thomkins was reci'd into xx co—ion yt day notwithstanding he excepted ag. him.

Pastor. it seemes as if ye xx yes denyed him not yt co—ion.

It was agreed vpo—yt if ye xx & he so esent yis xx may have ye whole mattr discourered by writing fr—both sids, & c.

This day Deborah Holden Bro. Gidnies wife Bro Marshals wife, Ja. Moulton. made yer pffessions, & Testimonies were giuen of yer godly life. & ye next sab. yr were recej'd into xx—co—ion.

Some othx p pounded should haue come in, but were excepted agst.

Whx vpon warning was given by ye Elder yt ye reasons of yr exceptions might be brought in to him. before ye next xx meeting.

Deacons. p pounds to ye xx to 'sider of ye dispose of Mrs. Skelton's children.

10th of 11th month.—Mr. Humfres. case ye 2d time: — ye interim or Pastor was sent for to meet the Elders of ye x x at Lin to' fer with them. Who fr both pties brings this relation to ye x x.

1. yt he withdrew himselfe. bec. he was loth to offend ye x x.

2 yt ye 2d time he withdrew himselfe bec. he was offended by ye x x who tooke in an unworthy member.

To yis twas determined.

1. yt ye x x is to deale with Mr. Humfrey for withdrawing h—s. & not rathx for dealing with ye 1st Bro. prvately according to rule 1st.

p. hx — ye —terim fell in yis discourse. viz. qu. whithx an Irritation unfitts for ye Sert.

it should app bec. anger is a short madnes.

A. 1, Cor. 11. an examined ma—tis his duty to eate.

qu. Whithx a bro. may abstayne when he is like else to giue offence to an othx.

A. no.

2. yt ys x x is to write to yos Elders & x x.

1 bec yr take on memb ag. opposition & 2. prvately.

2. bec. yr suffer ye unseasonable opposition of members, for members are not to reason betweene pp before ye x x by way of opposition, but membs must speake yer case to ye x x. yis writ—g to be st by vtue of ye c—ion yt is betweene yes x x s.

Sepatists.—The case of ye brethren yt withdrew yp f— ys x x brought forth.

Pastor yt yi doe it out of lf.

2. bec yi would ye peace of ye x x seing yi cannot peaceably hold co—ion with ye x x.

3. yi are not resolved as yi pretend whithx to goe.

a. yt yi object not ag. ye x x.

onely. yt those yt recejd on did not renounce publicly ye gou't of Engl. & yt one about hearing in Engl & yt one yt yi no libty of objecting in ye x x ag what is taught,

It t put to ye x x s 'sideration.

Whithx if 6 or 8 of ye x x. & wich we hope to be godly, yet not agreeing with us in yer Judgmt may not haue a peaceable deputation fro us to gathx a x x?

R. 1. These psons must jst giue ye x x satisfaction for yer schisme.

2 tis p bable yt these would not keep co—ion with this church.

3. These haue not asked leaue of ye x x but doe take leaue of ye x x.

It t determined these should be sent for.

Bro Weston. Elde desires of or Bro. Weston ye grounds of his withdrawing fr— ye x x.

W. yt he had already told ye Elders his grounds.

E. he desired him to declare y—to ye x x.

W. yt ye x x he counts to walk according to hx light or apprehension & he walks according to his. 1. ground. bec. he not suffered to ask qu. in publicke, but tis imputed to him for pride.

E. Tis desired yt he should refraine in reg. of ye season: — ye Lo. day.

but qu. is yr a ground of his withdrawing.

W. Yes bec. he count h—s bound prsently to object & so seek cleering of Truths.

E. he neu'r delt in private with ye elders for it.

W. 2. reas. bec. when he questioned about or pastor touching his comming off at Rotterdam: & what kind of x x yt was: Twas answered by s—, yt he was neithx fitt for x x, nor commonwealth.

3d. bec. some are admitted into yis x x from Rotterdam, tonching who—yi write yt yi ca—disorderly away: & if yt be a true x x, why are these req'd withit satisfaction jst giuen.

Pastor. 1. yt he — towne 2 yeere & a halfe, & not objected ye ag.

2. yt ye 2d mt of this wife, who had no letters of dismission fro— thence.

qu. How far, or whithx a wife ought to seeke lettrs of dismission if ye man be dismissed.

R. by m. 1 yt not need full.

obj. she must co—in, in a way of god hx,

M. This satisfaction enough yt she be a memb
of an othx church.

obj. yt xx hath manifested itselfe offended
for her disorderly comming away.

Past. she thought not herselfe bound to
req're yer letters, her husband being here.

obj. It should app as if yr might be some-
thing dissorderly observed in hx carriage since
her husband's comming away.

Past. ye fault was of negligence by ye elders
in not p'pounding her to ye church.

It. t'cluded yt letters should be wrott to
Rotterda— about ye psons yt did disorderly
come off thence.

W. 4. or. bec. or pastor oft hath sd in pub-
lick to yis effect. we had better part then lue
contentiously.

pa. mt in a way of x.

ma. to ye 2d reas. yt twas he yt sd. he was
neithx fitt for xx, nor commonwealth, bec. by
his oft questioing greines Magistr. & Mrs. &
so yt he thinkes still: so long as he holds yt
way.

hx Bro: Talby obj. yt it it was an un-
charitable speech.

R. yt he breakes a rule, seing he should
haue delt with or Ma: privately. & ys kind of
speaking is disorderly.

W. 5 reas. bec. yis church holds co—ion
with such as doe hold co—ion with ye xx of
Engl. viz. ye members of Mr. Lathrop's Con-
gregation wch hath both co—ion with this
Church & ye xx of Engl.

E. yt he should haue delt with yos members
privately,

W. 6. bec. he is 'selled to follow peace: &
yis is ye end of his practise yy.

E. Bat ye beginning must be peaceable too.

Ma. The case may be resolved in yis one
question.

qu. Whithx one under sin in his opinion,
not in ye opinion of ye xx, is a just ground of
his leaving the church?

W. a private scruple agst any is not to be
made publick, Least othxs should be brought
to scruple too.

Ma. Whithx a p'vate Scruple a ground of
sepatj.

This course tends but to schisms & so to
heresie wch is damnable,

W. This wch is now called damnable was
once called lawfull.

M. he wch holds & teaches: yt one may
breake off fr— a xx, upo— any discontent, or
at taking offence ag. a brother &c is— a
damnable herisy for it raises ye foundation of
grace.

E. yt Bro. Westo— shew a text of Ser for
his sepatj.

W. He is silent.

E. he is desired to be at ye next xx meet-
ing.

Bro: Ony. He is desired of ye xx ye grounds
of his sepatj.

Ony, yt he had told ym to ourpastor.

& he desired him to discour ym to ye xx.

& his withdrawing was but for ye pe sent.

bec. ye Sert ca— suddenly before he could,
enforme ye xx of his scruple.

Whxup— it prsently went abroad yt he was
quite broken off.

Whx'as he 'ceived h—s unde a temptation
& haueing touched a dead body ought to re-
frayne.

qu. by one whithx a man may breake off co
—i on with a xx, if he see or suppose so—
practize in ye xx yt he allow not off.

M. or p. Neg. gal. 5. Circumcisio—a fun-
damental error yet not a ground or rule yr throu
out ye Epist. of sepatj— f— yt xx.

So in ye xx of Corinth. Fornication.

So holding of Paule, so of Apollas.

So in Thyatira Jezabells doctrine.

& yt no rule giuen for sepatj fr— eyther.

O. Were such membs admitted?

M. There is ye same reason of admission &
keep—g in of membs.

O. Such as haue ben defiled with idolatry
haue ben hx admitted without washing yr
hands by repts.

M. There practize giues satisfaction, in yt
they joyne with ye true xx of x.

O. They may yet retayne Babilon in yr hearts.

M. We are to be more charitably affected to such.

O. Ezech. 43, 9, 10, 11.

M. Are not or brethren ashamed of yr doings when yi will not abide by it?

Bro: Gidney. he gaue ye right hand of Fellowship to me.

E. Why then so lately & not now?

O. yt his Judgt so altered, so as not know how to giue ye right hand of fellowship to ye x x.

pa. That you are so newly altered in yor judgmt Consider.

1. ye frame of yor h xt at yt time were you in a humble praying frame & in ye way of an ordin.

2. Does it carry you nigher to x now and to more humbleness.

3. you should have told it to ye elders. pa. 9, 7 rebuke a wise man &c.

Ezech 43, 4, yt place in Ezech 43, you misapply for fr— thence we note.

1 yos are most capable of ye things of god yt are ashamed of yr iniq'ties.

2. God will neur shew ye true formes of his house but to y— yt are washt from there inig'ties, & yes Formes are ye inwards, weh are ye seales.

3 The story is ys. This C had revolted & relapsed & ye p. ph exhorts hx to hx 1st loue agayne.

And told hx what she should see vpo—hx returne. for—yr falling off yi loosed ye patterns of ye house,

5. Can you challeng any of spiritual whore-do—amongst us.

O 1. yt if yos. yt relapsed. be — g— a x x state, ought to be ashamed ere yi capable &c.

go. much more. yos yt neu— — a x x state.

2 he could not challenge any without pejudice or offence. but yis p. fessors, of all men, were most bitter ag. sepeation at jst.

who now joyne without being ashamed of yt.

p. Such breaches as these in x x's gaue occasion to yt of yr bitternes.

O. Thx ought to be yet a publick detestation. ag yes courses. his Texes for sepeation.

2 Cor. 6. be not unequally yoked.

M. yt yeilds no reaso— of his withdrawing unlease we were pved Idolaters.

& we haue a test opposing this practice of his Reu 2, 18 20. Whx ye Lo: 1. acknowl. ye good in yt x x yn he speakes of her sins & Judgmts.

& in x p 24. he saies to yos not so sinned. Ile lay no other burden upon you, but &c.

The dn of idolatry or of circumeision may be heild in a x x & yt ye x x a true x x.

P. yt place. 2 Cor. 6, mt of idolatry out of ye xx & ye Ap. wrot to ye whole x x.

O mt yt yi should co— out fr ye Idolaters amongst themselues.

R. mt of yr being among Idolaters & ye Joy—g to yr idoll feasts.

a. x. sepeated not f— ye Jewish Synagogues.

O. ye diuers reasons of yt. fr— ye p phi-cies were not fulfilled.

& x co—icated not in yr corruptions.

P. In Zach. 11: yr is set downe ye worp. x did co—icate in.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ODD NOTES.—NORMAN KINGS 1066—1154.

William the Conqueror was King of England from 1066 to 1087. He had three children, William Rufus, who succeeded him, Henry, who succeeded William Rufus, and Adelaide, who married Stephen, Count of Blois. Henry had a daughter Matilda, who married 1st the Emperor Henry V, and had no issue, and married 2dly, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, by whom she had a son, afterwards Henry II. At the death of Henry I, however, Stephen, son of Stephen of Blois and Adelaide, usurped the throne, which properly belonged to his cousin Matilda. After some strife however, the matter was settled by Stephen's promising to give up the crown at his death, to Matilda's son Henry, which was done.

House of Plantagenet 1154—1399. Henry II died in 1189, and left Richard, Coeur de Lion, Geoffrey, and John, surnamed Lackland. Richard left no children, Geoffrey left a son Arthur, who was murdered by his Uncle, John, and John left two sons, Henry III, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall. Henry III left Edward I, surnamed Longshanks, and Edmund the Humpbacked, Earl of Lancaster, whose great granddaughter Blanche, 1st heiress of the rights of Lancaster, married John of Gaunt, 3d son of Edward III. Edward I left a son Edward II, of Caernarvon, who left a son Edward III. Edward III had Edward the Black Prince, William Lionel, Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Edward, Duke of York.

Edward the Black Prince had a son Richard II, who was deposed 1399. Lionel, d of Clarence had a daughter Philippa, who married Edw. Mortimer, and was mother of Roger Mortimer, the father of Anna Mortimer, who married Richard, son of Edmund, d of York, Edward III's youngest son.

John of Gaunt married Blanche of Lancaster, and had two sons, John Beaufort, a natural son, and Henry, who usurped his cousin Richard's crown, and became Henry IV.

House of Lancaster (Red Rose) 1399—1460. Henry IV had a son Henry V, who married Catharine of France, and she afterwards married Owen Tudor, and had a son Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who married Margaret Beaufort, 2d heiress of Lancaster, (and grand daughter of John Beaufort, natural son of John of Gaunt) and had a son who became Henry VII. Henry V had a son Henry VI, who was King until 1460, when his opponent Edward IV became King.

House of York (white Rose) 1460—1485.—Edward IV was descended from Lionel, d of Clarence, through Anne Mortimer, his grand daughter, who married Richard, son of Edmund of York; he was succeeded by his son Edward V, who was murdered in the Tower by command of his uncle Richard, 1483.

Richard III reigned until defeated and slain at Bosworth, 1485, when Henry VII, son of Edmund Tudor and Margaret Beaufort, ascended the throne, and united the roses, by marrying Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV.

House of Tudor 1485—1603. Henry VII had Margaret, who married James IV (Stuart) King of Scotland, Henry, who married Catharine of Arragon, and Mary, who married 1st Louis XII of France, and 2dly Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

Margaret and James of Scotland had a son James V, who had a daughter Mary, Queen of Scots, cruelly beheaded 1587, leaving a son, James VI of Scotland, and afterwards James I of England. Henry VIII had by Catherine of Arragon, a daughter Mary; by his second wife Anne Boleyn, a daughter Elizabeth, and by his third wife Jane Seymour, a son, who succeeded his father as Edward VI. Mary, and Charles Brandon had a daughter Frances, who married Henry Grey, d of Suffolk; and a daughter Eleanor, who married the Earl of Cumberland, and had a daughter who married the Earl of Derby. Frances Brandon and Henry Grey had three daughters, Jane, beheaded 1554, Catharine and Mary.

Edward VI d in 1552, and was succeeded by his sister Mary, who died 1558, and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, who died 1603, leaving no children, when the crown passed over to James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart.

House of Stuart 1603—1689. James I of England had two children, Charles I, beheaded 1649, and Elizabeth, who married Frederic, Elector Palatine, and had Sophia, married to Ernest Augustus, first Elector of Hanover.

Charles I had Charles II, who died 1685, Mary, who married William II, Prince of Orange, and James 2d, who abdicated 1689; his children were, Mary, who married William III, Prince of Orange, son of William II and Mary Stuart, Anne, Queen 1702—14, and Jas. Edward, who had Charles Edward, died at

Rome 1788, and Henry of York, Cardinal, who died 1807, the last Stuart.

House of Hanover, since 1714. At the death of Queen Anne, the crown passed over into the possession of George I, son of Sophia and Ernest Augustus of Hanover.

George I was succeeded by his son George II, who had a son Frederic Lewis, who dying 1751, left a son George III, married to Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, by whom he had among others George IV, William IV, and Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent. George IV died in 1830, and William IV died 1837: Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent, married Victoria, Princess of Saxe Coburg, and died 1820, leaving a daughter Victoria, born May 24, 1819, who succeeded William IV in 1837, and who now reigns.

MEDICINES IN "OLD TIMES."

It is a prevalent notion that the present time is worse, in every respect, than any former period.—We talk about "good old times" as if the present were 'very bad times,' and there was nothing good nowadays. Ours is called an age of "humbug,"—and perhaps in some respects it is,—but with all its short-comings, but a very little knowledge of history is required to show us the vast improvements in Art, Science, and Religion even, that have been made from time to time, and that the world is, upon the whole, continually growing wiser and better.

I am led to these remarks by the perusal of "A Treatise of the choicest Spagyricall Preparations," printed in 1651,—containing some receipts for medicines which are very curious, and perhaps some may think unworthy to be preserved. I have, however, thought it best to send you a few samples for publication, in order to show what "doses" people were willing to submit to in the old Witchcraft, Quaker-whipping times, that we so much reverence:

"*The Quintessence of Snakes, Adders or Vipers.*—Take of the biggest and fattest Snakes, Adders or Vipers which you can get in June or July, cut off their heads, take off their skins and unbowl them, then cut them into small pieces and put them into a Glass of a wide mouth, and set them in a warm Balneo, that they may be well dried, which will be done in three or four days. Then take them out, and put them into a bolt head, and pour on them of the best alcolized Wine as much as will cover them six or eight fingers' breadth. Stop the glass Her-

metically, & digest them fifteen days in Balneo, or so long till the Wine be sufficiently covered, which poure forth; then pour on more of the foresaid Spirit of Wine till all the quintessence be extracted: Then put all the tinged spirits together, and draw off the spirit in a gentle Balneo till it be thick at the bottom; on this pour Spirit of Wine Caryophyllated, and stir them well together, and digest them in a Circulatory ten days; then abstract the spirit of Wine, and the quintessence remaineth at the bottom perfect.

This quintessence is of extraordinary vertue for the purifying of the blood, flesh and skin, and consequently of all diseases therein. It cures also the falling-sickness, & strengthens the Brain, Sight and Hearing, and preserveth from Gray hairs, reneweth Youth, cureth the Gout, Consumption, causeth Sweat, is very good in and against Pestilential infections."

"*Aqua Magnanimutatis* is made thus:—Take of Ants or Pismires a handful, of their eggs two hundred, of Millepides, or Woodlice, one hundred, of Bees one hundred and fifty, digest all these in two pints of Spirit of Wine, being very well impregnated with the brightest soot. Digest them together the space of a month, then pour off the clear spirit and keep it safe. Good to stir up the Animall spirits. It doth also wonderfully irritate the spirits that are dulled and deaded with any cold distemper."

Here is a receipt for another "*Aqua Magnanimutatis*," something like the above, which is represented to be of "excellent use to stir up the animall spirit: in so much that John Casmire Palfe-grave of the Rhene, and Seyfrie of Collen, Generall, against the Turks, did always drinke of it when they went to fight, to increase Magnanimity and courage, which it did even to admiration."

"*Elixir of Mummie.*—Take of mummie, (viz. of mau's flesh tardened,) cut small four ounces, Spirit of Wine terebinthinated ten ounces, put them into a glazed vessell, (three parts of four being empty,) which set in horse dung to digest for the space of a moneth, then take it out and express; let the expression be circulated a month, then let it run through *Manica Hippocratis*, then evaporate the spirit till that which remains in the bottome be like an Oil, which is the true Elixir of mummie.

This elixir is a wonderful preservation against all infections, also very Balsamicall."

There are some receipts in this book so bad that they would, I believe, cause the hairs of your correspondent, who furnished you awhile since with a "Metson to make the hair groe,"—to "stand upon an end."

There are also in this singular book some very curious experiments, a few of the titles of which I will give.

"To make the representation of the whole world in a Glasse."

"To make powder that by spitting upon shall be inflamed."

"To make artificiall Pearle, as glorious as any Orientall."

"To make Gold grow and be increased in the earth."

"The author of this work says in his Preface, "I rejoice as at the break of the day, after a long tedious night, to see how this solary art of Alchymie begins for to shine forth out of the clouds of reproach which it hath a long time undeservedly layen under. There are two things which have a long time eclipsed it, viz., the mists of ignorance, and the specious lunnary body of deceit. Arise, O Sunne of truth, and dispell these interposed fogs, that the Queen of Arts may triumph in splendour!"

I think I have given your readers a sufficient *dose*, and will therefore for the present take leave of the subject. B.

TREES IN THE STREETS OF SALEM, IN MAY, 1859.

The following account of the different varieties of trees, that are growing in the principal streets of Salem, during the month of May, 1859, has been prepared with much care and accuracy, by a gentleman of this city, who has devoted considerable attention to this subject.

It is valuable, and worthy of record, as exhibiting the degree of interest, which is devoted, at this time, to the planting of trees in the streets and public places of this city.

Streets.	Elm.	Maple.	Horse Chestnut.	Linden.	Ash.	Poplar.	Cherry.	Acacia.	Total.
Andrew,	18	1	2	6					27
Andover,			1			1			2
Arabella,	4	16	2	2	4	1		4	33
Boston,	47	10	33	4	7		14		115
Beckford,	8								8
Bridge,	57	7	6		6	3	1		80
Buffum,	48	10	7		2		23		90
Brown,	8	27							35
Briggs,	1				1				2
Broad,	70	17		2	8				97
Barton,	2	4		2	1				9
Beach,				2					2
Barr,	15	8	10		3	1	9		46
Chestnut,	70	5	1		5	1			82
Cambridge,			4						4
Church,	6	3	3						12
Carlton,	8								8
Cherry,	4	1	1		2		4		12
Cedar,	14	6	2	2	4		1		29
Cabot,	1	4							5
Central,	8				1				9
Cross,	11		4						15
Downing,	9	3							12
Derby,	12								12
Dearborn,	102	5	4		2	2		2	117

Everett,	5							1	6
Essex,	131	20	4		3			2	160
Endicott,	18	2			3			3	26
Federal,	139	7	29	6	8				189
Flint,	1								1
Friend,			4						4
Forrester,	16		1						17
Felt,	1	41		6	15				63
Grove,	31	10	2		6				49
Harbor,	50	1	5						56
Hancock,		6						4	10
Hathorne,	26		4		5				35
High,	7								7
Holly,		25		17	3				45
Laurel,		9							9
Lafayette,	129	15	18	1		3			166
Lagrange,	4	1		4			28		37
Leach,	3	3		1	5				12
Lynde,		2							2
Mount Vernon,	3	4					12		19
Mason,	34	4	2		2				42
Margin,	12		2	2	1		1		18
March,	10		1						11
Newbury,	2								2
Norman,	6								6
North,	83	17	2		4		2		108
Northey,	6	3							9
Oak,	16		3						19
St. Peter,	9	6							15
Pond,	5		2						7
Porter,	3		3						6
Prescott,	5		1						6
Pickering,	7								7
Pickman,	6	3	6	1	1				17
Pleasant,	10	13		5	2	1			31
River,	1					1			2
Ropes,	5								5
Salem,	9								9
Summer,	36	13	12	5	5				71
Skerry,	6					1			7
School,	15	1	1		3	2			22
Saunders,	10		5						15
South,	12	11	9				2	2	36
Turner,	2								2
Union,	13	1	1						15
Webb,	23								23
Webb, East,	6								6
Walter,	10	6	2		1		2		21
Whittemore,	4		12	3	3	7	3		32
Around Com-									
mon,	160	12			10				182
Avenue to									
Alms House.	20		2						22

Elms, 1656; Maples, 353; Horse Chestnut, 213; Linden, 65; Ash, 133; Poplar, 24; Cherry, 110; Acacia, 8. In addition to the above, there are,—in Brown street 2 Tree of Heaven, or Ailanthus; Briggs street 2 Oak; Broad Street 1 Locust; Federal street 1 Buttonwood; Friend street 9 Oak; Felt street 9 Birch; Harbor street 1 Tree of Heaven; Hathorne street 2 Buttonwood; North street 4 Willow, 1 Buttonwood; Oak street 1 Walnut; St. Peter street 1 Tree of Heaven; Porter street 1 Poplar;

Prescott street 1 Balm of Gilead; Summer street 1 Willow; Ropes street 1 Walnut; total number of trees, 2615. A.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c.,
ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF
COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12.

Mary Williams, 9th mo., 1654.

Will of Marie Williams of Salem, Widow, dated 1st 8 mo., 54', mentions her late husband, George Williams; her daus Sarah, Marie Bishop, Bethia, sons Samuel, Joseph and George. Witness—Ric'd Bishop, Thos. Robins.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £131 3s 3½d, taken by Elias Stileman jr & Ric'd Bishop, 17 9 mo., 1654.

Eliz'h Hardy, 10th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Elizh Hardy of Salem, widow, amounting to £151 9s 2d, taken by Wm. Dodge, Wm. Dixey, 11th 9th mo., 1654.

"Granted to Jno. Hardy, 27 10th mo., 1638: To forty acres of vpland and six Acres of meadow to the East of that land which is granted to Richard Dodge." vera copia
as Atteste. pr Edmond Batter.

25th of the 8th month, 1653.

Gervis Garford of Salem, in the County of Essex, Gent., hath sold vnto Elizabeth Hardie of the same, widow, for eighty pounds sterling, his dwelling house & ten acres of Arable land, & six acres & a quarter of meddow neare drapers point, vppon Bass Riuer, adjoining to the house, and eighty Acres of land lying betweene Lord's Hill & Birch-plaine, on Bass Riuer side, within the precincts of Salem, as by deed dated the 26th day of 7ber, 1653, aprth.

This is a true copy out of the records for the County in Salem, fr me.

Hillard Veren, Recorder.

Nath' Merrill, Mar., 1655.

Will of Nath'l Merrill of Newbury, dated Mar. 8, 1654, mentions wife Susanna, daughter Susanna, under 21 years, sons Nathaniel, John Abraham Daniel and Abel all under 21 years, appoints son Nath'l ex'or. Bro John Merrill & Anthony Somerby overseers, witnesses—Richard Knight, Anthony Somerby and John Merrill. probate 27th 1st mo., '55. deceased March 16, 1654-5.

Inventory of above estate taken Mar. 23, 1654-5, by Dan'l Thurston, Richard Knight and Archelaus Woodman, amounting to £84 6s returned 27th 1st mo., '55.

Alice Ward, Mar., 1655.

Inventory of estate of Alice Ward of Ipswich, widow, taken 23d 11th mo., 1654, amounting to £37 14s 11d, by Robert Lord, John Warner.

Joannah Smith the wife of Thos. Smith, Elizabeth wife of Jacob Perkins and Jane wife of Francis Jordan, testifie that Alice Ward, widow, on her death bed did commit Sarah Ward, her daughter in law, vnto John Baker & Elizabeth his wife, the said Sarah Ward & her estate to bring vp the said child in the feare of god, and gave vnto the sd Elizabeth Baker her keyes & desired her to take of all, & to discharge her debts.

Sworne in Court held at Ipswich the 27th 1st mo., 1655. Robert Lord, Cleric.

Eleanor Tresler, 4th mo., 1655.

Will of Eleanor Tresler of Salem, dated 15th Feb., 1654, mentions sons Henry & Nicholas to be joint ex'ors. son Edward, 2 daughters, grandchildren John Phelps, Elezabeth, Sam'l & Edward, children of Nicholas, mentions legacy bequeathed by her late husband to his daughter in England, to wit., £10.— witness—Robt. Moulton, senr., George Gard-

ner. Robt. Moulton, jr. proved 26th 4th mo., 1655.

Inventory of above estate (dated Mar. 13, 1654-5,) amounting to £131 03s 06d, returned by Robert Moulton & George Gardner.

Wm. Knight, 4th mo., 1655.

Will of Wm. Knights, dated Dec. 2, 1653. mentions wife Elizabeth, son John, dau Ane & her children, son Francis, dau Hanna; John Ballard, Nathaniel Ballard. after the legacies are paid to these above, the balance to be equally divided between his four children which he had by his last wife Eliz'h—eldest son Jacob to have a double portion. appoints his wife Eliz'h ex'x, his brother Nicholas Potter and George Keasur and John Witt to be overseers. Witness John Faller & Nicholas Potter. probate 28th 4th mo., 1655.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £154 15s 0d, returned 28th 4th mo., '55.

Robt. Moulton, 4th mo., 1655.

Will of Robt. Moulton, senr., dated Salem 20th Feb'y, 1654, mentions son Robert, & appts him ex'r, dau Dorothy Edwards, grandson Robert Moulton, goodwife Buffum and Joshua Buffum, witnessed by George Gardner, Henry Phelps & Nich. Phelps. probate 26th 4th mo., 1655.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £113 08s, returned 26th 4th mo., '55, by Henry Phelps & John Hill.

Henry Fay, 1655.

Inventory of estate of Henry Fay, weaver, of Newbury, who deceased June 30th, 1655, taken by Thomas Hart. Thomas Browne & Abraham Tappan.

Richard Pike testified that Henry Fay said to him that if he died a single man, then his brother's children shall have this estate.

Robert Long, James Jackman, and Jane Jackman all testify that said Henry Fay said at several different times he wished his brother's children to have his estate if they came

for it, and wished his friends Robert Long and James Jackman to take charge of it.

John Jackson, 4th mo., 1656.

Will of John Jackson, sen'r, dated 31st 11th mo., 1655. mentions wife Mary, Margaret Nouel, appts son John Jackson exor. appts Wm. Browne, Edma Batter overseers. proved 4th mo., 1655.

Inventory of above estate taken 10th 1st mo., 1655-6, amounting to £20 6s.

Thomas Wickes, 4th mo., 1656.

Will of Thos. Wickes of Salem, dated 9th 7th mo., 1655. mentions wife Alice, and appts her extx., daughters Bethia & Hannah, appts loving cousin and friends Robert Gray, Mr. Edmond Batter & Elias Stileman, jr., to be overseers.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £192 10s, returned by Williard Veren & Thomas Cromwell.

John Hart, 4th mo., 1656.

Inventory of estate of John Hart, Marbleh'd, taken 14th 1st mo., 1655-6, by Moses Maverick and Jona Bartlett, amounting to £74 10s 06d.

Fran. Parratt, 7th mo., 1656.

Inventory of estate of Francis Parratt, dated 15th 7th mo., 1656, amounting to £357 5s 0d.

James Noyes, 9th mo., 1656.

Will of James Noyes, dated Oct. 17, 1656, mentions wife and children, cousin Thomas Parker, brother Nicholas Noyes. probate Nov. 26, 1656.

James Noyes died Oct. 21, 1656.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £657 11s 4d, returned by Rich'd Knight Anthony Somerby & Benjamin Swett.

Mrs. Sara Noyes, the wife of deceased, makes oath to the same.

Rebecca Bacon, 9th mo., 1655.

Will of Reekah Bacon, Widow, dated 1st mo., 23, 1655. mentions son Isaac as her sole executor, Robert Buffum to assist him, Isaac being under age; cousins Anne Potter & Rich'd Cheelcraft; frees her man Cornelius & gives him a suite of clothes; sister Buffum, Sister Coys, Sister Sugthwike, Sisters Avery & horniss, Brother Robert Buffum, appoints Brothers Joseph Boys Thomas Avery & Nath'l Felton, overseers: mentions Sister Judith, in Old England, cousin John, Georg Bedell. proved 29th 9th mo., '55.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £195 8s 6d, taken 10th July, 1655, by Thos. Gardner, sr., & Joseph Boyes.

John Bridgeman, 9th mo., 1655.

Will of John Bridgman mentions Mr. Perkins after his claims paid, the rest to go to his daughter: probate 9th mo., '55.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £69 07s 07d, taken by Walter Price, Philip Cromwell.

John Ward, Mar., '56.

Will of John Ward, sometimes resident at Ipswich, in New England, dated 28th December, 1652. mentions to Cousin Nath'l Ward, the son of his Uncle, Nath'l Ward: I doe give that house & land given me by my father in his will, and that lies in East Mersey, in the County of Essex in Old England; cousin Ward's, of wethersfield, two youngest sons, Cousin John Barker of Boxted in Essex, his Eldest dau, Anna, son Sam'l. to his mother's poore kindred ten pounds; Cousin Sam'l Sherman's, who some years since lived in Boston, N. E., two youngest sons, both under age; Cousin Philip Sherman of Rhote Island; gives books to Thomas Andrews of Ipswich, and also his Chirurgry chest, & all yt is now in it.—Robert Paine, ex'or.

The balance of his estate be laid out in a standing annuity, to be bestowed on the Harvard Coll, Cambridge, and would have it im-

proved to the convenient bringing up & maintaining of one or more schollars in the said College, & only such to have benefit whose estate or friends cannot otherwise maintain. 14 lbs to be spent on his funerall. proved 25th 1st mo., 1656.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £308 7s 3d, returned 25th 1st mo., 1656.

John Friend, 1st mo., 1656.

Will of John Friend, dated 4th 11th mo., 1655, mentions son Sam'l, apt. exor., daus Eliz'h Pecker, Bethiah Heeter & son James, his friends, Wm. Dodge & William King, overseers. Witnesses—George Emery, Edmund Grover & Henry Herrick. proved 27th 1st mo., 1656.

Henry Smith, Mar., 1656.

Inventory of Estate of Henry Smith of Rowlev, taken 1st mo., 16, 1654-5, amounting to £19 12s 0d, returned by Rich'd Swan & John Smith. allowed 25th 1st mo., 1656.

Henry Sewall, Mar., '56.

Inventory of Mr. Sewall's estate, amounting to £364 6s 8d, returned by Joseph Jewett, Mathew Boyle & John Tod. allowed Mar. 25, 1656.

Hugh Chaplin, Mar., 1657.

Will of Hugh Chaplin of Rowley, dated 15th 1st mo., 1654, mentions his beloved wife, Elizabeth ——— Thomas Mighell Maximilian Jewett, Thomas Diconson, Hew Smith, John Pickard, eldest son John. Witnesses—Joseph Jewett, John Pickard. proved 31st March, 1657.

Anthony Newhall, Mar., 1657.

Will of Anthony Newhall, dated 14th Jan., 1656, mentions grand-children Richard & Elizabeth Hood, daughter Mary m'd son John, Nath'l Pentland, Matthew Farrington and John Fuller to be overseers. proved 31st Mar. 1657.

Inventory of above estate taken 6th 12th mo., 1656, returned by Richard Hood, 31st Mar., 1657.

John Pickering, 5th mo., 1657.

Will of John Pickering of Salem, dated 30th 5th mo., 1655, mentions sons John & Jonathan, minors, wife Elizabeth, wife & two sons, exors. John Horne & Edmond Batter, overseers. proved 1st 5th mo., 1657.

Henry Bullock, 5th mo., 1657.

Inventory of estate of Henry Bullock, jr., taken by Thos. Gardner & Nath'l Felton, 10th 10th mo., 1656, amounts to £121 2s 0d.

John Trumbull's, Sept., 1657.

Inventory of estate of John Trumbull of Rowley, amounts to £225 17s 10s, returned by his widow, Ann Trumbull, 29th 7th mo., 1657.

Agnes Balch, 9th mo., 1657.

Inventory of estate of Agnes Balch, amount £9 11s 0d, taken by John Rayment & Henry Herrick, Nov. 25, 1657, and List of debts agst. her estate, which accrued in her long sickness due to Benj. Balch, amount £18 12s.

Testimony of Anna Woodbury, widow, Nicholas Patch, her brother and El— his wife, Abigail Hill, Rachel Rayment, Hannah Woodbury, John Grover, that the estate of Agnes Balch, dec'd, is not enough to satisfy the charges of Benj'n Balch ag't the estate for charges in her long weakness and sickness.

Humphrey Gilbert, Jan., 1657-8.

The petition of the four daughters, with their husbands of Humphrey Gilbert, who deceased Jan. 20, 1657, to the Court to grant administration to their four husbands, Peter Harvey, Ric'd Palmer, Rich'd Comer, Moses Ebberne. Administration granted according to the petition.

John Robinson, Mar., 1658.

Will of John Robinson of Ipswich, wheel-right, dated 27th Feb., 1657, gives to Alice Howlett, wife of Thos. Howlett; £10 to Thos. Howlett, Jr., his Chest and all his tools, & to Thos. Howlett, Sr. all the rest of his estate, & appts him sole exor. Witness—James & John How. proved 30th Mar., 1658.

Inventory of above estate amount £54 19s 6d, debt due to Ensign Howlett for diet, clothes, attendance and physicke. £22 16s 3d allowed 30th Mar., 1658.

Humphrey Gilbert, Mar., 1658.

Copy of will of Humphrey Gilbard of Ipswich, dated 14th 12th mo., 1657, mentions son John, wife Eliz'h, daughter Abigail, & her 3 sisters all under age.

Administration granted to Elizabeth, the widow, the 30th Mar., 1658.

Inventory of above estate, amount £53 0s 11d, taken by Philip Fowler.

Thos. Wathen, 4th mo., 1658.

Inventory of estate of Thos. Wathen, dec'd, taken 30th 4th mo., 1658, amount £7 14s 2d, returned by his kinsman, Ezekiel Wathen, 30th June, 1658.

Thos. Scudder, 4th mo., 1658.

Will of Thos. Scudder of Salem, dated 30th Sept., 1657, mentions wife Elizabeth, and appts her sole ex'r., his children, John, Thomas and Henry Scudder, and dau Eliz'h Bartholomew, grandchild Thomas Scudder, son of son William Scudder dec.

Witnesses—Richard Waters, Wm. Traske, Joseph Boyle, Thomas Lowthop.

Proved 29th June, 1658.

Thomas Scudder deceased 1657.

Inventory of above estate, amount £73 08s 4d, returned by Eliz'h Scudder.

Geo. Bunker, 4th mo., 1658.

Inventory of George Bunker amounts £300 15s 0d, returned by Jane Bunker, widow, 29th June, 1658.

James Patch, June, 1658.

Will of James Patch of Beverly, dated 7th Aug., 1658, mentions wife Hannah, gave her his house & land, orchard, and all the appurtenances to it belonging to his home grounds, together with that parcel of meadow lying near Ric'd Dodge; also 2 cows, together with ten acres of Rocky Land, lying on the east side of the home lott, for wood; also all the household stuffe in the house for the competent bringing up of the children.

To his son, James Patch, all his part of the farme called Knights farm, both upland & meadow, all his right there be it more or less, together with the two youngest oxen & the horse.

To his dau, Mary Patch, two oxen, which are eldest, with one cow; also ten acres of upland Laying near Sawyer's Playne.

To his dau Elizabeth, two middle oxen, with one cow; also 20 acres of upland laying by the land called Eastyes land, and joyning next unto said land; appoints his wife Hannah to be extx.; his two brothers, Nicholas Woodbury & John Patch to be overseers of his will.

Witnesses—Thos. Lowthropp & John Hill.

Proved 2d 9th mo., '58.

Inventory of above estate, amount £250 16s taken 27th 6th mo., 1658, by Ric'd Brackenbury, John Thorndike, Zabulon Hill & John Hill.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

MINUTES FOR A GENEALOGY OF GEORGE JACOBS, SENIOR, OF SALEM VILLAGE, WHO SUFFERED THE UTMOST PENALTY OF THE LAW DURING THE WITCHCRAFT TRAGEDY, ENACTED IN NEW ENGLAND, A. D., 1692.

BY C. M. ENDICOTT OF SALEM, A DESCENDANT IN THE SEVENTH GENERATION.

GEORGE JACOBS, SENR., (the picture of whose trial for witchcraft, before one of those extraordinary tribunals, partaking both of a civil and ecclesiastical character, embellishes the entrance to the libraries of the Essex Institute and Salem Athenæum, in Plummer Hall)

was condemned and executed during that fearful delusion, when upwards of eighty years of age, without any regard to the usual rules of evidence or other proprieties of law.—His principal accuser was his own misguided granddaughter, Margaret, into which she was terrified while confined in prison for the same offence, by the intriguings, threatenings and revilings, upon her own confession, of the designing *Magistrates*, or rather *Inquisitors*, to save her own life, being then only in her 17th year. He resided in what was then called Salem Village, in a secluded spot off east from the main road leading to Topsfield, and bordering upon the river leading to Danvers Port. He appears to have bought his homestead of Richard Waters and Joyn, his wife, containing a house and ten acres of land, the 20th Nov., 1658; to which he afterwards added about four acres more, consisting partly of marsh land. He was also the owner of four acres and six cow leases on Ryall side, being the opposite shore, which he received by grant from the town of Salem. This portion of land remained in the family during the childhood and minority of my great grandmother, Elizabeth Jacobs, the great granddaughter of the guiltless victim, George Jacobs, senr., she being the daughter of John, who was the son of George, jr., who was the son of George senr. The old lady has often told me that previous to her marriage with my great grandfather, John Endicott, she used to paddle a canoe across the river, and milk the cows in this very lot—and when the tide was out, she was accustomed to pass and repass over the flats upon a row of stones, or sort of causeway, leading to the channel on both sides—wade through the channel with her milk pails and milk, and upon her return safely deposit her burden in her father's house. These stones, we have been told by some of the family still residing upon the old homestead, remain to this day, a memorial, not only of the perseverance of our fathers, but of the hardihood of her who so often passed and repassed with the fruits of her

daily toil and industry over them. She was a woman of uncommon energy of character. It is related of her, that, when Col. Pickering, on his way to the battle of Bunker Hill halted his regiment at the Bell Tavern, Danvers, she was so displeased that she walked up to the Col. and said, "Why on airth don't you march? don't you hear the guns at Charlestown?" George senr's Will is dated 29th Jan., 1691-2, and probated the October following. His wife's name was Mary. It would seem as if his extreme age and feebleness (being so bowed down with decrepitude and the weight of years that he required two canes* for support,) should have shielded him from such a wretched fate and ignoble death at the hands of those inexorable officers of (miscalled) justice, who seemed determined upon the judicial murder and indiscriminate slaughter of all whom malice, credulity or misguided fanaticism, might select for their victims. It is related of Chief Justice Stoughton, that when he heard the Governor had reprieved several victims who were awaiting sentence of death in prison, he was so displeased that he left the Bench and went out of the Court, exclaiming, "Who it is obstructs the course of justice I know not. We were in a way to have cleared the land of these, &c. The Lord be merciful to the country." In contrition of his errors and bigotry, it is said Mr. Stoughton afterwards erected the building known as "*Stoughton Hall*," for the use of Harvard College. It is, however, difficult to see any connection between the two circumstances.

There is a tradition in the family that their ancestor was hung upon a tree on his own land and buried there. [vide Felt's Annals, Vol. 2, P. 482.] This conflicts with another tradition, related by my great grandmother, that his body after execution *in Salem*, was brought home for burial by his own son, who witnessed his execution, across the back of a horse, cart ways being almost unknown at

that period, except upon the most frequented roads, all others being what were called *bridle paths*. Tradition has, however, kept alive the fact that he was buried upon his own land.—His reputed grave has been recently opened, and found to contain the bones of a very aged person, without a single tooth in the jaw, which were no doubt the remains of this inoffensive, artless, but unfortunate old gentleman. It would be a melancholy satisfaction could we with equal certainty identify the graves of the victims of this dire delusion, the records of which fill such a dark page in our New England history.

Children of George and Mary—²George Jacobs, Jr. m. Rebecca Frost; ²Ann Jacobs m. John Andrew, and had 3 daughters, viz: Ann, ³Elizabeth and ³Mary.

Second Generation.

²George Jacobs resided upon the old homestead, and died previous to 1718: m. Rebecca Frost, 9 12, 1674. Both he and his wife, with their daughter Margaret, suffered persecution during the witchcraft delusion. Upon being accused he fled, but his wife and daughter Margaret were imprisoned, but were afterwards released. Children of ²George and Rebecca—³Margaret, b. Nov. 26, 1675. The unfortunate accuser of her grandfather: ³George, † b. Sept. 29, 1677. Was living in Wells, Me., and sold his portion of his father's farm to his brother John, in 1718. Married there in 1702, where his posterity are now

†Third Generation.

²George Jacobs, b. in Salem Village, now Danvers Port, Sept. 29, 1677, was a grandson of the guiltless victim George Jacobs, senr. Removed to Wells, Me., about 1700, where he married, first, December 16, 1701, Hannah Cussins, m. 2d. Oct. 21, 1742, Elizabeth Burnham. Children, ⁴Lydia b. Dec. 11, 1702, m. Joseph Stevens Nov. 11, 1726; ⁴Hannah b. June 20, 1705 m. John Stevens June 10, 1727; ⁴George, m. Mary Woodman Dec. 10, 1741; ⁴John m. Deborah Ware Oct. 30, 1745; ⁴Pricilla m. Joshua Barlett Sept. 16 1736; ⁴Elizabeth m. Joseph Taylor Sept. 1734; ⁴Benjamin m. Hannah Bank of York, Me., June, 1750.

Fourth Generation.

³George Jacobs lived in Wells, Me., married

*The very canes are now in the possession of the Essex Institute.

probably living; ³John, b. Sept. 18, 1679; ²Jonathan, b. July 29, 1681; no memorial of him; ³Mary, b. May 20, 1683.

Third Generation.

³John Jacobs, b. Sept. 18, 1679. Lived up on the old Jacobs homestead, in Salem Village. Married for his first wife, Abigail —, for his second wife; Lydia —. Died 1764, a. 85. Was a member of the 1st Church, Salem. He and his brother George were petitioners for the South Danvers Church, called at that time the Middle Precinct, in March, 1710–11. Was a substantial land holder.— Will dated June 24, 1760. Sons Ebenezer and Henry, executors. Proved June 25, 1764.— Left the Jacobs' homestead to his son Ebenezer. Children of John and Abigail: ⁴Abigail, bap. Sept. 1, 1706, at the First Church, Salem. Was living in 1760, the date of her father's will, m. a Felton; ⁴John, bap. July 25, 1708, at the First Church, Salem. Lived in Sutton, Ms., and died previous to 1758, and left one son, ⁵John, whose posterity are probably living in that vicinity; ⁴Daniel, bap. Nov. 5, 1711, at the First Church, Salem. Lived in Danvers to an advanced age; ⁴Ebenezer, bap. May 15, 1715, at the So. Church, Danvers, m. Elizabeth Cutler, dau. of Cornelius Cutler; ⁴Desire, bap. May 15, 1715, at the So. Church, Danvers; d. previous to 1758; m. a Porter, and left children, mentioned in her father's will; ⁴Sarah, bap. July 14, 1717, at the So. Church, Danvers; m. an Andrews, and was living in 1760, the date of her father's will;

⁴Elizabeth, bap. Sept. 27, 1719, at the So. Church, Danvers; m. John Endicott, May 18, 1738; d. Aug. 1809, a. 90; children by Lydia, ⁴Henry, bap. May 21, 1721; was living in 1766, per receipt for his portion left him by his father; no further memorial of him—probably the father of Henry Jacobs, killed at Lexington, April 19, 1775; ⁴Lydia, bap. July 25, 1725; was living in 1760, the date of her father's will; m. John Small.

Fourth Generation.

⁴Daniel Jacobs bap. Nov. 5, 1711, at the 1st Church, Salem. Was a cordwainer by trade in early life; then a farmer. Lived in Danvers to an advanced age—residence on the Salem boundary line in North Fields. Married Sarah Dudley of Boston June 17, 1735. Died in the family of his son-in-law, Gen'l Gideon Foster, Oct. 1809, in his 99th year. The following is an extract from an obituary notice of him: "Mr. Jacobs possessed great vigor in his old age. He was mowing in his field after he passed 90. He had an uncommon cheerfulness of temper, & a relish of life till its close. His sister who married into the family of Gov. Endicott, died lately, above 90 years of age." One of the descendants of Mr. Jacobs remembers distinctly seeing him saddle his horse and ride off like a young man, when he was upwards of 95 years of age. Children—⁵Daniel, b. Aug. 22, 1737. Was living in New Hampshire in 1761. where probably his posterity are at present residing;

⁵Sarah & ⁵gemin, b. Aug. 24, 1739; ⁵Jonathan } no memorial of him;

⁵Benjamin, b. March 24, 1740–1, m. Sarah Moulton; ⁵Abigail, b. April 15, 1743, m. Putnam Cleaves, and had 3 children, ⁶Daniel, a Daughter ⁶Sarah and ⁶Abigail, who m. Amos King. Daniel removed to Saco, Me. and had children ⁷Daniel, ⁷Sarah, ⁷Mary, ⁷Almira; ⁵Desire, b. Dec. 21, 1746, m. Zachariah King, ch. ⁶Zachariah, ⁶Daniel, ⁶Amos. ⁶Desire, ⁶Eben'r, ⁶Jonathan, ⁶Samuel, ⁶Mary; ⁵Lydia, b. Aug. 24, 1743, m. John Tucker, ch. ⁶John, ⁶Andrew & ⁶Betsey, gemini, ⁶Jonathan, ⁶Gideon, ⁶Marcia, ⁶Sam'l D, ⁶Mary, ⁶Marcia, b. Oct. 6, 1750, m. Gen'l Gideon Foster, ch.,

Mary Woodman Dec. 10, 1741. Children, ⁵Elias m. Mary Dorman of Wells, August 1768; ⁵George m. Hepsibah Brown Feb. 1779; ⁵Deborah m. Jacob Dorman of Arundell, May 1780; ⁵Jonathan m. 1st Sarah Tenney. Dec. 26, 1782, m. 2d Rebecca S. Emery Feb. 1784; ⁵Samuel m. Hannah Hubbard Dec. 13, 1785.

Fifth Generation.

⁵Elias Jacobs lived in Wells, Me., married Mary Dorman August 1768. Children, ⁶Hannah m. James Maxwell; ⁶Aaron m. Sarah Stover of York, Feb. 1804; ⁶John m. Abigail Phillips of York May 1804; ⁶Obediah m. Lucretia Littlefield Sept. 1813

⁶Gideon, ⁶John, ⁶Marcia, and another ⁶daughter.

⁴Ebenezer Jacobs, bap. May 15, 1715, at the South Church, Danvers. Lived upon the old homestead, m. Elizabeth Cutler. Died in 1793. Will dated 13th Feb'y, 1790. Proved 13th Nov. 1793, son Eben'r and wife Elizabeth, Executors. Children—⁵Ebenezer, ⁵Abigail, ⁵Hannah, ⁵Elizabeth; the last three died before their father, and are not mentioned in his will.

Fifth Generation.

⁵Benjamin Jacobs, b. March 4, 1740-1, m. Sarah Moulton about 1770. Lived in South Danvers. Children of Benjamin and Sarah—⁶Sally, b. 1771; ⁶Lydia, b. 1773; ⁶Benjamin, b. July 17, 1775; ⁶Martha, b. 1779.

⁵Ebenezer Jacobs, uncertain when born. Lived in the old Jacobs homestead in Danvers, left him by his father, m. Eunice Tucker. Children. ⁶Ebenezer, b. Feb'y 17, 1783, m. Phebe Martin, of Andover, and had 5 children. ⁷John D, ⁷Warren Martin, ⁷Elizabeth Cutler, ⁷Martha Frye D, ⁷Martha Martin; ⁶Jonathan, b. 1785, d. 1831, unmarried; ⁶John, b. 1787, d. 1821, unmarried; ⁶Aaron, b. 1790, never married; ⁶William, b. Sept. 22, 1796, married and had 2 children; ⁶Allen, b. Oct. 12, 1800, married and had 3 wives and several children.

Sixth Generation.

⁶Benjamin Jacobs, b. July 17, 1775. Lived in South Danvers. Was a Ship master, m. Sally Poor Jan'y 17, 1802. She died Feb'y 29, 1856. Children—⁷Sarah, b. Sept. 19, 1802, d. Oct. 9, 1802; ⁷Nancy Poor, b. July 15, 1804, m. Franklin Osborn; ⁷Benjamin, b. March 29, 1806, m. two sisters by the name of Buttrick; ⁷Joseph, b. Feb'y 10, 1808, m. Susan Wilson; ⁷Sarah, b. Aug. 1, 1809, m. P L Winchester; ⁷George, b. April 11, 1812, d. May 1857; ⁷Richard, b. Aug. 14, 1813, m. Sarah Nourse; ⁷Mary. Abbott, b. May 10, 1815, m. R. Smith, d. March 1857; ⁷Eliza Ann, b. July 28, 1817, m. E. F. Lamson; ⁷Susan Poor, b. April 23, 1819, m. Francis Baker.

BRICK BUILDINGS IN SALEM.

From the Gazette of February 4th, 1806.

Mr. Cushing.—Perhaps the following list of brick buildings in Salem may come within the request of your correspondent "Caution," who has desired a communication of *any facts* connected with the subject, which he is discussing. I have made the list with care, and I believe it contains all our brick buildings. The dates placed against some of them are intended to show when they were built or finished. Some of your correspondents, I hope, will correct any errors they may discover in the list. It will be a curious fact in the history of *Salem*, (which was settled three years before *Boston*,) that at the beginning of the year 1806, there were but *fifty* buildings (out of about 2000, entirely of brick in the whole town.

	Houses.	Stores.	Built.
Ward No. 1.			
Essex Street, E. S. Lang,		1	1803
" Benj Dodge,	1		1805
" Henry Rust,		1	
Wash'ton St., John Daland,		1	
Market St., Hathorne & Gray,		1	1805
Fish Street, Samuel Gray,		1	
Charter St., Gilbert Chadwick,		1	1805
Vine Street, Jona. Mason,	1		
" Nathan Pierce,	1		1805
Water Street, Smith & Douglass,		1	1804
Neptune St., Eliphalet Butman,		1	1802
Union Whf., Page & Ropes,		1	
Derby Street, Henry Prince,	1		
" Moses Townsend,	1		1805
Ward No. 2.			
Essex Street, John Gardner,	1		1805
" William Gray,	1		
" Chase & Rust	1		1769
" Jacob P. Rust	1		
Court Street, William Stearns,		1	
Ward No. 3.			
Essex Street, Henry Rust,	1		
" John Hathorne,	1		
" John Appleton,	1		1772
" Abel Lawrence,	1		
" Mrs. Haraden,	1		
Wash'ton St., Joseph Ropes,	1		1805
" Joshua Ward,	1	1	
Summer St., Joseph Baker,		1	
Chestnut St., Daniel Gregg,	1		1805
" Jonathan Hodges,	1		1805
" Thomas Saunders,	1		1805
Warren St., Chas. Cleveland,	1		1805
Ward No. 4.			
Essex Street, Albert Gray,	1		
" Daniel Saunders,	1		
" Robert Peele,	1		
Federal St., Joseph Sprague,		1	

Court Street,	John Derby,	1	
"	Archelaus Rea,	1	
Boston Street,	Jonathan Dean,	1	
		26	13

Buildings of other descriptions.—Court House, in Court Street: Baptist Meeting House, Marlboro St.; Salem Bank, Essex St.; Sugar House, Ash St.; R. Stone's Distillery, Neptune St.; John Norris's Distillery, Water St.; Wm. Gray's Stable, St. Peter's St.; two workshops of one story, in Derby St.; Fort Pickering on Winter Island; Powder House, in the Great Pasture. Total, 11.

Buildings partly of brick.—Sun Tavern, Essex St.; Capt. Sage's House, Essex St.; Ebenezer Smith's, Essex St.; John Watson, Union St.; John Rust's, County St.; Widow of Daniel Rust, County St.; Josiah Parsons, Water St.; James Pope's Marlborough St.; Rev. Mr. Spaulding's, Summer St.; Wm. Fabens's, High St.; Stephen Phillips's, Chestnut St.; Richard Savary's, Briggs Court. Total, 12.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF REV. JOSEPH GREEN, REV. PETER CLARK, AND REV. BENJAMIN WADSWORTH, D. D., MINISTERS OF SALEM VILLAGE, (NOW DANVERS CENTRE.

BY SAMUEL P. FOWLER.

Read at a meeting of the Essex Institute, Thursday, March 11, 1858.

Before entering upon our subject, it will be necessary to notice the condition of the people at Salem Village, previous to the settlement of Rev. Joseph Green.

After the frenzy of 1692 had subsided, and a comparative calm had succeeded this violent storm, its inhabitants began more fully to realize the extent of their misfortunes. During the excitement in the summer of 1692, they were only intent upon endeavoring to save themselves and their friends from imprisonment and death. But when the witchcraft delusion had subsided, they felt most severely the confiscation of their property, the imposition of fines, and the suspension of agricultural labor, and the consequent loss of their crops. We have documentary evidence of a large amount of property being taken from those accused of witchcraft, and expenses incurred; for which they were but partially remunerated by the General Court. Their peti-

tions for relief disclose their sad condition, and they appear to have been even more desirous that the attainers should be taken off, than to receive remuneration for their losses. The following is the petition of Elizabeth Corey, daughter of Giles Corey, for aid:—

"To the Honourable Commitee, appointed by the General Courte to make Enquire with Respect to the Sufferings in the year 1692:— These are to give you a short account of our Sorrows and Sufferings, which was in the year 1692. Sometime in March, our honored father & mother, Giles Corey & Martha his wife, was accused for sposed witchcraft, and imprisoned & was Removed from one prison to another, as from Salem to Ipswich, & from Ipswich to Boston, and from Boston to Salem again, and so remained in close imprisonment about four months. We ware at the whole charge of their maintenance, which was very chargeable, and so much the more, being so farr a distance 'rom us, also by reason of so many removes, in all which we could doe no less than accompanie them, which further added both to our trouble and charge, and although that was very great, it is the least of our grevence or cause of these lines. But that which breaks our hearts, and for which we goe a mourning still, is that our father was put to See Cruell and painfull a death as being prest to death; our mother was put to Death also, though in another way. As we cannot sufficiintly express our Grief for the loss of our father & mother in such a way, So we cannot Compute our Expences and Cost; but shall Comit to your wisdom to judge of. But, after our father's death, the Sheriff threatened te seize our father's Estate, and for fear thereof wee Complied with him, and paid him Eleven pounds six shillings in monie, by all which we have been greatly damnified and impoverished, by being exposed to sell creatures and all other things for a little more than half the worth of them, to get the money to pay as aforesaid, and to maintain our father and mother in prison. But that which is

grievous to us is. that we are not only impoverished but also Reproached, and so may be to all generations, and that wrongfully too, unless something be done for the removing thereof. All which we humbly Committ to the honourable Courte, Praying God to direct to that which may bee acceptable in his sight, and for the good of this land.

September ye 13th, 1710

We cannot Judge our necessary Expense to be less than Ten pounds. Wee subscribe your humble Servants in all Christian obedience.

Elizabeth Corey, daughter of Giles Corey, in behalf of the rest of the familie.

To the Honerd Committy apointed by the General Court to Inquire into the names proper to be inserted in the bill for takeing off the Attainder, and what damages They Sustained by their prosecutions:—These are to signify that I, Philip English, was Imprisoned together with my Wife, in Salem Prison, and then carried to Boston Prison, and there lay nine weeks; from whence we made our Escape, in which time, beside our Charge in flying, and had our Estate taken away from the Wharf House, at the point of Rocks, to the amount of £1183 2 shil. And is a true account of what I had seized, taken away, lost and embezled, whilst I was in prison. in ye year 1692. And whilst on my flight for my life, besides a considerable quantity of household goods and other things, which I cannot exactly give a particular account, and for all which I never Received any other or further satisfaction for them, than Sixty Pounds paid me by the Administrator of George Curwin, late Sheriffe, decess'd, and the Estate was so seized and taken away Chiefly by the Sheriffe and his under officers, notwithstanding I had given four thousand Pound Bond with Surety at Boston.

Philip English.

The Honorable Committee now sitting in Salem, Sept. 13th, 1710. Whereas, my mother, Ann Foster of Andover, Suffered Imprison-

ment 21 weeks, and upon her Tryall was condemned for supposed witchcraft, upon such evidence as now is Generally thought Insufficient, and died in Prison; I being well perswaded of my mother's Innocency of the crime for which she was condemned. I Humbly Desire that the Attainder may be taken off. The Charges and Expenses for my mother during her Imprisonment, is as follows:—

The money which I was forced to pay the Keeper before I could have the dead body of my mother, to bury her, was £2 10s; money & provisions expended while she was in Prison, £4; total expences, 6 pounds 10 Shillings.

Abram Foster, the son of the Deceased.

To the Honored Committee, appointed by ye Generall Court to Inquire into ye names of such as may be meet for takeing off ye Attainder, and for ye making some Restitution; and these Humbly and Sorrowfully Shew that our Dear and Honored father, Mr. George Burroughs, was apprehended in April, 1692, at Wells, and Imprisoned several months in Poston and Salem Jails, and at last condemned & executed for witchcraft, which we have all ye reason in ye world to believe he was innocent of. By his careful catechizing his children and upholding religion in his family, and by his solemn and Savory written Instructions from Prison. We were left a parsell of small children, helpless, and a mother-in-law with one small child of her own, whereby she was not capable to take care of us, by all which our father's Estate was most of it lost and expended. We cannot tell certainly what ye loss may be, but ye least we can Judge, by best information, it was fifty pounds, beside ye damage that has accrued to us many ways thereby is some hundred pounds. We earnestly pray that ye attainder may be taken off, and if you please, fifty pounds may be restored.

Charles Burroughs, Elder son, in ye name of the rest.

To the Honored Generall Courte. now sitting in Boston this 12th of October, 1692; -

Right honored Gentlemen and Fathers.— We, your humble petitioners, whose names are underwritten, petition your honors as followeth:—We would not trouble you with a Tedious diversion, but briefly spread open our distressed condition, and beg your honors' favour and pity in affording what relief may be thought Convenient. As for The matter of our Troubles it is the distressed condition of our wives and Relations in prison at Salem, who are a company of poor, distressed creatures, as full of inward grief and Trouble as they are able to bear up in life with all. And besides the agravation of outward Troubles and hardships they undergo, want of food, and the coldness of the winter season that is coming, may soon dispatch such out of the way, that have not been used to such hardships.— And besides this, the exceeding great Charges and expences that we are at, upon many accounts, which will be to Tedious to give a particular account of, which will fall heavy upon us, especially in a time of so great charge and expence upon a general account in the County, which is expected of us to bear a part as well as others; which, if put all together, our families & estates will be brought to Ruin, if it cannot in time be prevented. Having spread open our condition, we humbly make our address to your Honours, to Grant that our wives and Relations, being such that have been approved as penitent confessors, might be returned home to us upon what bond your honors may see good, we do not petition to take them out of the hand of Justice, but to remove them as Prisoners under bonds in their own families when they may be more tenderly cared for, and be ready to appear to answer further when the Honored Court shall call for them. We humbly crave your honors favor and pity for us and ours. Having set down our Troubled State before you we heartily pray for your Honors.

John Osgood in behalf of his wife.

John Fry in behalf of his wife.

John Marston, in behalf of his wife. Mary Marston.

Christopher Osgood, in behalf of his daughter, Mary Marston.

Joseph Wilson, in behalf of his wife.

John Bridges, in behalf of his wife and children.

Hope Tyler, in behalf of his wife and daughter.

Ebenezer Barker, for his wife.

Nathaniel Dane, for his wife.

To the Honored General Court sitting in Boston.

The humble Petition of Thomas Heart, Inhabitant at Lynn, sheweth that whereas Elizabeth Hart, mother to the Petitioner, was taken into Custody in the latter end of May last, and ever since committed to prison in Boston Jail, for Witchcraft, though in all which time nothing has appeared against her whereby to render her deserving of Imprisonment or death. The petitioner being obliged by all Christian duty as becomes a child to parents to make application for the Inlargement of his said mother, being ancient and not able to undergo the hardships that is inflicted from lying in misery, and death is rather to be chosen than life in her circumstances. The father of the petitioner being ancient and decrepit, was wholly unable to attend in this matter, and petitioner having lived from his childhood under the same roof with his said mother he dare presume to affirm that he never saw, nor knew, any ill or sinful practice wherein there was any shew of Impiety, nor witchcraft by her, and were it otherwise he would not for the world, and all the Enjoyments thereof, Nurish or support any creature that ye knew engaged in the Drugery of Satan. It is well known to all the neighbours that the petitioners mother has Lived a sober and Godly life always ready to discharge the part of a good Christian, and never deserving of affliction's from ye hand's of men for any thing of this nature. May it

humbly therefore please your Honored Court to take this matter into your Consideration. in order to the Speedy Inlargement of this person. So much abused, and the petitioner as in Duty bound shall Ever pray.

Thomas Hart.

Dated the 19th of Oct. 1692.

To the Honourable General Court now sitting in Boston.

The Humble Petition of Nicholas Rist of Reading—Showeth, that whereas Sara Rist wife to the petitioner, was taken into Custody the first day of June last, and ever since lain in Boston Jail, for witchcraft, though in all this time nothing has been made to appear for which she deserved Imprisonment or death, the petitioner has been a husband to the said woman above twenty years, in all which time he never had reason to accuse her for any Imposture or Witchcraft, but the contrary—She lived with him as a good faithful, dutiful wife and always had respect to the ordinances of God, while her strength remained, and the petitioner on that consideration is obliged in conscience and Justice, to use all lawfull means for the support and preservation of her life; and it is deplorable that in old age, the poor decreped woman should be under confinement so long in a stinking Jail, when her circumstances rather requires a nurse to attend her. May it therefore please your honors, to take this matter into your prudent consideration, and direct some speedy methods whereby this ancient decrepid person may not forever be in such misery, wherein her life is made more afflictive to her than death, and the petitioner shall, as in duty bound, Ever pray.

Nicholas Rist.

To the Honourable Committee, sitting in Salem, Sept. 13th. 1710.

An account of what was seized and taken away, by the Sheriff, or his deputy, and assistants, out of the Estate of Samuel Wardwell, late of Andover, Deceased, who suffered the pain of Death, under condemnation on the

sorrowfull tryals for witchcraft, in the year 1692. Seized and taken away :—

	£	Shil.	d.
5 Cows. at 2 pounds apiece, -	10	0	0
1 Heifer and a Yearling, -	2	5	9
1 Horse, -	3	0	0
9 Hogs, -	7	0	0
8 Loads Hay, -	4	0	0
A set of Carpenter's Tools, -	1	10	0
6 acres of Corn upon the ground, -	9	0	0
	£ 36	15	0

Abigail Faulkner, of Andover, who received a pardon from Governor Phipps, in her petition, says: "The pardon so far had its effect as that I am as yet suffered to live, but this only as a malefactor, convicted upon record of ye most heinous crimes, that mankind can be supposed to be guilty, which, besides its utter Ruining and Defaming my Reputation, will certainly Expose myself to Imminent Danger by new accusations, which will thereby be ye more readily believed, will remain a perpetual brand of Infamy upon my family. Do humbly pray that this High & honourable Court will please to take my case into Serious Consideration, and order the Defacing of ye record against me, so that I may be freed from ye evil consequences Thereof." Others petitioned that something might be done, to take off the infamy from the names and memory of those, who have suffered from witchcraft, and that none of their surviving relatives, nor their posterity might suffer reproach upon that account. But how little do we know of the estimation posterity will form of our actions.—The ignominy they so much dreaded, has long since passed from them, without the much sought intervention of the General Court, and fastened itself upon their accusers, and the originators of this strange delusion.

The people of Salem Village, after the sad occurrences of 1692, which left them in a broken and distracted state, were fortunate in their choice of a pastor, Rev. Joseph Green, who was eminently qualified to heal all past difficulties, and restore order & harmony. Mr. Green was

ordained over the Church at the Village, Nov. 10th, 1698. The churches represented upon the occasion, were from Beverly, Wenham, Reading & Roxbury. His salary was eighty pounds & thirty cords of wood. It appears from the church records, that he took an early opportunity to induce its members to admit to their communion the three dissenting brethren, John Tarbell, Thomas Wilkins & Samuel Nourse, and their wives, who were leaders in the opposition against Rev. Samuel Parris, in 1692. After several attempts, Mr. Green succeeded in persuading his church to revoke the sentence of excommunication against Martha Corey, who was executed for witchcraft.— And it was during his ministry, that Ann Putnam was admitted to full communion with the church, upon her humble confession.

Ann apologises for her conduct, by disclaiming the indulgence of anger, malice, or ill will against those she accused, and says she was deluded by Satan, in her false accusations.— And it is a singular fact, worth remembering, as an exhibition of human nature, that all those, who were in any way connected with witchcraft at Salem Village, after the excitement had subsided, excused themselves for their participation in its follies, by casting the whole blame upon the devil, and asserting they were wholly unable to withstand his delusions.

Mr. Green was called from his labors at Salem Village, by death, Nov. 26, 1715, in the fortieth year of his age. He graduated at Cambridge College, in 1695, & married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Gerrish, of Wenham. He baptised during his ministry of 18 years, 106 adults, and 528 children. During his residence at the Village, the half way covenant was introduced. Mr. Green was an eminent peace maker, and labored to remove the many difficulties in his church, which arose in Mr. Parris's ministry, and happily succeeded. He appears to have been highly esteemed by all who knew him, and his removal by death was sincerely lamented. He was buried in the Wadsworth burial ground, in Danvers, where a slab of black slate was erected at the

head of his grave, now in a good state of preservation, with the following inscription :—

Sub Hoc Cæpe,

Requiescunt, in spe Beatæ Resurrectionis,
Reliquiæ Reverendi D. Joseph Green, A. M.,
Hujusce Ecclesiæ Per XVIII Annorum Fere
Spatium,
Pastoris Vigilantissimi,
Viri Sempiterna memoria Tenendi,
Tum Gravitate Doctrinæ Tum Suavitate morum,

Qui Decessit ex hic ærumnosa vita sexto
Calendas Decembres Anno Domini MDCCXV,
Impleverat jam annum quadragesimum.*

The following notice of his death is to be seen in the church records, in the hand writing of Dea. Edward Putnam :—"Then was the choicest flower and goodliest tree in the garden of our God, here cut down in its prime and flourishing state, at the age of 40 years and 21 days; who had been a faithful ambassador from God to us, 18 years. Then did that bright star set, and never more to appear here among us, then did our sun go down, and now what darkness is come among us. Put away and pardon all our iniquities, oh! Lord, which has been the cause of thy sore displeasure, and again return to us in mercy, and provide yet again for this thy flock, a Pastor after thine own heart, as thou hast promised in thy word, in which promise we here hope, for we are called by thy name, oh, Leave us not."

A meeting of the Village Church, was held at the house of Dea. Putnam, the 19th of April,

— *TRANSLATION.

Under this sod,
Lie in hope of a happy resurrection,
The remains of the Reverend deceased Joseph Green, A. M.,
Of this church for nearly the period of eighteen years,
A most vigilant Pastor,
A man to be held in perpetual remembrance,
Both for seriousness of discourse and agreeableness of manners,
Who departed from a laborious life in this place on the 6th day
Of the calends of December in the year of the Lord, 1715,
He had just completed his fortieth year.

1717, for the purpose of looking to God for direction in settling a minister. The church voted, that Capt. Putnam, Deacon Putnam, and Mr. Cheever, be a Committee to present their desires to the Rev. Mr. Peter Clark, and request him to settle with them in the ministry, and make a report to the church in due time. Mr. Clark made answer to the call of the church as follows :—

April 23d. 1717.

To the church of Christ, at Salem Village.

My answer to your request, brethren and friends, duly respected in the Lord, I thankfully received this testimony of your love, and respect towards me; in calling me, tho' little worthy in my self, to the office of a Pastor, among you, wherefore I do hereby testify my acceptance, and shall according to the grace and ability given me of God, be willing to serve you in the office and work of the gospel ministry, as God shall continue my opportunity and call, hereunto desiring your prayers to God for me.

Peter Clark.

Mr. Clark was ordained June 5th, 1717.—The churches present at the ordination, were from Beverly, Wenham, Reading & Topsfield. He was to receive 90 pounds as his settlement, a salary of 90 pounds per annum, and the parsonage. Mr. Clark thus notices the great earthquake in his church records, Nov. 29th, 1727. "Being Lords day, at night, between 10 & 11 o'clock, there happened a very great earthquake, accompanied with a terrible noise and shaking, which was greatly surprising to ye whole land, ye rumbling in ye bowels of the earth, with some lesser trepidation of the earth, has been repeated at certain times, for divers weeks after." On the 26th of Nov. 1729, 24 members of the village church were dismissed to help form the church in Middleton, gathered under the ministry of their first Pastor, Rev. Andrew Peters. A little more than half a century had now elapsed, since the fatal delusion of witchcraft had broken out at Salem Village, and it is probable there were some aged members of the church, who

remembered that sad event, and had ever been vigilant and careful to repress any approach towards divination, or the supposed practices of witches. Mr. Clark may have entertained the notion held by Dr. William Douglas, the author of the "Historical Summary," that witchcraft, enthusiasm and other maniac disorders, was endemial in Salem and its neighborhood and being like its weeds, indigenous to its soil, required a Pastor's watch and care to notice their first appearance and root them out. But we have no evidence that such was his belief; he properly entertained a conviction, that divination, invoking the dead or spiritualism, witchcraft and diabolism, and their kindred arts should not be practised in a Christian Church. There being reports that reputed witches were in the village, and were practising their arts by divination &c., and that members of the parish were consulting them, Mr. Clark immediately called together the church on the 5th of Sept. 1746, to make enquiry into the matter, and the following votes were passed at the meeting. 1st That for christians, especially church members, to seek to and consult reputed witches, or fortune tellers, this church is clearly of the opinion and firmly believes, on ye testimony of ye word of God, is highly injurious and scandalous, being a violation of the christian covenant involved in baptism, rendering ye persons guilty of it, subject to ye just censure of ye church. No proof appearing against any member of ye church (some of whom had been strongly suspected of this crime) so as to convict them of their being guilty, it was further voted, 2nd, That ye pastor in ye name of ye church, should publicly testify their disapprobation and abhorrence of this infamous and ungodly practice of consulting witches or fortune tellers, or any that are reputed such, exhorting all under their watch, who may be guilty of it, to an hearty repentance and returning to God, fervently seeking forgiveness in ye blood of Christ, and warning all against ye like practice for ye time to come.

The next Sabbath, Sept. 7th, this testimony, exhortation and warning was publicly read to the congregation from the pulpit by the pastor. These old women, who so troubled Mr. Clark in 1746 were the last witches (we mean diabolical ones) seen at Salem Village. Young and elderly ladies still continue however to meet there, as in olden time, in circles and classes, and it is supposed they have not lost any of their bewitching arts; but fortunately they are not exercised in the same way as in 1692. The last record made by Mr. Clark in the church book was Nov. 8th, 1767, at which time his health failed, and he was compelled to forego the labors of the pulpit. He continued to decline during the early part of the season of 1768, frequently attempting to preach, and often failing. The last time he appeared before his people, he faltered in the service, and leaned against the pulpit, which one of his deacons noticing, he went to his assistance, and led him home. His death occurred soon after June 10th, 1768, and is thus noticed by Dea. Asa Putnam in the records, "Now it has pleased God in his holy Providence, to take away from us our dear and Rev. Pastor by death, Mr. Peter Clark, who departed this life, June ye 10th, 1768, in ye 76 year of his age, and on ye 15th day was his funeral. It was attended with great solemnity; his corpse was carried into the meeting-house, and prayer was made by ye Rev. Mr. Diman of Salem. A sermon was delivered by Rev. Mr. Barnard of Salem, from Gal. 3 chap 11 verse. It was then removed to the grave, with the church walking before the corpse assisted by twelve bearers, with a great concourse of people following. After his interment we left his deceased body in ye dust, for worms to feed upon, which we took so much delight and satisfaction in. He is gone, who has been so faithful in ye ministry among this people, the number of fifty one years—Now he is gone, never to see his face no more in this world; no more to hear the precious instructions, and examples out of his mouth in public, or in private. That ye God of all grace

would be pleased to sanctify this great bereavement to this church and congregation for good, and in his own due time give us another Pastor after his own heart, to feed this people with truth, knowledge and understanding that this church may not be left like sheep without a shepherd. But of these things he will be enquired of, O house of Israel to do it for them."

Mr. Clark, during his ministry of 51 years, baptised 46 adults, 1,226 children and admitted 309 persons into his church. He was buried in the Wadsworth burying ground in Danvers, with the following inscription upon his grave stone:

"Here lies Intombed the remains of the Rev. Mr. Peter Clark, for about 51 years the painful, laborious, and faithful pastor of the first Church in this town. He was a great Divine; an accomplished Christian, in whose character ye most exemplary patience, humility and meekness, were illustriously displayed. He was born March 12th, 1693, Graduated at Harvard College in Cambridge 1712, ordained pastor of ye church in this town, June 5th, 1717. He lived much esteemed and respected, and after a long life spent in ye service of religion, He died much lamented June 10th, 1768, *Ætatis* 76.

Wrapt in his arms, who bled on Calvary's plain,
We mourn not Blest shade, nor dare complaine;
Fled to those seats where perfect Spirits Shine,
We mourn our lot, yet still rejoice in thine;
Taught by thy tongue, By thy example led,
We Blessed thee living, and revere thee Dead.
Sleep here thy Dust, till the Last Trump shall Sound,
Then shalt thou rise, and be with perfect Glory
Crown'd."

Mr. Barnard, in his funeral sermon, observes that Mr. Clark was well acquainted with ancient & modern learning, his style pure, nervous & clear, cool or pathetic, as his subject required; and by means of his conversing much with the best modern authors, more elegant & pleasing to the politer world than most of his equals in age. His printed works are somewhat numerous upon many public occa-

sions, he being the most voluminous writer that ever lived in Danvers. Mr. Clark preached the Artillery Election Sermon in 1736, Convention Sermon in 1745, Dudleian Sermon in 1763, & the Election Sermon in 1739. I have in my possession two sermons preached by him, the first to a society of young men in the North Parish in Danvers, Dec. 15th 1757; the second, a sermon from Psal. 119, 109th verse, containing "A word in Season to Soldiers, preached April 6th, 1755 being Lord's Day before muster of a number of Soldiers in the North Parish in Danvers, who had enlisted in the public service of the King and Country, in the intended Eastern expedition." Most of the recruits put up notes on the occasion, requesting prayers of the congregation. Some of them requested that "God would preserve them, especially from sin, and some of them added, the "worst of evils." Mr. Clark was fond of controversy, and wrote several books in defence of original sin, and in favor of infant baptism. After his death, the people in the North Parish in Danvers, invited Mr. Amos Sawyer to settle with them in the ministry, who accepted the invitation, but died before the time appointed for his ordination. An invitation was then extended to Mr. Joseph Currier to become their Pastor, but in consequence of some difficulties arising in the Parish, he gave his answer in the negative. On the 30th of August, 1772, the church voted to give the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth a call, who returned the following answer:

To the North church & congregation in Danvers. Dearlybeloved in Christ:—

Whereas, the great Governor of the Universe has, in his wise Providence, (some time since,) removed your former Reverend, worthy and very laborious pastor, into the land of silence; and your desire for the resettlement of the Gospel ministry has evidenced itself in your invitation of me (unworthy as I am,) to that important work; tho' it must be confessed the voice of all the people did not unite in the call, yet as the answer has been deferred for a considerable time, the practical language

of your offering no objection to me, I can't but suppose speaks your general concurrence. Afture mature deliberation, and many anxious thoughts upon a matter of so great consequence, both to yourselves and me, having been importunate with God for direction, and sought the advice of men, I have concluded to accept of your invitation upon the terms proposed, humbly confiding in the great head of the church for assistance faithfully to discharge the duty incumbent upon a minister of the Gospel, and in your goodness for a comfortable subsistence, if what you have already proposed for that end should prove insufficient. And ask your earnest prayers for me, that a divine blessing may attend all my ministerial labors, and that I may obtain grace to be faithful, and mercy to be successful, heartily wishing that grace, mercy and peace may be the stability of our times. Thus I subscribe myself your affectionate friend & servant in the Lord.

Benjamin Wadsworth.

Milton, Nov. 5th, 1772.

Mr. Wadsworth was ordained Dec. 23, 1772, and the following persons were present: Dr. Appleton from Cambridge, Mr. Robbins from Milton, Mr. Morrell from Wilmington, Mr. Dunbar from Stoughton, Mr. Williams from Weymouth, Mr. Diman from Salem, Mr. Holt from South Danvers, Mr. Smith from Middleton, Mr. Stone from Reading, Mr. Swain from Wenham, and Mr. Sherman from Woburn. The records of the church inform us "that Mr. Holt opened the solemnities by prayer; Mr. Robbins preached from Eph. 2d 17th. Mr. Morrill prayed and gave the charge, and Mr. Smith gave the right hand of fellowship. All the services was carried on with order and decency. May heaven smile upon the services of the day." I have been informed by aged people, who were present at the ordination, that the day was so mild and pleasant, the windows of the church were raised. It was a scene of great festivity throughout the parish; all the houses were open, and these failing to accommodate the concourse of people, tents were erected in the

fields opposite the meeting house for their use. Mr. Wadsworth, at the time of his ordination, was 22 years of age. The number of male members belonging to the church at the commencement of his ministry, was 45; females, 91. Nov. 3d, 1775 —The church voted to sing out of Dr. Watts's hymns on trial for 8 weeks. On Monday, Sept. 23d, 1805, the society met with a severe loss, their meeting-house being destroyed by fire. It was discovered about 4 o'clock in the morning, & was supposed to be the work of an incendiary.—The following Sabbath the society worshipped in the school house in District No 5, where a sermon was preached by Mr. Wadsworth, from Isaiah, 64th chap. 11th verse. Dec. 26th was observed by the society as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, on account of the loss of their meeting house. The church met to consult on measures for supplying the sacramental table with suitable furniture.—The set of table service in the house at the time of the fire, consisted of two flagons & two tankards of pewter, and eight silver cups, valued about 30 dollars each. They were presented to the church by different individuals, and as the silver was not found after the fire, it was supposed they were taken by a sacrilegious hand.

The Parish held a meeting Oct. 4th, for the purpose of seeing what action they would take in regard to building a new meeting house.—They voted unanimously to rebuild, and on the 2d of November contracted with Col. Ebenezer Goodale to build a brick house for the sum of \$10,000, to be completed by the 1st of Sept., 1806. On the 21st day of May, 1806, the building was commenced. On Thursday, the 20th of November following, on a fine, pleasant day, the new brick meeting house was dedicated. Public worship was first held in the house Nov. 23, 1806, and on Monday, the 8th of December following, the pews were sold. Mr. Wadsworth was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1816. July 18th, 1819, the scriptures were first read in public.

The last record in the church book made by Dr. Wadsworth, was July 18th, 1824. His sickness and death are thus recorded by Eleazer Putnam, Esq. :—

"Rev. Dr. Wadsworth deceased the 18th of January, A. D., 1826, after a severe illness of ten months. He retained his reason to the last moments of his life. He has enjoyed a long and peaceful ministry among us. His funeral was attended the 23d inst., by a large concourse of people, and the services were solemn and appropriate. Rev. Mr. Green addressed the throne of Grace, Rev. Mr. Dana preached the sermon, and the Rev. Dr. Woods made the last prayer. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." He lies buried in the Wadsworth burial ground in Danvers, and the following inscription may be seen over his remains: Consecrated to the memory of Benjamin Wadsworth, D. D., a tender, faithful husband and father, a valuable friend and judicious counsellor, an exemplary christian, and distinguished public servant of the Prince of Peace, who entered into his rest Jan. 18th, A. D., 1826, in the 76th year of his age, and 54th of his ministry in this place.

"Tis great to pause and think on what a brighter world than this his spirit shines."

Near his grave lies buried his colored servant, who lived many years in his family.—Dr. Wadsworth erected over her remains a stone, on which is to be seen the following inscription: In memory of Phebe Lewis, who died Jan. 10th, 1823, aged 49 years. She shone a bright example of integrity and fidelity, and proved an ornament to the christian profession.

Benj. Wadsworth was born in Milton, Mass, July 18, 1750, and graduated at Harvard College in 1769. The year succeeding his graduation, he was engaged in teaching a school; after which he resided at Cambridge, and pursued the study of Theology, under the direction of Professor Wigglesworth, and in the spring of 1772, was licensed to preach. On the 23d of December following, he accepted

the pastoral charge of the First Church in Danvers. Enjoying vigorous health, he continued to labor without interruption, until the last year of his life. He was never detained from his pulpit, during his ministry more than four or five sabbaths. The whole number of persons admitted into the church during Dr. Wadsworth's pastorate of 54 years, were 260. He baptized 810 children, and 86 adults. At the period of his death, there was not a male member of his church living, that belonged to it when he was ordained, and only two females. The following is a list of his publications :—

A Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Josiah Badcock, at Andover, N. H., April 30th, 1782. A Thanksgiving Sermon in 1795. A Thanksgiving Sermon in 1796. Eulogy on Washington in 1800. A Sermon at the dedication of the Brick Meeting House, Nov. 20th, 1806.—A Sermon before the Bible Society, of Salem, and its vicinity, in 1815. An Address before the Moral Society, in Danvers, for the suppression of Intemperance, in 1815. A Sermon at the installation of Rev. Moses Dow, in 1815. A Sermon at the Brick Meeting House, Nov. 7th, 1816, before the Female Cent Society, in Danvers and Middleton. A Sermon at the interment of the Hon. Samuel Holten, in 1816. A Discourse on the death of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, July 28, 1823. A Sermon preached upon the death of Benjamin Hezekiah Flint, and Bethiah Sheldon, Nov. 19th, 1820.

Dr. Wadsworth was not, like his predecessor, the Rev. Peter Clark, fond of controversial writing, but on the contrary sought and obtained a peaceful ministry, undisturbed by the changes taking place around him. Mr. Clark, as a controversialist always had his lance in its rest, and was ever ready to shiver it with any one, who chose to encounter him. The salary of Doct. Wadsworth was small, never exceeding \$400 per annum, and would have given him a meagre support, had it not been for his frugal habits, and the income from prop-

erty acquired by marriage. He appears to have fully understood that his salary was not what it should have been, as in signing his receipts for money received from the parish treasurer, he sometimes added, "a very inadequate support." As several of his parishoners were sea-faring men, he was in the habit of making adventures at sea, and not being charged for freight or commission it was a small source of income to him. Our recollection of him is that of a gentleman of the old school, dressed in black velvet small clothes, with silk stockings, and white topped boots.—He wore bands in the pulpit, and black silk gloves, with the ends of the thumb and fore finger cut off, the better to enable him to turn over the leaves of his sermon. He was in the habit of bowing to the old men, and his most distinguished parishoners, as he passed up the broad aisle, first on the one side and then on the other. Although in the pulpit, the tone of his voice was low and monotonous, and he was closely confined to his notes, yet he possessed by nature, superior powers of mind.—His written productions always evinced a sound and discriminating judgment, a vivid imagination, and a correct and refined taste. He never presented religion in a harsh or unpleasant manner; but by letting its native attractions, shine through the medium of a rich and elevated style, he sought to inspire every heart with love to its author. He had a deep solicitude for the welfare of the rising generation, and would often call together the children and youth in his parish, and with the most affectionate tenderness intreat them to remember their Creator, in the morning of life. His private character was distinguished by a combination of various excellences. His equanimity of temper was remarkable. Temperance and prudence combined, with the most refined affability and benevolence, rendered him an example of personal and social excellence. The calm serenity of mind, which he manifested, under every dispensation of Providence, was not the result of insensibility; for

he had a heart feelingly alive to all the tender sympathies of our nature.

Dr Milton P. Braman, the successor of Dr. Wadsworth, in the ministry of the first parish in Danvers, was ordained April 12, 1826.

The pastorates of the three last ministers of this ancient church, embraces a period of 138 years, and is probably without a parallel in New England.

OLD SCRAPS.

GENERAL COURT IN SALEM IN 1774.

Messrs. Editors.—I send you a copy of a document in my possession, which may be read with some interest. This paper is in the handwriting of Col Timo. Pickering.

B.

“Expences of fitting the Town House in Salem, to accommodate the House of Representatives. June, 1774:—

	£	s	d
Benja. Pickman, Esq., for boards, -	2	14	9
Josiah Gould, for Carpenter's work, -	1	5	4
Benj. Ward 3d. ditto & Joists, -	1	9	1
James Andrew, Carpenter's Work, -	1	5	4
Thos. Brown, ditto -	1	8	0
Willm. Pickman's acct. for Nails -	1	0	3
James Gould, for Carpenter's Work, -	1	13	10
	10	16	7

To the honorable House of Representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay:

May it please your Honours.—We received a letter from the Secretary, acquainting us that his Excellency the Governor had directed him to desire us to make provision for the accommodation of the two Houses; in consequence of which we ordered seats to be made in the Town House, where your Honours now sit; and the foregoing account shows the expences incurred thereby. Many other expences for cleansing and repairing, we have omitted; and nothing is included in the foregoing account but the charges necessarily occasioned in erecting those seats.

We pray your Honours' allowance of that account, and an order on the Treasurer for the amount thereof.

Timo. Pickering, Jun.,	} Selectmen of Salem.
Wm. Pickman,	
Willm. Northey,	
Rich'd Ward.	

SAM'L BROWNE—MERCHANT IN SALEM—HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPT. JOHN TOUNZELL—VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES.

SALEM, NEW ENGLAND, Decem'r 19, 1727.

Mr. John Tounzell —“You are hereby appointed Master of my Sloop Endeavour, and being Loaden & supplied with what is needful for your voyage, you are therefore to take ye first good opportunity of wind & weather, & come to Sail with sail vessel, directing your course and making the best of your way for the West Indies; and you may Touch at Barbados, St. Christopher's, or Antigua or Jamaica, and if any good marketts att any of those Places, then you may dispose of my Cargoe I consign you by Bill of Loading & Invoice herewith given you, to my best advantage, & Purchase & Loading of good Mollasses, Some Rum, good Cotton wool, good Cocoa Natts & good Indigo, and any other thing you may bring here with Safety, that will turn to advantage, or, if the markets are Low at ye English Islands, then you may goe & Trade at Guardelupe, Cape Francois, or any of the French Islands, where you Can gett Permittion to Trade, & with Safety, and bring my Effects as aforesaid. If you should Trade at Martinico, Gett of Mr. Barbolton the Effects of my Sloop's Cargo Left in his hands, of the Last Voyage in good Mollasses. Inquy your Owners Diligently in making Cask for your Mollasses which you purchase for me, make sure that before you Can back to New England to me, I have rec'd this on my account, If possible to avoid it. But Bring the whole Proceeds of my Cargoe in Such goods as I have mentioned. be Carefull to pay your Port Charges, and not to Bring anything Home to endang'r a Seizure of my Vessel. Take Care that yourself, Mate & Seamen Pay their Proportion of the charge of Permittion To Trade at the French Islands, if you Should go & Trade there; for it is Butt Reasonable that they Should Pay their Part who Reap Equall advantage with me according to their P.r.s, and Suffer nothing to be brought in the Vessel more than their Priviledge, without Paying freight. Consult my Interest, & make Dispatch in my Buissness, & use the greatest Prudence, Diligence & good Husbandry you Can in all my affairs, and Endeavour to make me a good Voyage, advise me of your Proceedings pr Every opportunity. So wishing you a Prosperous voyage, Comitt you to the Protection of Almighty God, I am

Yr Freind & Imployer,
Sam'l Browne.

Bring Some Oranges & Limes.

NOTICE TO PROPRIETORS OF BEVERLY BRIDGE IN 1788.

“To——.You, being one of the Proprietors of

Essex Bridge, and owning four shares, are hereby notified that a meeting of the Directors of said Bridge, held at Leech's tavern in Beverly, on Saturday the seventh day of June instant, they assessed on each share the sum of twenty dollars: and that the sum due from you is eighty dollars; which sum must be paid in fifteen days after this notice, otherwise your said shares will be sold at publick vendue, agreeably to the rules and regulations of the said Proprietors. Dated at Beverly this ninth day of June, 1788.

Your humble Servant,
Wm. Prescott, Propr's Clerk.

N. B. Payments must be made in Gold and Silver pr order of Directors."

The above notice is filled out and signed by Judge Prescott, Father of the Historian.

Richard Weight, Aged about 55 years, being sworne, saith:

That he being preasent, standing with Mr. Richard Margerum, neare to the Castle Tavern, he heard the said Margerum say that Mr. Browne kept a false booke and he would prove it see.

John Bushnell, Aged about 40 years, saith:

That he was standing by at the same time and heard Mr. Margerum speak the same words above mentioned and further these Deponents saith not.— These words were spoken in the open Sreett.

Sworne before me the 20th of the 4th month 1653.

Jo^s. Endecott, Gou^r.

SALEM, March the 13th, 1743.

Then Rec'd of Phillip English, Ten pounds In Bills of Crt., of the ould Tennor, In part of his Subscription for the North River Bridge.

£10 0s 0d.

pr

Sam'l West.

SOME REMARKS ON THE COMMERCE OF SALEM FROM 1626 TO 1740—WITH A SKETCH OF PHILIP ENGLISH—A MERCHANT IN SALEM FROM ABOUT 1670 TO ABOUT 1733-4.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

The Trade or Commerce of Salem most probably dates back to, or even prior to the settlement of the Place. Adventurers to this Western Coast after fish and furs, may have traded with the Naumkeags, ere Conant and his associates settled here. From what remains of

Gosnold's Observations in New England, the Indians by Cape Cod were not unacquainted with trade, and this is in 1602—twenty-four years before Salem is visited by Conant! It would seem as if *Conant and the planters might have been engaged in trade with the natives or others, because the planting of tobacco by these old settlers gave great offence to the second comers (the Puritans of 1628). the latter maintaining according to the orders of the Home Company that its culture was immoral, unless for medicinal purposes. Now, the cultivation must have been greater, of course, than was considered necessary for medicine, and the surplus was for trade. Such, at least, is a fair inference.

The second comers, (the Puritans of 1628-30) were not at first very zealous for trade.— The old planters, being of the moderate Episcopalian stamp, and of the Cape Ann settlement, were most probably in favor of it; but they possessed but little power, being soon swallowed up in the Puritan emigration. The †Puritans (second comers) though regarded by

*To judge from the testimony of *Brackenbury, Dixey, and Woodberry* (Salem Records, Registry of Deeds, vol. 5, pages 105 to 7) the early Planters were on the best terms with the native Indians in Salem, and thus had the opportunity of trading with them; and the Cape Ann Settlement had *boats*, which were doubtless used for fishing, and very probably trading, along the coast. As that settlement was originally intended as a planting, trading and fishing one, it is most likely that fish and furs were both sought from Salem, as from the vicinity—the search for both these articles being then common to adventurers to this Western Coast.

†The early settlers of Salem (1628-30) seem to come hither as *non-conformists*, or at least with that reputation. They soon however became congregational *separatists*, as were the Plymouth Colonists before them. The term *Puritan* seems in that day to have been applied more particularly to those who sought to purify the national church. The Plymouth Colonists however even before their departure from Europe were called *Brownists*, that is separatists from the national church—and though denying that particular name, were in fact Congregationalists.

the Home Company probably as in sympathy with the first settlers of Salem in their religious views, seem either to have sympathized practically with the Plymouth settlers ere they (the Puritans) came to Salem, or else changed their views very shortly after arrival. Some of them were evidently non-conformists at first. At all events their religious views assumed in Massachusetts a direct hostility to Episcopacy, and modified all their civil views. Once here, and independence both of the Church and State of England commences. Indeed, the Puritans cut adrift from about all authority, except the Bible, and the causes for it are partly to be found in their spiritual proclivities, and partly in the condition in which they found themselves on arrival. The Home Company, indeed, had given them instructions how to act, and expected a compliance therewith, but some of these instructions perhaps could not well be heeded, and some others were disregarded.—The Home Company were expecting prompt commercial returns and the Colonists were struggling for existence. The sudden liberty, too, which here greeted the Puritan, helped to break his ties to the Old Country. He should here realize, he thought, his enthusiastic dream—religious independence—and he allowed nothing to interfere with it. Trade was considered as of trifling consequence in the comparison.—So dominant was this faith and view, that it led the Puritans to do things which seriously embarrassed their allies in the Home Company, more particularly after the transfer of the Patent and Government here in 1630. It is much to be doubted moreover, whether the substantial Home *helpers of our Mass. Colony ever

The latter had been watched very narrowly by the Ecclesiastical tyranny at home, which suspected them from the first of separating entirely from the Church of England. This they had done, it appears, even before they left England for Europe. The Plymouth Church (congregational) must be regarded therefore as the Parent Church of Massachusetts—the seed of our Congregational system.

*Cradock, the first home Governor of the Company, and who was a very just, liberal and noble man—with

were repaid the debts incurred in their efforts to colonize. The contrary seems to have been the case, while the expulsion of the Browns—the punishment of Ratcliff—the sectarian law of †Freemanship, and the reported Judaistic tendency of some of the colonial legislation—all these reacted to the prejudice of the Home Company—paralyzed them in fact—strengthened the enemies of the Puritans in England—came near costing them their charter in 1638, and finally, recoiled upon themselves, perhaps, under the arbitrary James. The existence of

strong attachments to the church and State of England—which the Colonists evidently did not share with him—left a claim upon the Colony, which amounted in 1648 (so Felt says) to nearly £700. It is not probable that any of this was ever repaid.

†There can be but little doubt, that the Puritans acted from policy in their early measures for the exclusion of all but Congregationalists from power and influence in the Colony, the fear that the Episcopal tyranny at home would get a foot-hold among them to their destruction, if not utterly banished in any and every suspected shape. The miserable intrigues of Oldham and his confederates (Conformists) at Plymouth—which were evidently intended for the destruction of that Colony—very probably operated against the Browns in Salem—who, however, seem to have been honorable upright men, and who, as non-conformists, (as they most probably were) could not have been in good odor in England. The difficulty seems to have been, that the moderate Episcopalians in the Colony—those who were persecuted at home for non conformity—had to suffer here for the sins of the High Churchmen of Old England or New. The fear of the Puritans was natural perhaps, but, we cannot but think, exaggerated. The enemies they stirred up in the Old Country by this course, with the addition of the opposition of those thus treated by them, gave them more trouble in the end, than could the toleration of a few mere non-conformists among themselves. Toleration seems to have been with them rather a theory than a practice—as is indeed generally the case among men. Yet the Puritans behaved with very commendable justice to the Indians in the extinguishment of their land titles. In the one case they were politic—in the other just. A too faithful adherence to the Old Testament, and a too literal interpretation of it, led them into unreasonable peculiarities at times.

our Massachusetts colony for a series of years, seems to be a History of Escapes, and very narrow ones too, at times. The Puritans often escaped even the consequences of their own want of liberality, or wisdom, by some fortunate civil commotion in England, or some combination of events no human foresight could have perceived. They were defended, too, and stoutly, by their allies at home, when their acts were even detrimental to the interests of those allies.—Watched, suspected, and hated for their love of civil and ecclesiastical independence, they invariably escaped the snares laid for their destruction. Helping to maintain the Republic in England for a time, they founded one in New England for all time, and even under the very shadow of Monarchy the while.

It is not within the range of our subject to attempt to portray the characters of the Pilgrims—to endeavor to do them justice. But it is impossible not to refer to their characteristics, even in a sketch of their Commerce, for with them, as with all men, in History, Faith made the Man—whether as a Civilian or Upholder of Religion. The Puritan, and his polity were not sustained, moreover, by their defects, but virtues. His Commonwealth was not really founded on his misconceptions in regard to Divine or human legislation, but on positive and liberal ideas. The Puritan began by almost ignoring the advantages of Commerce, but when he saw his mistake, he became a firm and wise upholder of it, and was abundantly rewarded for his efforts. No Colony after its first start ever surpassed, let us say, ever equalled it for energy, industry, prudence, and economy. This the English Parliament in 1643 practically admit. The Puritan and his Commonwealth, too, were saved by what was good in them—and there was much. If he sometimes went back almost to first prejudices, he went back also to first principles in his faith and polity. The glory of his fame may be brighter, and its shadow somewhat deeper than is usual among men, for his lot was a more peculiar one. As the Pioneer of the Great Republic of religious and

civil Liberty—seeking to lay the foundations of its power upon first principles, and that too amid severe spiritual and temporal trials, it is no wonder, that he should have sympathised with the Jews when journeying to their promised Land—adopted some of their views, and felt himself like the Israelite—with the Egypt of Tyranny behind him, the perils of the way and the Heathen around him, and the promised Kingdom before him. Taking the Bible, as his literal guide, his visions and his journeyings were directed by its Light and Shadow, and that Light and Shade were cast from that Column, shrouding the Great Jehovah, which swept with such awful yet serene majesty over the trembling deep-day-shadowed or crimsoned night-sands of Arabia. So before our Fathers, visible to the eye of Faith, swept that awful column of cloud and flame, but over the desert of the sea and not the shore, and into the New Canaan filled with a more numerous Heathen, but of a still more abundant promise—the later Palestine of greater blessings both for the body and the soul. More or less of such a faith and belief entered into the hearts of the Puritans who sought these shores—and something also of the exclusive spirit of the Israelites as against the outside world. The parallel was carried at times too far with the Puritan, since he cut off even those who agreed with him in essentials, if not in forms. Such mistakes generally arose however not from the mere wantonness of tyranny, but that gravity of belief, which considers a different faith as heresy, and as the great evil, because destructive to the Soul. What the Puritan did right, he did well—earnestly, perhaps sternly, but thoroughly, and that both in Church and State. What he did amiss, was done as earnestly and decidedly—a proof both of the grave sincerity of his motives, and the fallibility of all human judgment in the hour of conflict between human power, whether temporal or spiritual, and the new faiths demands and wants of humanity. The Puritan failed in his mistakes and preju-

dices, but lived, and will ever live in his virtues.

The Home Company in England—under whose auspices Salem was permanently settled—was originally intended (says Hutchinson,) for trade and colonization, like the East India, and other great companies. It is certain, however, that the leading commercial men of the Company. Cradock, as an instance, had nobler views than mere pecuniary ones, although desiring, of course, remuneration for their outlays. The transfer of the Patent and Government here in 1630 moreover aided the commercial as well as civil freedom of the Colonists, since it was a practical bar to any Company monopoly in England. That transfer gave also, practically, the land of Massachusetts to the government of the Colony, which soon thereafter held it mainly as a trust for the common benefit of the people, which was not the original intention of the Company. This community of interests was partly based on old Saxon laws, and partly, perhaps, on reasons and necessities arising from their religious belief—their acknowledgement of common needs and a common destiny in things temporal, as spiritual. It gave a somewhat democratic character, at all events, to the partition of lands, and the establishment of the common rights of the Colonists in the ungranted land—the rights to wood, grass, pasture, passage,—of sea and shore. The necessity which compelled the early authorities of the Colony to grant land *in fee*, without reservation of rent or other qualification, so that the settlers should not be discouraged by not having lands of their own,—this very necessity both gave and begat a freedom which was fatal to all monopoly. The necessity, moreover, which compelled the early authorities to discharge the company servants, that they might not perish by famine while under their control, broke down the partition wall of an old world. Caste never to be rebuilt. The settlers under the charter had also valuable commercial privileges—being free from all duties to

and from English ports for 7 years, and thereafter for 21 years, except after the 7 years 5 per cent on merchandize entered into the English ports. At first, these privileges were thought but little of by the Puritan settlers.—They were thinking more of their independence of England in matters of faith, than of any commercial advantages to be gained in the new country. The Company in London urged trade upon them with a divided motive, partly to pay the expenses of colonization, and partly to defeat the schemes of Gorges and Mason by occupying advanced trading posts, and so gaining or maintaining title by adverse occupancy. The early Puritan settlers, however, besides feeling small interest in trade, found themselves on arrival in a position, not alone of independence, but without restraint. A wide ocean rolled between them and all home control. There was no spiritual or temporal power over them, whose arm could be immediately felt. A new and boundless Continent lay before them, with all its wealth and resources—the very aids to their spiritual independence. They were themselves laboring under a new vision for the future; were new men—with a new faith—in a new world.—Some of their dreams were grand and true; some were mixed with old world prejudices and tyrannies. Suddenly called upon to realize their wishes, hopes, ideas and prayers amid new and strange scenes, privations, dangers and sufferings, is it to be wondered at, that they, being human, should make errors? that having been bitterly persecuted, they in turn should sometimes abuse power? that having a stern, hard lot, they should at times be cold and literal themselves, or that they should occasionally mistake bigotry and prejudice for principle? Sudden freedom and power in this new world put them to the *practical* test, and by this, but in charity, must they be judged.

It is pretty certain, however, that the commercial schemes of the Company at home proved a failure; that they realized neither power nor

profit under their charter—that the transfer of that charter to Massachusetts; the independence of the Colonists here—at times even defiant—the large emigration into Salem; the peculiar circumstances of the Colony; and the civil troubles in England,—all served in a few years to open the way for liberty, both civil and commercial,—a liberty, the fruits of which we, even at this day, are reaping.

The entire separation of the Colony from England, may be said to commence at the settlement of the Puritans here. It was so also at Plymouth. The religious yoke is first thrown off—then follows the civil. There is an ostensible deference paid at times to the civil authorities in England, but underneath all there is a solemn determined and earnest independence of the mother country—the deep undertone of the faith and policy of the Colony. The Colonists were not, perhaps, always aware whither this was tending, and some of their measures were rather in reasonable disregard of England, and for economy, than pointedly intended as independent measures; but, as it had been with the faith of the Colonists, so it was with their commerce and trade, and they soon freed themselves, and were freed by circumstances also, from any restraint by the home Company, and resisted (and wisely and justly too,) the application of the laws of trade, which the Rulers of England, particularly after Cromwell's decease, sought to fasten upon them. The policy of the General Court and the large towns, from an early day, was to free themselves from dependence on England—to develop their own resources.—From the year 1645, and running to the American Revolution, commences a series of measures and laws fostering home manufactures of hemp, flax, clothing, &c.—some of these

measures being very stringent and compulsory. As early as 1645-6, a Town meeting was ordered in Salem to consider a stock of cotton wool—an agent at Barbadoes—and sowing of hemp and flax. The "Agent at Barbadoes" was of course to collect cotton for the public benefit, and in furtherance of the home manufacturing policy of the Colonists. This policy was not carried through without opposition from the English manufacturers, who, in after years, opposed it bitterly, but fortunately without success.

The Home Company begin their trade with Salem and vicinity in 1628. They send over with Endecott certain goods to traffic with the natives for beaver, otter, and other furs, and in 1629 he is ordered to send home to the Company in London two or three hundred firkins of Sturgeon and other fish, timber, †sassafras, †sarsaparilla, †sumach, †silk grass, and

†The "Sassafras" was the root of the Sassafras Tree, [*Sarub?*] valued in 1602 at 3 shillings a pound, and £336 the ton. To it was ascribed "Sovereign and Manifold Virtues." In Archer's account of Gosnold's Voyage to the North part of Virginia. (New England) Mass Hist. Coll. 3d Series 8th vol. pp 77-8, there is recorded a cure of "a great Surfeit" by the "powder of Sassafras." Sassafras seems to have been especially sought after by the early traders, most probably as a medicinal drug. It was called by the native inhabitants "*Wynauck*." It was thought to be good against contagious diseases.

†The silk grass, or grass silk was similar to that found in Persia, and out of which a somewhat coarse silk stuff called grograine [grogram] could be made. See Tracts appended to Brereton, Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d Series vol. 8, page 117. Through the kindness of Prof. John Lewis Russell, of Salem, we have been enabled to state what this grass is. He has determined it to be the *Yucca filamentosa* found growing in the Southern and Western States, and there vulgarly called Bear and Buffalo grass. Whether it grew wild in New England at that time is somewhat questionable. It appears to have been found in Florida and Virginia proper.

†The Sumach was well known and used in England in several of the arts, as affording a fine dye for black, green, or yellow—also for tanning. It is perhaps the *Virginia Sumach* which is meant, and

*Up to 1680, however, Massachusetts seems to have exported few or no manufactures, the cloth, both woolen and Linen, shoes, hats &c. made here were used in the country. Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d Series, vol 8, p 335, Governor Bradstreet's answer to the Lords of the Council.

Beaver. Corn seems to have been at first paid the Indians for Beaver—afterwards Wampum. The Colonists this year demand of the Home Company in turn, men skillful in making salt and pitch. ‡Staves are ordered this year as part of the return cargo of the Company; also Beaver and other furs, Clapboards and other wood. The Company seem now to ||control trade in Salem almost entirely, but this seems to have lasted but a very short time.

In 1629 we find the Home Company sending into Salem six ship builders, of whom Robert

which grows naturally in almost every part of North America.

†Sarsaparilla is most probably the same root as the Virginia and Jamaica Sarsaparilla, and which from its superiority finally excluded the oriental species from commerce. This is most probably the same Root "*Tsinaw*" mentioned in the tracts appended to Brereton (Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d series, vol. 8, page 119) as being one of the native products of Virginia. Both Sassafras and Sarsaparilla appear to have been abundant in New England at the first settlement, or are reported so.

Fia and Hemp were also native products of Massachusetts, but the high price of labor is the reason given for their non exportation about 1680. Enough only was raised for domestic purposes.

‡It is very probable that the Colonists, who were engaged then or afterwards in fishing, gave about five months of the year to that calling, and the remainder to planting, cutting timber, cleaving pipe staves, making clap-boards, boat building, &c. We infer this from some things (mentioned in Levett's voyage into New England 1623-4) that could well be done by Fishermen in these parts, and the Colonists were certainly a very industrious, capable set. See Mass Hist. Coll. 3d Series, vol. 8, p 187. The Colonists, it appears first fished in our harbors and bays, and at the Banks of Newfoundland, and afterwards also off the coast of Acadia [Nova Scotia].

||For the trade of the Company in London with Salem see Felt's annals. It was at first a monopoly, or something very nigh it. Our object is to sketch the trade of the Colonists—their own trade—and not the Company's trade, which was both a forced one, and of short duration. As a monopoly, it seems to have been abandoned both in London and Salem, and even then seems not to have been remunerative, to judge by Hutchinson, and others.

Moulton is chief, and two coopers and cleavers of timber, the last to prepare staves for return cargo, and that they order *three* ¶shallops to be built in Salem, doubtless for fishing purposes. It is most probable that these shallops if ever built, were built upon the Neck, near or upon Winter Island, which was used for the fisheries and ship-building from the very commencement of the town. There was in 1637 a §forest side to the Neck, as appears in

¶The Shallop (chaloupe) is the long boat, the largest boat usually accompanying a ship, furnished with a mast and sails. Those fitted for tenders to ships-of-war were sometimes decked and armed. *Falconer's Marine Dictionary*, 1789. An Encyclopedia of 1798 describes the Shallop as a large boat with two small masts and lug sails. It seems to have been in vogue, though with different rigs, with the French, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch. The word *Sloop* is an abbreviation of Shallop or Shalloop, though now having an entirely different signification.

Judging from what is said of the shallop in the New England Voyages in the Mass. Hist. Coll.,—of what Prince and Bradford say, and the comparison Hutchinson makes between the fishing shallops of 1749 and the fishing schooners then employed, the shallop of New England was often a decked boat of from ten to twenty tons. Like our New England pinnace, it seems to have been larger than its namesake in England or Europe, to judge by Marine Dictionaries. In a manuscript journal of a voyage 'In ye good Sloop Sarah' from the Island of Jersey to Cape Ann in 1724, which journal is in our possession, we notice the following, confirmatory of these views in regard to the shallop as a large decked boat.

¶From Thursday to Fryday ye 10th of July, 1724.
* * * at 4 this morning sounded, found 65 fathom cors (coarse) gry sand, got a cusk, saw two shallops & one Skooner of Marblehead, and they told us that Cape Sable Bore of them N. N. W. Dist. about 15 Leagues. These shallops appear to have been fishing off Cape Sable, and were, to judge by what Hutchinson says of them in 1749, about half the size of the schooner of that day.

§[25th of the 7th moneth, 1637.] 'George Wright is granted half an acre of the Neck to build upon, and five acres on the forest side to plant on, and to keep a Ferry between Butt poynt and Darbye Fort.'

1st vol. Records of Salem, page 25.

NOTE. The above would seem to indicate by one

the Book of Grants in Salem, and from this very forest, the first craft in Salem may have been framed. Salem became noted afterwards as one of the principal places for building vessels in the Colony.

The early, the long continued, the staple trade of Salem, was the fisheries. We see

manner of reading, certainly, that there was a *building side* and a *forest side* to the Neck in 1637. It may be that the "forest side" means Forest (River) Side, though it seems otherwise. As the Islands in our Harbor were, however, "*replenished with thicke wood and high trees*" (according to Mr Higginson) in 1629, it is most probable that the Neck was covered, in part at least, by a native forest, and that out of this forest there were trees fit for ship-building.

That the Neck was very early used for ship-building, we infer, from one or two items of History. In 1636, Richard Hollingworth, a *ship builder*, gets a grant of land from the Town, and in 1690 the land (on the Neck) formerly belonging to Richard Hollingworth, was ordered to be laid out (Felt 1st vol. 192 page). Moreover, in 1637 (20th 4th mo.) Richard Johnson is received an inhabitant and is appointed half an acre of Land (the same amount as George Wright was granted on the Neck) "for an house lott nere unto Richard Hollingworth's workes. Salem Records, 1st vol. page 21. As it is a matter of history that this Richard Hollingworth built a ship of 300 tons in Salem in 1641, these items, with the tradition on the subject, which agrees with them, go to prove that Richard Hollingworth had a *ship-yard* on the Neck in 1637. Robert Moulton probably had one there even before him. Ship-building may also have been commenced thus early in the *Creek* (South River). George Curwen (according to tradition) built a ship there in 1640.

†The English had freely used the coast of New England for the fisheries before the settlement at Salem, and the royal charter reserved this right to Englishmen after the settlement—a right which was freely used, it seems. Newfoundland had an English settlement at the time.

The early fisheries were quite profitable, to judge from Levett's account of the trade in 1623-4, where in he says he has "attained to the understanding of its secrets." According to him, a ship of 200 tons, with a crew of 50 men, the ordinary crew for such sized vessels in the fisheries, would be at an outlay

indeed some of her sons from 1630 to 1658 engaged in the Beaver and Peltry trade, once valuable, but this was almost extinct in 1688, and at that time the fisheries, whale and other, were as productive as ever. The harbor and rivers of Salem swarmed with fish, among which cod and bass were very plenty. So plentiful were they, that they were used for manure up to 1639, when the General Court forbid it.—Great favor was early shown the fishermen in Massachusetts by law, such as freedom from taxation on their stock and fish, and from military duty while engaged in their occupation. The early foreign trade, that is imports of the colony, seems during the first few years to have been in the hands or power either of the Home Company, or the Government of the colony, as representing either them or the colonists; but it is doubtful if this policy ever extended over the fisheries, or if so, it must have been for a very short period. The fisheries were considered so important, that as early as 1635, the

of some £800—the cost for 9 months victualling, &c. One third of the catch, "fish and train," being deducted as "freight" for the owners—another as a share for the crew—and the balance for expenses,—the owners' one third part of the cargo would yield £1340 "for disbursing of £800 9 months." The cargo sold in Spanish ports from 36 to 44 rials per quintal.

Our Salem fishing craft were not so large as Levett's "ship," but were shallops of from 10 to 20 tons, say—ketches of from 20 to 40—and finally schooners from 30 to 60 or more, carrying not more than from 4 to 8 or 10 men say. Small boats were perhaps used at first. Still the trade was profitable, Salem and Massachusetts being built up by it in the early day. The fisheries and the timber trade gave Salem, doubtless, two thirds or more of her early wealth.

In the middle ages, the Alchemists said, "*cum sole et sale omnia fiunt*." Willembulkels seems to have been the first, who, in the middle ages, suggested the idea of making use of salt in the curing of fish. The plan succeeded so well that Charles the Fifth, being in the low countries, went to Bier-Viet to see the tomb of the humble fisherman, wishing thereby to honor the memory of one who had rendered so great a service to his country. American Journal of Pharmacy, vol. 31 No. 3 page 259.

General Court appoint a committee to *impress* men, who shall unload *salt* when it arrives.— This is evidently in a good part owing to the value of the salt for the fisheries. They were not hampered with the early restrictions imposed on foreign imports so far as we can find, and soon became profitable. After the colonists had built their houses, cleared their lands, established their common rights, raised enough to help support life, either in grain or animals and somewhat settled down, their attention was more particularly devoted to the fisheries. It seems most probable that a certain class of men, however, devoted themselves in Salem almost exclusively to this business, and from the commencement of the town. Winter Island was their head quarters. They obtained the use of certain lots on the Island, and certain common rights adjacent, and this island continued to be used by fishermen until, and after a division of the common lands about 1714. It was there expressly reserved by the commoners for the fisheries, as it had ever been before. This reservation, moreover, was of a great common right, viz—the free use of this Island for fishing purposes; since the *fee* seems, as a general rule, never to have left the town like other grants. Those who built houses, fish-houses, warehouses and wharves on this Island, only gained an *usufructuary* right for the time being. Yet this Island has seen a busy fishing population gathered upon it, and as late as 1731 there were conveniences

upon the Neck, which in all probability means this Island, for *forty* vessels and their fares. All this is now a tale of the past. Indeed, just before 1700, this Island was a still busier scene in all probability, as Salem sent out over sixty fishing Ketches, of from twenty to forty tons, which evidently discharged their cargoes in Salem, and most likely on the common ground or land for the fishermen. In 1660, Baker's and Misery Islands were both set apart by the General Court for the free use of fishermen, and were probably intended to be especially used by the Salem, and perhaps Marblehead fishermen. From the year 1629 to 1740, or thereabouts, ¶ Winter Island seems to be the head quarters of the Salem fishing trade, and that trade itself seems to have been our *staple* trade down to a much later period, even to the American Revolution, and the great change of trade consequent upon it.

¶ Winter Island seems (according to Felt's Annals,) to have been used for the Fisheries up to about 1739. The business was then removed, and it was let with the Neck for pasturage of cattle. In 1679, so many were the residents there, that John Clifford was licensed to keep a victualling house for their convenience. In 1684, several merchants had leave to build wharves on its flats. In 1698-9, the Island had a regular street, called Fish street; and in 1701 the shoremen had permission to fence it in, to keep out animals, with a gate for men and carts. When the Commoners in 1714 granted it to the town, they expected it would always be used for the fishing business, as it had been before. It would seem as if even the *building* lots early granted to the fishermen on this Island, were only *usufructuary* rights, since the whole fishing village there has totally disappeared. The building lots, on the contrary, granted in the body of the town, were mainly proprietary—generally with certain conditions to be first performed—and thence in fee. See Vol. 1st, Records of Salem, *passim*. It may be as well here to state that what is now Collins' Cove, at the bottom of Essex street, was anciently called "Shallop Cove," according to tradition—and this because the fishermen moored their shallops there, and lived on the shores. This was an important Cove of Salem, at and prior to 1692. It had a street of fishermen's huts, which ran on a line with the Cove.

According to the same authority, the Hebrews were well acquainted with the antiseptic properties of salt, and employed it in the preservation of their meats. The Pagans even used it to retard the putrefaction of the flesh of their victims.

For Levett's calculations of the profit of the fishery, see Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series vol. 8 pp. 186-7. Article—*Levett's Voyage into New England*.

¶ Massachusetts could not well have *exported* much *grain* before 1640, whatever she may have exported in fish, since in 1637 there were only 37 ploughs in the whole colony, says Graham, the most of them being in Lynn.

It is not probable that the Commerce of Salem began to have an independent being before *1640-1. The arrivals before that time are mostly foreign ships into Salem—that is vessels belonging to the corporation in England, or other parties abroad. These supplied the colony with various needed articles, which seem to have been under the control of the General Court and Governor, who levied certain duties upon them. The Governor, (Hutchinson says,) was the naval officer of the colony. The monies so raised went into the colonial treasury. As to the laws of trade in England, the colonists seem to have ignored them utterly—Up to 1670 no custom house seems to have been established in New England by the home authorities. From 1629 to 1640 Salem seems to get along without much shipping of her own, but the failure of the emigration about the latter year, threw her upon her commercial energies, and the Rev. Hugh Peters stimulated her with a far sighted sagacity into ship building. To be sure, between these years we see occasional gleams of commercial life in the first few beginnings of the colonists. A small vessel of some twelve tons (belonging to Salem) is in our bay in 1631, with two hogheads of train (whale?) oil as an item of her cargo.—

*Hutchinson says that the colonists began about 1637 to build small vessels for the fisheries, and trade with the adjacent colonies. The leading men, at the first, in Massachusetts, were not in favor of, or engaged in commerce. The colony was probably forced into it to supply its wants. It is most probable that prior to 1637, Robert Moulton, of Salem, and his shipwrights built several small decked vessels on the Neck, for fisheries and trading. The three shallops to be built in 1629, were very probably decked boats of several tons burthen.

The first mention of commerce in the *Colony Records* is in 1645, when friendly foreign ships are permitted to trade here on payment of certain duties—almost a free trade. In 1652 a committee are appointed to consult the best way of trade. (Note.—Commerce had, however, evidently got to be a power in the State before 1645 or 1652, or the General Court would not have been aroused to its importance.)

In 1655 we see that the General Court adopt a protective policy for the staple commodities of this country, by forbidding the importation of malt, wheat, barley, biscuit, beef, meal and flour (which are described as our principal commodities) from any part of Europe, unless it be to provision ships, on penalty of confiscation! See *Col. ny Records*.

She perhaps comes up from Cape Cod, where whales were first captured by small boats from the beach. The same year a pinnace goes down from Salem to Plymouth for corn. Salem had an abundance of canoes (pine dug outs) in 1633, and there were more here than in the whole Patent. With these the colonists ferried our rivers and went out even leagues to sea for fowling, fishing, &c. After these, doubtless, came shallops, †pinnaces, and finally larger craft. The impetus given by Rev. Hugh Peters in 1640-1 to ship building, produced an abundant supply of vessels in a few years. Richard Hollingworth, a ship builder by trade, and who came to Salem in 1635, began in Feb'y, 1641, to build a ship of three hundred tons, which was finished and launched the succeeding June. From all which can now be gathered, his ship yard appears to have been in the lower part of Salem, on the Neck. This ship may be the ship *Mary Ann*, of Salem, mentioned as of 1643. What number of vessels were thus built in Salem about this pe-

†Falconer, in his *marine Dictionary*—1789—describes the Pinnace as an eight oared boat, navigated with oars and sails, having generally two masts, and rigged like a schooner. This description, however, is manifestly inapplicable to the early Pinnaces of New England, for Prince, in his *New England Chronology*, speaks of the arrival into Salem, May 27, 1631, of a Pinnace of 18 tons, from Virginia, laden with corn and tobacco—a very happy arrival, the corn, at least,—for the Colonists then here. She was bound further North, but foul weather compelled her to put in here. Prince moreover speaks of the way in which the Plymouth Colonists in 1626 made a small Pinnace, viz: by sawing in halves their larger Shallop, adding five or six feet in the centre,—strengthening her timbers,—building up decks, and giving her sails and anchors. From further items in Prince, it appears that the Pinnaces of New England were large decked boats, for not only can they carry 100 bushels of corn, 12 Hogheads of corn, &c., but he mentions the fact that Capt. Dermer went from Cape Cod to Virginia, discovering by the way Long Island Sound, “in an open pinnace of five tons.” The presumption is, then, that the Pinnaces of the Colony were generally large decked boats. Prince mentions one Pinnace sent over to the Plymouth Company by the adventurers in England, for the use of the Colony, of forty four tons burthen. Pinnaces and Shallops are very often mentioned in the early history of Massachusetts—the Shallops appearing, however, to be the smaller boat, and often open.—The *Ketch* was built here quite early, to judge by an item in Prince. As Prince gets his facts mainly from Bradford, we can be sure they are correct.

riod does not appear, but probably quite a number. It is most likely that small vessels were built to supply the colony with grain from the neighboring colonies, for Massachusetts seems never to have produced continuous abundant export crops of grain. At times, corn and wheat were alarmingly scarce in the colony. Massachusetts had a more certain crop in her fisheries, and the mackerel, cod, cusk, &c., which she soon cured and exported to the West Indies and Spain, brought her back an abundance of money and foreign produce to supply her own needs. Besides fish and oil, she first sent back to the Old Country, timber, tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, clapboards, and other wood, and afterwards to the West Indies her lumber, corn, beef, pork, (masts, clapboards?) pipe staves, and sundry other commodities. In 1643 the English Parliament release New England from all duties on imports and exports which are for home consumption. Massachusetts, and Salem as an important port in it, seem now to have fairly entered into the West India and colonial trade. Salem began cautiously, but soon used her commercial freedom to advantage. The Portuguese and Spanish West Indies were not forgotten, though her largest trade was, it would appear, with Barbadoes and the lee-

†“In consideration of the success and increase of the New England Colonies, and that they had been *no charge* to the nation, and in prospect of their being in future very serviceable to it, the English Parliament, March 10, 1643, granted them an exemption from all customs, subsidies and other duties, until further order.” This gave to the Colonies a freedom of trade, by which they flourished greatly.

¶We hear much of Barbadoes as one of the early and earliest Ports at which our Salem vessels traded. This Island, according to Pinkerton, was settled by the English as early as 1624, is one of the chief of the Carribee Group, was exceedingly fertile, and became the favorite centre of a great emigration during the civil commotions in England, so that in 1660 it contained some twenty thousand white population. Being left to its own efforts, and with an unlimited freedom of trade, it flourished greatly. Charles the 2d, at the restoration, for its loyalty, bestowed the dignity of Baronage on thirteen of its principal inhabitants. Antigua, called Ontega, another of the group, mentioned in our later Salem commerce, may be said to have commenced to flourish after 1674, and at or about 1700 contained some five thou-

ward Islands. She traded with the Dutch and English Buccaneers also, who, robbing the Spaniards of their bullion, paid it over to Salem and New England merchants for supplies. About this time the larger colonies also unite for defence and protection, and a common spirit of good will and of enterprise bind them together commercially, and favors adventurous trade. Being, too, on the right side of the Republican party in England, they are favored in that quarter, and this was a decided advantage. We find, moreover, that our Salem people as a general rule discuss matters of trade as a *public affair*, for in 1645 a general town meeting is ordered to consider of “Publicke tradings and other things.” The community soon seem to have been awake to the importance of trade either internal or external, for we find the subject of manufactures, clothing, trade, raising of wool, flax, flheup, &c., not unfrequent topics of public discussion in town-

sand white inhabitants. Barbadoes produced, as chief products, sugar, cotton, ginger and aloes. Antigua, sugar, Cotton Wool and Tobacco. This latter Island had excellent harbors, which may have rendered it more of a favorite for our shipping than some others of the Carribee Group. According to *Salmon*. (in his Geographical Grammar, 1760,) Barbadoes was settled mainly by Cavaliers from England. Tobacco was first planted there, which did not succeed, and afterwards Cotton and Indigo, which were profitable. Sugar works were first erected by the English Cavaliers in 1647, and the trade then became profitable. The sugar trade of N. E. with Barbadoes commenced say between 1647 and '50. The Cotton Wool trade began before. That Salem should have commenced trading with Barbadoes is very natural, since S. was for a while after its settlement the resort of the moderate Episcopalians—those who had not entirely abandoned the Church and State of England, and Barbadoes was not very distant from this faith and belief.

St Christopher seems to have been the first settled of the British West India Islands, though Barbadoes has the credit of being. St. Christopher seems not, however, to be mentioned much in our early Salem Commerce, that is before 1700. Philip English was trading there in 1688-9, to judge by old accounts. Edwards' Hist. West Indies, Vol. 1, 405, commences the history of this Island, which see.

¶ Hemp grew wild in Massachusetts, and the Indians (says Lewis,) made fishing lines of it of great fineness. The early Colonists were advised by those in Authority to cultivate it for manufacturing purposes; and the Inventories of the old estates sometimes show that this advice was heeded.

To be Continued.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE COMMERCE OF SALEM FROM 1626 TO 1740—WITH A SKETCH OF PHILIP ENGLISH—A MERCHANT IN SALEM FROM ABOUT 1670 TO ABOUT 1733-4.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

[Continued from Page 76.]

If we are to judge of the success of our Salem fishermen about 1647, by that of our Marblehead brethren at the same time, we shall see that this trade was valuable; for the latter had taken up to the middle of January that year, about £4000 worth of fish. In 1648 Salem suffered, we must believe, from the scarcity of corn, caused by its excessive importation from Mass. to the Spanish and Portuguese West Indies; and it is not at all unlikely that these repeated scarcities of grain finally compelled our people to retain their own grain, and even replenish their stores by seeking the more Southern settlements, Virginia and Maryland, where wheat and corn were a staple crop. At all events this trade sprang up, and most probably in this natural way Virginia and Maryland, perhaps before, but certainly after 1680, took West India products, Rum, Molasses and Sugar, and also salt, wooden ware, Kegs, Cider, Cans, &c. from us, and in return gave us Wheat, Corn, Pork, Bacon, Peltry, Tobacco, Hides, Old Iron, &c. Boston seems to have been, throughout, the great magazine of English and European goods and manufactures, and supplied the Colonies mainly with these. As early as between 1650 and 1660 a line of Packets ran between Boston and

the old country. Between the years 1629 and 1650, especially between '40 and '50, Salem commenced her commercial career, and at the close found herself with shipping and means; and trading not alone with the mother country, but with the West Indies, Bermudas, Virginia and Ontega (Antigua.) She had found supplies of salt, probably at *Saltitudes and *Tortuga, and most probably also received them from Lisbon, Cadiz, St. Ubes and Isle of May. So important had become the commerce of Massachusetts, and Salem shared no mean part of it, that a Committee are appointed in 1650 to examine a book entitled "*Lex Mercatoria*," and report to the next Gen'l Court what they find therein applicable to "deciding of maritime affairs in this jurisdiction." During this period, however, the Bar-

**Saltituda*, or *Saltitudos*, may be what is now known as *Salt Island*, one of the Virgin Group, West Indies, S. E. of Tortola, and belonging to the English. It is evidently a Spanish word, and perhaps a diminutive of the name *Salt Island*. It is difficult to locate this spot, even if an English possession, since *Salmon*, in his Geographical Grammar of 1760, is entirely silent about it. At all events, we may safely conclude that *Salt* was the staple product of this place, wherever it was located in the W. I. group.

Tortuga is probably the Tortuga of the Carribee group, close to the Spanish Main, and not the Tortuga near St. Domingo—an early French possession. Edwards, in his history and map of the West Indies, 1793, calls the Tortuga, near the Spanish main,

bary †Corsairs troubled our commerce seriously. In connection with the fisheries, ship build-

ing of course flourished, and great pains were taken by the †early authorities of Salem to

"*Salt Torogo*," which makes our supposition the more probable.

Various attempts were made by a few of the early and enterprising Colonists to supply our Salem fisheries with Salt manufactured here, and they obtained certain protective privileges from the General Court in aid of their efforts, but the Colonists obtained their main supplies abroad, and were compelled so to do. See Felt's Annals in regard to Salt manufacturing in Salem.

†Piracy and freebooting seem, in the early history of the Colony, to have been considered more as an annoyance than a crime. The West Indians were infested with Pirates—Freebooters—Dutch, French and English, who preyed generally upon the Spaniards and traded freely with the N. E. Colonists.

Buccaneering or freebooting does not seem to have been, or regarded as piracy in the beginning, because then based on regular letters of marque and reprisal. Besides, the Buccaneers were also smugglers for the Spaniards. Charles the 2d knighted Morgan, one of the celebrated Buccaneers, and (says Edwards' Hist. West Indies, Vol. I, p. 161,) is charged with being privately concerned in their fortunes, even after having issued public orders for their suppression. The system begat license, however, but being fashionable in high quarters, no wonder that piracy, so much resembling it, should be regarded by the Colonists as an annoyance rather than a crime.

English pirates came boldly into Massachusetts Bay from 1685 to 1705, and plundered vessels, and though sometimes caught, generally seem to have escaped punishment. In 1689, pirates took the ketch Mary, Capt. Chard, three leagues from Half Way Rock, were afterwards captured in the Vineyard Sound, by Capt. Samuel Peas of Boston, brought to Boston and condemned, though they seem (says Felt,) to have been reprieved—and this too when they had mortally wounded their captor. The same year, the ship Pelican, a pirate, brought a prize into Salem (?) and sold her. It has been said that the pirates about New England, for thirty or forty years prior to 1700, were connived at. Lord Bellamont seems to have been the first who arrested and punished them. Numbers were executed in Boston just before 1700, while Bradish, Kidd and others were carried to England and executed. In 1704, Major Stephen Sewall, together with Captain John Turner and forty-eight volunteers from Salem, capture

Capt'n John Quelch and his piratical crew, who had gone boldly into Gloucester, and Quelch and five of his men were hung. So says Felt. It would seem as if the freebooting spirit had rather been encouraged at first, as against the Spaniards; but the general license it begat, convinced the Colonists finally that it was totally wrong and criminal, and they resolved to break it up.

The history of Piracy and Freebooting has been written, and for a reference thereto, see Edwards' Hist. W. Indies, and Ree's Encyclopedia, Article, Buccaneer. After the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, Buccaneering in all quarters seems to have declined. Before that time, Port Royal, Jamaica, seems to have been their rendezvous—the English profiting by these forays as against the Spaniards. The Spaniards seem to have borne the principal brunt of these outlaws, who, if they could not smuggle for them, robbed them, whether by land or sea. The New England Colonies reaped, after all, perhaps, the main benefit of their forays against the Spaniards.

The Turks, that is, we presume, the Barbary and Tunisian pirates, troubled our early Commerce, especially when in the English Channel, for many years. Even the vigorous action of the great Admirals of the Commonwealth in England, did not wholly subdue these outlaws. What with these Pirates—Spanish, and French Privateers—English Freebooters, Dutch men-of-war, and the Indians—the Commerce of Salem up to 1730 ran at times a fearful gauntlet, saying nothing of the usual dangers of the Sea. It is evident that the old times of commerce were not as good as the new.

‡As early as 1637, the citizens of Salem prohibited the transportation of boards and Clapboards from their Plantation, without leave of the Selectmen, since many of "the best tymer trees" had already been used for these purposes; and in 1640 the Authorities publicly asked for plank fit for shipping, and forbid any ship timber near Salem or Marblehead being made into Clapboards or pipe-staves. As the forest in and around Salem was then a common property of the inhabitants, these laws had a public force. To judge by some accounts of Capt. Wm. English, as late as 1713-14, such laws were probably common to the maritime towns throughout New England; as he, being then at Branford, Connecticut, in the Brigantine Wm. & Susannah, charges as one item of expense at B., "to ye Selectmen, for 2

preserve the ship timber on the common lands for this purpose. They seem to have been tolerably successful in their efforts. The first attempts at ship building in Salem were perhaps somewhat rough, for as late even as 1667, a maritime code of laws are adopted, looking to the better building of vessels, and more correct proceedings in admiralty cases. As early as 1644 the Gen'l Court pass an order for the better building of vessels.

From 1650 to 1660, Salem seems to have flourished. Beginning with a population of some two hundred say, in 1629, she had increased to some thousand or more in 1640, and in spite of the setting off of Marblehead, Wenhams, Manchester and part of Topsfield between 1639 and 1650, still in 1654 she contained over a thousand inhabitants as is supposed, and in 1660 probably contained from a thousand to twelve or thirteen hundred. Her wealth was most probably great in proportion to her population. Her territory diminished, and almost her population, yet she flourished in trade. Being in favor with the Commonwealth and Cromwell, Salem in common with the colony flourished, while Bermuda, Virginia, Barbadoes and Ontega (Antigua) fell under the displeasure of the Parliament, because of their loyalty to the royal party, and were cut off from their trade for a while, and finally subdued. Very severe commercial ordinances were passed as against the colonies, but though professedly general in their nature, yet Massachusetts and New England never suffered much by them, the main intent of these laws be

ing to punish the royalist colonies, Virginia suffering severely by them.

In 1651 Massachusetts is exporting corn, beef, pork, masts, clapboards, pipe staves, fish, beaver, otter and other commodities. In 1652 she commences to coin money, an act of sovereignty, and sends out her silver coin, the produce of the bullion taken from the Spaniards by the Buccaneers, and of the West India trade of the colonists. In 1654 no person is to carry out of Massachusetts more than 20 shillings in *coin, and searchers are appointed to see that the law is obeyed. About this time the Dutch trade (with New York) is so profitable to Massachusetts, that our people are indisposed to war with their Dutch neighbors, the other colonies being otherwise disposed. This shows that the commerce of Massachusetts with New York was then important, and in all probability Salem was somewhat engaged in it. In 1655 Admiral Blake punishes the Algiers and Tunis Pirates, and Jamaica is wrested from

*Money was scarce in Massachusetts for a long period, and even the customs were often paid in *grain*, of course at a certain cash value. The General Court in 1631 made Indian corn a legal tender for debts, unless money or beaver was expressly mentioned as the consideration. This was partly to encourage the raising of grain to prevent future famine, and partly, perhaps, a necessity of the times. Beaver, wampum, grain, fish, lumber and live stock were all *specie* in the early days of Massachusetts—part of them even down to 1775.

One of the reasons for this state of things was, that Massachusetts mainly created her own wealth by her own independent industry, and with none of the precious metals in her soil. It was in furtherance of her independent industry and spirit, that in 1652 she commenced coining money on her own account, and it is a striking evidence of her practical independence of the English government both at that time and for years afterwards. It was as reasonable in her, too, as it was independent, and was finally regarded in England as a practical declaration of independence, and is duly paraded as one of the crimes of Massachusetts in the judgment to vacate the colonial charter in 1684. The coining of money is one of the attributes of sovereignty, and was so considered as against Massachusetts.

permits to load Staves, five shillings.¹⁹ The 1st volume of the Town Records of Salem contains various items of interest in regard to the disposal of the ancient forest of Salem; the tenure by which it was held, both by the public and individuals, (the wood being sometimes expressly reserved for public uses in town grants of land) and the disposition to be made of it by fishermen and others. The history of the ancient common rights of Salem is a very singular and instructive one, and based upon a somewhat Democratic community of interests.

the Spaniards, and so opens another field for our commerce. The fame of the great English Admirals of the commonwealth made all our colonial commerce more secure up to 1660, even the Dutch being obliged to give way before them. In 1655 the General Court see and feel the necessity of encouraging commerce as well as husbandry, and of promoting an union between them. In 1658 appears a notice of the farmers of the customs in Massachusetts, the customs being let out—farmed out—as was a custom in Old England at the time. Felt says that there was a port house (†Custom House) on the South River in Salem in 1636, and that there was another called *The French House* on South River in 1645, lasting thirty-four years. These must then have been instituted by the colonial authorities, and not by the home government.

From the restoration of Charles the 2d, in 1660 to †1670, the period when we take up the

†The Custom House in Salem in 1682 was a small building adjoining, or attached to the old mansion of Benjamin Brown, Esq., still standing on Essex and East streets. This fact seems to indicate that the commerce of Salem at that period was carried on in the lower part of the town, and that this location was a central one. Our authority here is Benj. Brown, Esq., himself, now an octogenarian and a dweller upon the spot.

†The Massachusetts colonists, according to Hutchinson, admitted to the King's commissioners in 1665, that they possessed about 80 vessels of from 20 to 40 tons, about 40 from 40 to 100 tons, and about a dozen ships above 100 tons. Of these Salem had undoubtedly built, and then owned, her share. The *Colony Records* confirm this. Vol. 4 part 2.

In 1680 Massachusetts seems to have about 120 ships, sloops, ketches and other vessels, viz:—8 or 10 ships of 100 tons or upwards, 3 or 4 of 200 tons or more, 40 or 50 fishing ketches between 20 and 40 tons, and about 6 or 8 English ships which come to trade. The most of these 120 vessels belonged to the colony. The balance (unaccounted for) were colonial, West India and other traders, we suppose, and were sloops and ketches very probably. See Mass. Hist. Coll.—Article, "Gleanings for New England History." 3d series vol. 8 page 338.

history of Philip English as one of our Salem merchants. Salem seems still to progress in commerce. Salem is †building vessels for her own trade, and perhaps for other places. From 1659 to 1677 there appear to be not less than four noted ship builders in Salem, one of whom, Jonathan Pickering, gets a grant of land about Hardy's Cove, from the town, to himself and heirs forever to build vessels upon.—From 1692 to 1718 seven ship builders appear prominent in Salem, among whom are the names of Joseph Hardy and William Beckett, the latter name being associated even down almost to these days with ship building—a Beckett having built the fast sailing *America*, cruiser, for the Crowninshields. In 1724 so important had become our ship building in Massachusetts, that sixteen master builders belonging to the Port of London petition the Lords of Plantations not to encourage ship building in New England. They say their journeymen are drawn to this country, and that in case of need there would not be a sufficiency of ships for the royal navy. Massachusetts was then too well rooted and grounded in independence and prosperity to heed these assaults. She practically disobeyed too, the act of 1660—the plantation act—which would have compelled her ships to give bonds to the Custom House in England, to carry plantation produce to England, or the other English possessions.—In 1662 our town authorities endeavor to accommodate at the Burying Point, those desirous of graving vessels, which shows our commerce then to have been of public importance. About this time the Virginia trade is of consequence, several of our citizens being engaged in it. In 1663 William Hollingworth, a Salem merchant, agrees to send 100 hogsheads of tobacco from the river Potomack by ship from

†The Neck—about the Burying Point—on the creek (South River)—various places on the South River—Hardies Cove—Frye's Mills—are all noted as localities for *ship yards* in our Salem history—the Neck (including Winter Island) being probably the most ancient among them.

Boston to Plymouth in England, the Island of Jersey, or any port in Holland, and thence to the said Island for £7 sterling a ton. The unwarrantable war commenced against the Dutch by the home government in 1664, and which resulted in the capture of N. York from Holland, reacted upon the colonial commerce severely, for De Ruyter made in 1665 considerable havoc at Newfoundland, by accident alone was kept from New England, and alarmed all the colonies; and in 1667 some Dutch men-of-war ravaged the coast of Virginia, plundered some eighteen or nineteen sail of merchantmen John Brown, son of elder John, of Salem, William Hollingworth, John Norman and Robert Stone of Salem, being taken prisoners and plundered by them. They threatened to visit New England, and this irritated and seriously alarmed the colonists.

In 1667 the colony encouraged the making a dry dock which is subsequently located at Charlestown. It appears in 1668 from a petition extensively signed in Salem, for the repeal of an order of a late General Court, laying a *duty of one per cent. on imports and exports,

*The duties levied by the Colonial Government on its Commerce were not oppressive, or if judged to be onerous were soon changed, especially as the General Court and Governor looked to the popular sentiment of the Colony, and respected it far more than the threats or frowns of the mother country, whether in matters of trade or policy. In 1635, the duties amount practically to £5 per cent. In 1636 Tobacco, strong drinks, Wine, Sugar, Spices, and fruit—that is articles of luxury—pay one-sixth of their value, with an additional one third for retailing. In 1645, Wines from different quarters pay from 5 to ten shillings the pipe—fresh wines 2s 6d per hogshead, and Strong Waters 10 shillings per hhd. In 1648, somewhat similar duties are paid on Spirits. In 1676, Goods, Wares and Merchandize, living cattle and provisions pay 10 shillings on each £100 value—Wines pay from 10 shillings to £1. per ton—Brandy £2 do. Every ship of 200. tons and upwards, 10 shillings the ton—small vessels each voyage 6s. 8d. (this was for the Colony vessels—their passes from the Governor, we presume)—Each Stranger vessel, not built in the Colony and above 20 tons, paid each

and 2d on all grain from adjacent colonies, that from 30,000 to 40,000 bushels of grain were brought into Massachusetts. Other towns petition likewise. From this we see that Massachusetts was dependent on the more southern colonies, probably, for grain, and that a considerable trade was carried on between

voyage one half pound powder per ton, or 9d in money—Strangers vessels, a ton 6d—no customs on any exports, except 6d each on Horses. At this date, foreign vessels from all quarters trade freely with Mass., and are encouraged to do so by our authorities in direct opposition to the English Laws of Trade. In 1680, one penny a pound on goods imported—no export duty. In 1686, Sir Edmund Andros began his tyrannical rule in Massachusetts, and levied exorbitant taxes, according to *Trumbull*, part of which may have fallen on Commerce. In 1689, he is overthrown, and King William proclaimed. The Charter he grants, is not so favorable to the Colonists for Commerce, as their old one, which they had construed moreover in their own favor, and in a very liberal manner. As the Colonists had controlled their own trade, and had enjoyed heretofore a comparative free trade, and had thriven by it, and saw its advantages, they spiritedly declared through the first act of their Legislature after they had received the Charter, that “no aid, tax, tollage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levied on his majestys subjects or their estates, on any pretence whatever, but by the act and consent of the Governor, Council and representatives of the people assembled in General Court.” This was intended to maintain their independence in trade, as before the charter, and in 1718, the General Court went so far as to lay a duty on English goods and English built ships, which, however, was soon repealed, but their boldness caused great displeasure in England. These things however show the spirit and independence of the Colonists. In 1726, the duties ran from 20 to 30 shillings per pipe on Wine—Rum 20s. the hhd. of 100 gallons—Sugar 2s. the hhd.—Molasses 1s. do—Tobacco 20s do—Logwood 3s. the ton—other goods or merchandize, except those from Great Britain, 1d. for every 20s. worth. In 1701, the duties on Rum and Wine in Salem, were £60. 10s., and in 1732, £800 to £900. This latter amounted to three fifths of the whole revenue of Massachusetts in 1680—which was then, according to Gov. Bradstreet, about £1500.

them. As the colonial vessels in those days were small, and carried other articles besides grain, there were probably, (judging from cargoes some years later) from forty to fifty vessels employed in the coast trade, averaging from twenty-five to thirty-five or forty tons.—Of these, Salem undoubtedly had her share.—This, too, is independent of the fishing fleet, which doubtless was simply engaged in fishing. The colonial ketches and sloops ran to the West Indies, to Spain, the Wine Islands and the Straights, and brought return cargoes which were despatched †coastwise, together with our

†To judge by Gov. Bradstreet's answer to the Lords of the Council in 1680, our coastwise trade to Virginia and Maryland for grain, tobacco, &c., must have begun after that time, as he appears to be silent on the point. Knowing the desires of the authorities in England to fasten their laws of trade upon us, he may, however, have rather underrated our commerce and enterprise at that time. The trade (and *direct* Salem trade) with the southern colonies was evidently well established between 1660 and 1670, and was even then important. Between 1690 and 1720 it flourished greatly, and was prominent, if we are not mistaken, down even to the American Revolution.—The coastwise trade of Massachusetts, and of Salem as one of the *three* principal seaports in it, was confined principally at first—prior to 1640—to the New England states, and thence gradually extending to New York (with the Dutch) and still further South. So it seems, at least. The colonists finally purchased their grain, tobacco, &c., of Virginia and Maryland, by the West India produce they bought with their fish, &c. It is of course impossible to tell the exact time when *this* particular course of trade commenced. The colonies' bought grain of the southern colonies at an early day, however—to judge from some few items of history. The early authorities of New England may not have been very communicative to the English rulers, knowing that every admission they made was to be used as an additional argument why they should conform to the laws of trade in England. The colonists plead poverty to evade these laws, sometimes truly, sometimes perhaps wisely; and occasionally resisted them outright. They sometimes boldly carried on a contraband trade, and the General Court was both wisely silent and blind in the matter. The colonists were for free trade, and it proved to be an ineradicable trait in their commercial character.

Yankee notions, and this very grain taken as part of the final return cargo to Massachusetts. It is certain that Salem flourished by this general trade, as Josselyn says of Salem in 1664, "In this town are some very rich merchants." The colonists seem occasionally to have been troubled with †piracy, both native and foreign, which was not put down until after 1700.

By a law passed by the town in 1669, refusing permission to transport wood or timber by land or sea from the town commons, without leave of the selectmen, we can judge that a free use had been made of the native forest of Salem for lumber, staves, and ship building, as well as wood for the fishermen, and the common use of the town, and that the scarcity was beginning to be felt. From the years 1640 to

‡In 1684 the General Court pass an order for the seizure of pirates and privateers, authorizing certain officers to raise armed men for that purpose—making it lawful to shoot those resisting such officers or men under them, or if captured, are to be put to death as capital offenders. Any officer refusing to serve against such outlaws, to be fined £50 or be imprisoned, and any inhabitant called upon by such officers, if refusing to appear promptly, and well armed, to pay £5 or suffer corporal punishment.

In 1685 Capt. Sampson Waters of Boston, is granted a commission against certain pirates off New London, and a proclamation made by order of General Court, and by beat of drum, for volunteers. The volunteers, as an inducement, are to "have an equal and just division in all the pirates' goods and estates taken with them; and no purchase, no pay"—Lord Bellamont seems to have been the first who was successful in subduing them.

|| In 1676, however, Salem is said to be one of the principal places for building vessels, at £4 the ton. In Book 2 leaf 47 Salem Records (Registry of Deeds) is an agreement between John Browne & Company and William Stevens of Gloster, in N. E., shipwright, under date of 1661, in which Stevens agrees to build "one new shipp of sixty-eight foot long by ye keele &c" at £3 5s the ton. Brown & Company were connected with the *Jersey* trade, Browne himself being a resident of Salem, the others at the Isle of Jersey, as it appears. The trade was most probably a *French* one. The "shipp" appears to have been a little over 100 tons burthen, say 110.

1670 it is reasonably certain that Salem flourished greatly in commerce, and all branches connected with or dependent upon it, and to a greater extent comparatively, than for the thirty years after 1670, closing with the century. Her prosperity, in common with the colony, after 1670, attracted the jealousy and greed of the home government, and the days of the Commonwealth being numbered in England, she had no powerful friends there to interpret colonial laws in her favor, or drive her enemies from power. The impetus, however, which she had already gained in commerce, and her natural independence, carried her through and over many obstacles, nor was Salem fairly subdued by her subsequent ill-fortunes until 1711. Her troubles may have been said to have fairly commenced in 1677, when our General Court order the navigation laws of England to be obeyed, and culminated locally in 1692, with a continuation of commercial misfortune up to 1711.

The Fisheries, as we have said, were the main reliance of Salem in the early days, and were indeed declared by the Council to the House in 1708 to be "the chief staple of the Country." Great attention was paid of course to them. In 1670 the General Court denounce Tortuga Salt as impure, and declare Fish cured with it to be not merchantable. The phrase "*Merchantable Cod Fish*" is often met with in the old accounts some years prior to and after 1700, and this may in some degree explain the phrase. There is also the phrase "Refuse Cod," which was ordinary or defective from some cause, and was shipped largely to the West Indies, for the Negroes most probably. The dry Merchantable Cod Fish went to Spain, the Streights and the Wine Islands. In 1726 we see the General Court passing an act for the better curing and culling of Fish—the lack of care having brought our Fish into disrepute in foreign markets.

From the year 1670 to 1740, the period at which we close our remarks upon the commerce of Salem, our New England trade was to

the *West Indies, and most parts of Europe—

*Among the old Commercial papers of the English Family, is found the following letter directed "To

Coron'll Samuel Brown Esq.,
March't in Salem,
New England.

St. Christopher, Feub: ye 14th, 1727-8

Coro'll Brown.

Sr— Having mett with ye Opportunity to writ to you by Capt. Timberlake that Stoppen to come here from Suranam having bin taken to Windward of Martinico By ye Guard coast & Brought to Guardeloope and had a law sute with them, I wit to you from Martinico to Acquaint you of Being a new General arrived there Which will not grant any permission att all, then I went to Guardeloope & they would not lett me come a Shore then I went to Antigua, & found ye Markett there so loe, fish was sold for 10s per ql then I came Here & thought fit to stay here Because wee have news of three Spanish Privateer that was about ye Leward Island: I sold all ye fish at 14 per ql Board sell from four to five pounds Rum is here 2s 3d p gall, Malasses is at 9d Cotton is at 12d p pound I can not sell ye Shingle I have about 10000 of Board to sell, there is no Soalt at any of ye Islands I here that ye fleet will not goe to Tortuga I shall make all ye Dispatch home Again I can, so Remain

Sr. yr Humble Serv't
John Touzel.

Molasses is very sease to be had"

NOTE. In No. 2 of this Magazine will be found a letter of Instructions from this same Sam'll Brown to Touzel in 1727. By the fleet going to Tortuga, Capt. Touzel probably means the New England vessels then trading to the West Indies, which would go to T. to load in part, at least, with Salt for the New England Fisheries. But what a pursuit of Commerce under difficulties does not this letter disclose? What with rumors of Guard Coasts, law suits, refusals to land, low markets, and Spanish Privateers, Capt. John Touzel seems to have had trouble enough! There is no doubt, but that he did "make all ye Dispatch home again" he could, keeping too his eyes sharply to windward as he sailed out of St. Christophers, and for many a good league beyond, to see whether the "*Three Spanish Privateer*" were not on his track. Right glad too was "Coron'll Samuel Brown Esq.," to see Capt John sailing peaceably into Salem Harbor, safe at last from fears and foes. Those who look upon the old times as the best, would have been cured of their delusion, no doubt, could they have taken this cruise with Capt. John, after one to the West Indies and back in this day and generation.

We will only add, this Capt. John Touzel was a Son in law of Philip English, and appears to have

including †Spain, France, and Holland. At times there appear to have been instances of irregular trade with the French at Newfoundland, by which brandy, wine, oil and English manufactures were brought into Salem. This trade seems to have been boldly and openly maintained however. From the year 1686 New England appears to have a flag of her own, having a cross of red color on a white ground with a crown in the middle of the cross, and under the crown J. R. (James Rex) A Dutch book entitled the *Ship Builder*, (so says Felt) and printed in Amsterdam in 1705, states that the flag of †New England is blue, with a

sailed for William & Samuel Browne, noted merchants of that day. Some of his *Sea Journals* are yet extant, and in the Essex Institute.

†In the Salem Records (Registry of Deeds) Book 3 Folio 170, is to be found recorded the Instructions of Richard Lowe to his partner Mr. John Blackleach, who is directed to purchase what fish or other goods are needed (beside the fish already bought in Salem) for the Ketch *Blessing*, thence to proceed to Bilbao, Spain, to sell his cargo, and thence to some part of France, where it may be most advantageous to lay out the proceeds in Linen cloth, and whatever else may be best, and thence directly to Boston. Blackleach as partner is to have "noe wages" but instead, 10 per cent on the sale of Lowe's portion in Bilbao and 5 per cent do at Boston. Date of Instructions Nov. 21, 1672. From several wills we have seen in the Probate Office from about the same date to 1700, Bilbao, it seems, was a favorite market for our Salem vessels, and continued to be for a long time after.

‡It may be that the flag spoken of by the "*Ship Builder*," printed in Amsterdam, 1705, was a New England flag prior to 1686. What makes this probable, is, that in 1665 the King's Commissioners desire, among other things, that the true flag shall be hoisted on Massachusetts vessels. Colony Records, Vol. 4, Part 2. This would seem to imply that Massachusetts, if not New England, had then a flag of her own. The flag of 1686 is that of New England, under Sir Edmund Andros, and any one desirous of seeing a good representation of that flag, can find it (as taken from the British State Paper office,) in Arnold's History of the State of Rhode Island, Vol. I, opposite page 496. It is by no means un-

likely that Massachusetts (and New England acting with her,) had a separate flag as early as 1660. It was no more an independent measure on her part than the coining of money in 1652, and that was clearly an act of sovereignty. The Magistrates in 1673 tell *Wayborne*, who then complains to them of their permitting a free colonial and foreign trade, as against law, "that they were his majesties vice admirals in those seas, and that they would do that which seemed good to them," and they evidently did, including very probably the hoisting of a Colonial flag on board their ships. As the people then chose their own Governor and Admiralty officers, as well as Representatives, we can readily see that they had about their own way in all matters relating to Commerce. It was not until the Charter was cancelled, that this freedom was checked—and then only to gain new force for the final explosion of Liberty at the Revolution.

From the years 1686 to 1689 inclusive, Salem is trading to †Barbadoes, London, Fayal

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‖Among the English papers is a letter of Wm. Hollingworth, then a merchant in Barbadoes, under date of Sept. 19, 1687, which is of a commercial character, relating especially to the imports into that Island from Salem. The letter is directed on the outside, "For Mrs. Eleanor Hollingworth, At Salem, In New England," and reads:

"Dear and Honoured mother.

"My Duty be presented to you with my kind love to my brother and sister and to ye children. Yours by Mr. Prance I Received; fish now att present bares A good rate by Reason ye Newfoundland men are not yet Come in but I believe itt will be low anuffe about three monthes hence; bread and peices [pease] hath been A good Commodity and Continues, lumber is lowe still, oyle will be ye principle Commodity but in good Ouske wee are in great likelihood of A brave cropp; this latter part of ye year hath proved very Seasonable, ye lord be praised for itt, pray lett my brother see this letter I cannot tell what to advice him to send as yett besides oyle but in A short tyme wee shall see what these newfoundland men will doe what quantites of fish they bring in and then I will advice farther I will slip noe opportunity in advising him, soe with my serviss to all my frinds [friends] I subscribe my Selfe your obedient Son to Command. WM HOLLINGWORTH.
pray fail not my dear Mother in sending me half

and Barbadoes, Pennsylvania, St Christophers, Virginia and Antigua. The great majority of her vessels are ketches from twenty to forty tons, and from four to six men. Only one ship appears among them, and her tonnage is but 130 tons. Salem however, it appears, was indirectly engaged also in the Virginia and Holland trade, carrying tobacco from Virginia to Europe. In 1690 there seems to have commenced a local trade of boating goods to and from Boston, but how long it continued after 1693 is in doubt. The French war now begins to trouble Salem, and from this time to 1697 she loses over fifty of her fishing ketches by the French and Indians. Some of our Sa'em people suffer in these years by being impressed on board British men of war. In 1698-9 Registers are taken out for 26 vessels belonging to Salem—2 ships, 1 barque, 3 sloops and twenty ketches. The most average from 20 to 40 tons. Only five exceed the latter amount. One of the ships was 80 and the other 200 tons. The largest was built here, as well as 17 more of the number.

In 1700 the foreign trade of Salem is thus described by Higginson:—"Dry Merchantable Codfish, for the markets of Spain, Portugal and the Straits. Refuse fish, lumber, horses, and provisions for the West Indies. Returns made directly hence to England, are sugar, molasses, cotton wool, logwood and Brasiletto wood, for which we depend on the West Indies. Our own produce, a considerable quantity of *whale and fish oil, whalebone, furs, deer, elk

and bear skins are annually sent to England. We have much shipping here, and freights are low." From 1700 to 1714, inclusive, registers were granted to the following vessels of Salem,—4 ships, 3 barques, 9 brigs, 24 † sloops and 19 ketches. They ranged from 15 to 90 tons; 40 of them were built in Salem. In 1705 the ship Unity, of 270 tons, was built in Salem,

this fishery then, and in all probability Salem also. The testimony, as copied by Mr. Patch, can be seen in the Salem Gazette of Jan. 1, 1858. As whaling, was then an old, long established pursuit in our Bay, Salem may have entered into it, as Boston did, and with a like profit. This is most probably the case.

† Among the English Papers are to be found a few accounts of Capt. Wm. English, (son of Philip,) who in 1709 and 11 is commanding respectively the sloops Mary and Arke bound to and from Virginia and Maryland. He carries thither Molasses, Rum, Salt, Cider, Mackerel, Wooden Bowls, Platters, Pails, Kegs, Muscavado Sugar, Cans and Codfish, and is ordered to bring back to Salem, Wheat, Pork, Tobacco, Furs, Hides, Old Pewter, Old Iron, Brass, Copper, Indian Corn, if cheap, and English Goods. In 1712 Wm. English sails for Surinam (Dutch Guiana) in the Mary, with orders to fill up with Molasses, or freight for Salem and Boston. There is a letter extant of this Wm. English to a "Mr. Isaac Knolcott of Suriname," which may have some little commercial information in it, and which rather goes to disprove the modern idea that the liquors the ancient people drank were always of the purest description, and therefore very wholesome. In this matter, as in most matters of the past, "Distance lends enchantment to the view."

"Salem, July the 2d, 1713.

Mr. Isaac Knolcott,

Sr: heair is in Closed Bill of Lading & invos for one hughhead of Verey Good Midlin Cod fish shipped you by the Sloop [illegible] Capt. John Shaddock command'r whitch I hope will Com Safe to yr hands. I have not yet sold all your Melasses By Resen yt when it came a shore it Stunk & was Salt So that Every Body that came to see hitt Sade yt it was put in Either a fish Barrell or Porke or Beef Barrell I have Sent it to ye Stillers to have it Stild [Distilled] into Rum. I shall make ye most of it I cann, & as for Talow [Tallow] there is none to Be had. I shall Send you what Remanes yet dew to you By the next opportunity.

I Rest y'rs,
Wm. English."

kentle of Cuske and some aples and some barberyes and ye lott of Cuske.

Barbadoes, Septm 19, 1687, Bridgetown.

My Serviss to Mr. Croade, Mr. Andrews and to Mr. Adames, and to Mr. Benj. Allin. W. H.

NOTE. The oil mentioned in this letter, may, in part, have been Whale oil from the Cape Cod whale fisheries, or taken perhaps by Salem whaling boats in Massachusetts Bay.

*From some old testimony searched out from the Files of the Essex, Co. Courts by IRA J. PATCH, Esq., and referring to the Ancient Whale Catching Customs of the Fishers in Cape Cod Bay in 1708, we are inclined to believe that Beverly was engaged in

for Boston and London merchants, and in 1709 Joseph Hardy built the ship *American Merchant*, of Glasgow, in Salem. She was of 160 tons burthen, and he was one of the owners.

From 1714 to 1718 our vessels traded to Madeira, Surinam, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Bilbao, Lisbon, Bristol and London. In 1721 some of our citizens were accused of an irregular trade with Cape Breton, and the Legislature wink at it. Lumber, provisions, and tobacco are carried thither, and wine, brandy, linen, silks and other goods brought back. In 1733 as many as ten vessels bound to or from Barbadoes and Saltatuda, are in the ice in our harbor, and people are employed to cut them out. From 1721 to 1740 our trade was to various parts of the West Indies, North Carolina, Maryland, Saltatuda, Oporto, Fayal, Lisbon, Canso, Barbadoes, Bilbao, Gibraltar, Leghorn, Canaries, Jamaica, New Foundland, Leeward Islands, Cadiz, Alicante, Mediterranean, Virginia, St. Martins, Antigua.

The trade of Salem, immediately after its permanent settlement, was under the control and

†In 1721, the Collector of the District, which includes Salem and adjacent Sea Ports, states that he clears out 80 vessels on an average every year

Felt's Annals.

¶We have in our possession a few letters of instruction, from Sam^l Brown of Salem, to his Capt. John Touzell, ranging through the years 1728-9; in which Touzell is ordered to deliver his cargo of "Scale Fish, middling Cod, and merchantable Cod" at Bilbao, Spain, and thence get freight for Lisbon or Cadiz, and load with salt at St. Ubes for N. E; or he may take a freight from L. or C. to Ireland, Holland or England, and then go to the Isle of May for salt: or he may sell the Brigantine [Endeavor of sixty tons, plantation built] for £450 or £500, if he can get that for her abroad.

¶1732—Salem has about 30 fishing vessels, much less than formerly, and the same number which go on foreign voyages to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and other West India islands; some to the Wine Islands; others carry fish to Spain, Portugal, and the "Streights." —Felt's Annals, appendix.

Hutchinson says our Massachusetts trade with the British West Indies was mutually profitable until the peace of Utrecht in 1713. It then began to decline.

auspices of the Home Company. They, however, finding that their joint stock (for the trade was managed by the Company as a Corporation) was sinking in value through the expenses of colonization, viz: purchase and maintenance of ships; supplies, transportation of passengers, colonial expenses, and probably insufficient returns, re-organized their operations, creating two kinds of stock, or else more effectually separating and dividing their old stock. One of these stocks was called the *Joint Stock*, the other the *Common Stock*. The *Joint Stock* was to be a *trade stock*. This they passed over to the management of Mr. John Winthrop, Governor, and others, as undertakers. These undertakers were to manage this stock for seven years, with certain pecuniary advantages to themselves, run all risks, and, at the end of the seven years, account for the stock and its profits, the same to be divided to every stockholder in proportion to his adventure therein. It was not, therefore, a *sale* of the stock to the undertakers, but only the assumption of its management, on favorable pecuniary terms, by the undertakers, in consideration of their running all the risks. The *common stock* was entirely distinct from the *joint stock*, which was expressly declared by the Company, Feb. 10, 1630. (see Felt's Annals, vol. I. p. 148,) to be "*ordained for the maintenance of the trade.*" At the same date and meeting of the Company, (see Felt's Annals, same vol. same page,) it was determined "*that a common stock should be rayased from such as beare good affecon to the plantacon and propagacon thereof, and the same to be employed only in defrayment of publique charges, as maintenance of ministers, transportacon of poore famylyes, building of churches and ffortifycations, and all other publique and necessary expenses of the plantacon, &c.*" The reason given for the formation of this *Common

*This Common Stock was evidently in furtherance of Plantation purposes (not trade) since every person subscribing to it the sum of £50 was entitled to 200 acres of land, and proportionably for any smaller sum. So it was an emigration measure.

Stock was, that the furtherance of the plantation would necessarily require a great and continual charge, which could not, with convenience, be defrayed out of the Joint Stock (trade stock) of the Company.

Certain undertakers seem to have been chosen to manage this common stock, perhaps the same as were to manage the trade or joint stock. It is obvious, however, *that the Home Company did not part with their interest in this stock*, since at the same meeting (Feb. 10, 1630,) "*it is further agreed on and ordered, that an order bee drawne upp and published vnder the seale of the Company, to signifie and declare to what uses all such monyes as are giuen to the common stock shal be employed, and what land shal be allotted to each man that giues therevnto, &c.*" The further facts that Mr. John Winthrop was chosen Governor of the Colony by the Company in London, and their confirmation of 600 acres in the Colony to Brewerton at the same meeting at which they established the common stock of the Company, prove that the Home Company did not part with any of their *proprietary* rights in the Colony, when they agreed to transfer the Patent and Government here in 1630. Their joint stock or tradestock had a limit of *seven* years to run in the Colony, and at the risk of the undertakers, but we are unable to find that the *common stock* of the Company was ever limited in any way. To dispose of it, was to dispose of proprietorship, and we see no evidence of such an intention anywhere. It was natural and proper that the government of the Colony should be transferred to the Colony, but the Company in England would have sold their proprietorship, if desirous of disposing of it. We see no evidence of such a sale; or the intention of selling. We see clearly that the trade of the Company was self-limited to seven years, and was most probably defunct several years before that period, but when did the proprietor's right of the Home Company cease to have any validity here? The answer is perhaps to be found in the independence of the

Colonists here, who managed things, after all, their own way, and partly in the destructive confusion produced by the civil troubles in England. Cradock evidently considered that he had a proprietary right in the Colony, for he left a claim upon it, amounting, in 1648, to nearly £700.

We have devoted a short space to the investigation of this matter, not only for the purpose of arriving at the facts of history, but because we are aware that some are of the belief that the Home Company parted with all their interests, pecuniary and proprietary, in the Colony, to Winthrop and those coming over with him, and to those already here. We see no evidence of it. The Government and Patent were transferred, and the general management, both of government and trade; but we cannot see that right or interests in either were disposed of to the Colonists here. The trade of the company was indeed to expire at a limited period, (seven years), but their interest in the Patent and Government to continue. That it did not continue, can only be explained; now, by a combination of circumstances; permitted by a higher power; in part to free the Colony from a landed monopoly, and give it a wide freedom as the basis of the more glorious Commonwealth.

Practically speaking, however, the Colonial government managed affairs, either of Church or State, from the start, to suit themselves. Many of the early laws, either religious or civil, are evidently the work of the Colonial authorities, spiritual or temporal, and very probably entirely their own. The laws of trade which they passed, often have strong local characteristics, though they may have been for the benefit of the joint stock of the home company and their partners in the Colony. In 1631, no corn, provision or merchantable commodity could be purchased from any ship without the leave of the Governor or an Assistant. In 1634-5 the penalty of confiscation, or the loss of value of the goods, hung over those who bought any commodity, from any vessel coming into the Colony, without a license from the Governor. In 1635 this was repealed. In

1634-5 a committee of merchants are appointed to purchase the cargoes of friendly vessels, store them, and any time within twenty days after the landing of the cargo, and notice given to the several towns, sell them to the inhabitants of the Colony at £5 per cent. profit, and not above. By the preceding section it would seem that the cargo was probably not to be purchased by the undertakers of the *joint stock* of the Company, and if this be so, then Salem begins in 1634-5 to enjoy a comparative freedom from the Home Company. This agrees well with the fact of history that in 1637 the Colonists began to build vessels for trade and fishing. In 1640 their independence was obvious, and the Home Company's trade has entirely disappeared. It was probably dying or extinct in 1635-6. Some of the early and restrictive laws of trade in the Colony may have been, and probably were passed as protective measures, and without much reference to the Home Company, as for instance that of 1634-5, which punished any person who should go on board any ship on arrival without leave of some of the assistants, unless she had laid at anchor twenty-four hours in some inhabited harbor, (nor then unless a friend) *with the confiscation of his estate*, and such further punishment as the General Court should think meet to inflict! Also that of 1635-6, wherein all persons are forbidden to buy any commodity from any ship before the invoice has been given to the Governor or Deputy Governor, nor any provisions without leave, nor to buy any provisions or victuals from such ship to sell again, or ferry from the Colony under pain of a punishment at the discretion of the Court. Both these laws were soon repealed, and were, therefore, we presume, merely local laws to suit some local emergency.

†Even as late as 1662 we see another of those prohibitory laws, so common in the earlier day of Massachusetts. Corn then is so scarce, that its export is forbidden on pain of Confiscation—the law to continue in force until Gen'l Court so order otherwise. Here the alarming scarcity of corn in the Colony was doubtless the controlling cause of the Law.

The weekly Wednesday markets permitted in Salem, commencing in 1634, and the two yearly Fairs granted her by Gen'l Court—the one in May, and the other in September—commencing in 1638, must have done their share in stimulating the internal, and perhaps external trade of S. The Home Company built a bark here in 1629, but then only for their own fishermen—yet evidently a large decked boat—large enough to visit Newfoundland. If the Colony was practically free of the Home Company in 1637, then between that year and 1639 the fisheries and trade perhaps with them took a good start, since in 1639, ship carpenters, which follow their calling, are exempted from training, as also were fishermen and millers under similar circumstances; though they are still to be furnished with arms. These peculiar privileges prove the importance of their unconfined labor to the Colony at that time. In 1641 the Gen'l Court are fully aroused to the importance of perfecting ship-building, which it calls “a business of great importance for the public good, and therefore suitable care is to be taken that it be well performed,” and makes it lawful for the owners to appoint and put in some suitable workman, as is usual in England, to survey the work and workmen, giving him such power and liberty as belongs to his office, and, in case of disagreement between him and the ship carpenters, provides for the selection of two impartial ship carpenters as referees, who shall decide the matter and have power to remedy the complaint, and their charges or fees are to be paid by the party at fault.

In 1642 Salem is the second commercial town of the Colony. She pays £75 taxes, and Boston £120. The order of 1644 in reference to ship-building evidently applies forcibly to her, as well as some other places—in which order the Gen'l Court offer to incorporate a Company of ship-builders to regulate building of ships, and make such laws and orders among themselves as may conduce to the public good:—(and thus make a Guild or

Company resembling those in the old world) In 1645, a Canary Island ship, the *Gilbert*, is in Boston—with wines—and it is not unlikely that the Wine Island vessels may have visited Salem as early. In 1646 wharfage regulations are ordered by Gen'l Court for wharves in Boston and Charlestown; and Salem, as next in commercial importance to Boston, may have had wharves thus early. In 1645 or earlier, there appears to have been trouble between foreign vessels in our harbors (perhaps in Salem) and (Sea?) fights took place between them. The General Court discourage this by ordering that no ships in our harbors shall fight any other ships during the time of their abode here.

The Fisheries and Home Manufactures were always carefully watched over by the Colonial authorities. In order that raw-hides and unwrought leather should not be exported, the General Court prohibited their transportation from the colony in 1646 on pain of confiscation, or the value thereof, unless first imported into the Colony as Merchandize. The Fishermen were early protected by law, and granted various privileges, and in 1663 were empowered to use wood from any common lands for fish flakes and stages—the English fishermen possessing still greater privileges—being allowed to enter on to private lands for the purpose, paying a reasonable sum, however, for damages. It was trespass in our fishermen to do this, but the English fishermen were considered to have their privileges under the charter. The Colonists did not like such an exercise of their claims, but from policy perhaps forebore to deprive them of them.

In 1645, the whole Colony was in a prosperous state, and Salem of course with it. When the Navigation laws were passed, Salem, as well as the Colony evaded their application for a while, professing that they did not apply to them, since they were under the Charter, and not the Parliament. Cromwell seems never to have urged the *Laws of Trade pertinaciously

as against the Colony, though in favor of them. When Charles the 2d came in, however, his ministers were determined, as well as the King himself, that Massachusetts should be curtailed in her commercial freedom. The Colonial Authorities saw this, and the Gen'l Court in 1661 repeal the law allowing friendly ships to trade freely in our harbors. As they

began prior to the reign of Henry 7th. During his reign (in 1485,) and the reign of Elizabeth, (in 1562, and again in 1593,) acts were passed favoring English Commerce at the expense of foreign, and for the benefit especially of the Royal Navy—to build it up. During the reign of Charles the 1s, these laws had been evaded, or were relaxed, and it was found necessary to revise and confirm them. When the Republicans triumphed in England, they passed a somewhat rough act in 1650, prohibiting all ships of foreign nations from trading with any English plantations without license from the Council of State.—In 1651 they passed a *Navigation Act*, levelled in part against the sugar islands, which still adhered to the King, and partly against the Dutch, who then were the principal carriers of Europe, and whose ships were employed by English merchants to bring mercandize from America and the West Indies into England, in spite of former unrepealed laws, and at a lower rate of freight than native ships. This law enacted that no commodities (colonial or of any other description) should be imported into England, unless in vessels solely owned, and commanded, and principally manned by English subjects, and where the commodities were foreign, unless entirely conveyed in such vessels from the place where the commodities grew, or to which they were usually in the first instance transported by sea. By this the Dutch were cut off from the carrying trade of the Colonies, and their importation of fish into England laid under great restriction and heavy burdens.

This act, moreover, did not permit any but English subjects to be factors or agents in the English Colonies. Before that time, the principal factors or agents in those Colonies were Dutch.

At the restoration, Charles the 2d and his Parliament sustained substantially these laws by statutes in 1660 and in 1662—the first being known as the famous *Navigation Act*. The Mass. Colonists had not obeyed the laws of 1650-1, nor those of the earlier date, which were not repealed, and struggled against the Navigation Act and kindred laws until their final separation from England.

*The laws of trade, or navigation laws of England,

send at the same time a very humble loyal address to the King, it is most likely that their reason was a desire to conciliate Charles, yielding only what they were forced to yield, and to save other privileges, or perhaps for form's sake. The object of the Trade and Navigation laws and policy of England was to make England the Magazine of Colonial Trade, drive off the Dutch, and compel her own shipping, especially the Colonial, to seek her own markets, pay her the legal duties, and to drive off all foreign freighting vessels whatsoever, when in competition with her own shipping. The N E Colonists had enjoyed a comparative free trade under Charles the 1st, and Cromwell, and had thriven greatly by it, and saw and felt its advantages. They were unwilling to come under the Laws of England in matters of trade, and evaded them in every way they could. When the Commissioners of Charles the 2d came over here in 1665, backed by three frigates, as a hint of the power of the Mother Country, the Colonists paid them all ostensible deference, and worked against them in secret. The independence of Massachusetts was well known in England, and the *King hated the name of Commonwealth even

*The King (Charles the 2d,) was much incensed against Massachusetts at the first, and told Sir Thos. Temple, Gov. of Nova Scotia, (brother to Sir William,) that, among other things, the Colonists had invaded the royal prerogative by coining money. Temple, who had returned from America, and had seen the urgent reasons which had induced the Colony to take that step—the scarcity of money here, and the difficulty of procuring it from England during the civil troubles there—stated these to the King in extenuation, and showed him some of the Pine Tree Money. "What is that," asked the King, pointing to the Pine Tree, which the artist had made bushy and broad like the Italian Pine. "That is the Royal Oak," answered Temple; "the tree which sheltered your Majesty." Charles being highly pleased at this proof of loyalty, and in great and condescending good humor, exclaimed, "Honest Dogs!" He appears in 1665 to have thought otherwise, but the date of Temple's visit is not given. It may have been after the Commissioners' return.—

in the Law Book of the Colony, and her contempt of Episcopacy openly expressed therein. Both these things he desired should be swept away. They were a sore reminiscence to him, for they reminded him of the Commonwealth at home. His Commissioners demanded also, among other things, that all Masters of vessels and Captains of Companies should carry the *true* colors of England, by which they

Felt, however, in his History of Mass. Currency, puts the date of Temple's visit to the King as in 1662. Before Charles died, he evidently thought the Colonists were a set of "dishonest dogs." The mint was finally closed, about 1686, say, though stated by one authority to be in existence in 1706. Felt evidently is the better authority on this point, and he gives about 1686 as the date.

Massachusetts was early and long suspected in England of aiming at Independence, but her progress thitherward seems to have been in the main a reasonable and somewhat unconscious one. As early as 1639, George Burdett, who had been an assistant of Rev. Hugh Peters, privately tells Laud, and others of Lord Commr's. that the Colonists were aiming more at civil independence, than reformation in ecclesiastical matters. See Felt's memoir of Hugh Peters, in the 5th vol. Mass. Hist. and Gen. Register.

It seems but fair to say that the civil independence of Massachusetts was the natural result of the religious independence she assumed and maintained from the first.

†In 1629 the English Ensign appears to be the flag of the Massachusetts Colony. In 1634, part of the red cross had been taken out. In 1635 the Gen. Court came to a reluctant conclusion to admonish Endecott for cutting it out, which, it appears, he was somewhat incensed to do, and in the belief that it was an idolatrous sign—a belief then held by not a few of the Colonists. The English ensign seems then to have been laid aside, and as in 1636 the national flag was unfurled at the Castle in Boston Harbor, *under the protestations of the magistrates*, granting that liberty to various ship masters going from that port, we can readily see that the English ensign was no favorite in the Colony. The reason then given by the magistrates for their protest, was, that they held the cross in the ensign to be idolatrous.

From 1651 to the close of the Commonwealth in England, Massachusetts may have adopted the "old

might be known to be his majesty's legitimate subjects. It was evident by this that the Colonists had a flag by land and sea, which was not of the royal pattern. They demanded that the law which the General Court had passed against the Act of Navigation of England should be repealed, and that the coining of money should cease, as being a Royal prerogative. The Commissioners, moreover, charge upon the colonists, as from the King that "*our subjects there do not submit to our Government, but look at themselves as independent on (of) us.*" These Commissioners gave much trouble, and failed in their efforts.

In 1667, the General Court order the Navigation Laws to be obeyed, but this legal and formal submission was a hollow and really profitless one, and so intended, for in 1673 Wayborne, and in 1676, Randolph, inform the English Government that the Laws of Trade are not observed in Massachusetts,—in fact are virtually inoperative—all nations trading here

English colors," viz: the Cross of St. George, used by the Parliament, though the General Court, when adopting them in 1651, strongly desired an alteration of them. As the King's Commissioners, in 1665 desire the Colonists to raise the *true* flag of England, both on their ships and in their companies, it would appear that Massachusetts had adopted another flag than that even of the Parliament; for our authorities were too politic to have worn the colors of the late English Commonwealth before the eyes of the King's Commissioners, especially while disputing with them; and it is in evidence, that though they adopted the Parliamentary flag in 1651, yet they then much desired an alteration in it, perhaps on some scruple of conscience. Up to 1686, and under the tyrannical reign of Andros, the flag of New England only approximates to the Flag of England. The ensign which Cromwell adopted, was, we believe, the simple Cross of St. George, and which appears on the coin of the Commonwealth. The Colonists did not like the Cross, but may have continued it, *with additions of their own*. It is evident that they did not follow Cromwell or the Commonwealth blindly in any matter. They were unwilling to war with their Dutch neighbors at his command, declined to obey his laws of trade, kept aloof from his monied policy, and refused his offers either as to Jamaica or Ireland.

without restraint. The Magistrates told Wayborne, that they, as Vice-Admirals of His Majesty, in these seas, should do as seemed good to them. Still these laws must have troubled our merchants. In 1663 the General Court appointed, for appearance's sake, Hiliard Veren to be an officer for the ports of Salem, Marblehead and Gloucester, to see that the Navigation Act of Parliament be enforced. He accepted the office, and avoided its duties. The Royal Commissioners had failed in their attempts to practically enforce the act. Cromwell himself had not been more successful, though he in secret, perhaps, favored the Colonists. Still his attempts to induce the New Englanders to remove to Ireland and afterwards to Jamaica, are capable of two different constructions. At all events, our Massachusetts people and rulers united in mistrusting England, her Rulers and her Laws, and obeyed them only under compulsion.

‡ One of his duties was to seize ships or vessels prohibited by that act from trading here. It evidently was not done, though Salem, as the second (or third) commercial town in the Colony, must have violated the law. It was generally violated in Massachusetts. Still the Colonists were troubled by the law, as putting them in a false commercial position.

To be Continued.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c.,
ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF
COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 52.

Andrew Creek, Sept., 1658.

Inventory of estate of Andrew Creek, appraised by Francis Peabody and Robert Andrews of Topsfield, the 17th Sept., 1658, amounting to £17 17s 4d.

List of debts owed by said Creek when he died, amounting to £19 16s 2d.

Returned by Dan'l Clark, 29th 7th mo., 1658.

John Wright, Mar., 1659.

Administration of estate of John Wright of

Newbury, granted to Edward Bragg 30th 10th mo., 1658, and an inventory returned by Thomas Bishop and Robert Kinsman.

Benj'n Montjoy. 4th mo., 1659.

Inventory of the estate of Benj'n Montjoy, amounting to £19 2s 5d, returned by Wm. Clarke and Joseph Dolliver; administration granted to his wife, 28th 4th mo., 1659.

Jno. Woodice, 4th mo., 1659.

Will of John Woodis of Salem, dated 24th 3d mo., 1659, mentions Sam'l Very and Alice his wife, dau of said Woodis, Sam'l, Elizabeth, Sarah, Thomas and John Very, children of Sam'l and Alice; Emma Muse. Appts son in law, Sam'l Very, ex'r, Thomas Antrum and Thomas Flint, witnesses. proved 29th 4th mo., 1659.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £69 5s 0d, taken 10th 4th mo., 1659, by Thomas James, Thomas Flint and Thomas Anthrum.

John Leach, 4th mo., 1659.

The testimony of Eliz'h Buxton and Mary Felton, as to Mr. John Leach, senior, speech about the disposing of his estate. They say, "we, whose names are underwritten, beinge both in one roome, about half a yeare before the decease of sd John Leach, senior, the sayd John Leach comminge in from worke he sayd vnto vs, he was so sicke he thought he should haue falln downe dead at his worke, and he did feare that he might at one tyme or other dye suddenly: therfore he did desire of vs both (that if in case it should so fall out.) to be witnesses that all that he had he gaue vnto John Leach; and at another tyme, hauinge further conference about the disposinge of his estate vnto the sayd John Leach, we told him there were seuerall John Leeches; he should doe — not to expresse wch of them. he sayd to John Leach, the son of Rich'd Leach, sayinge further that he had was but litle; if he should decide it it would come to but litle."

Inventory of above estate taken 20th 10th

mo., 1658, by Dan'l Rea and Henry Cooke, amounting to £37 3s 0d.

List of debts amount to £3 10s 8d.

Wm. Juggles. 4th mo., 1659.

Inventory of estate of Wm Juggles, taken 26th 3d mo., 1659, by John Browne, John Gardner, Edmund Bitter, amount £148 3 of the children mar'd in time long since, the other abroad at sea, the eldest son in England, a master of ship.

Returned by Eliz'h, widow of dec'd, 28th 4th mo., '59.

Hugh Laskins, 4th mo., 1659.

Inventory of estate of Hugh Laskins of Salem, taken 21st mar., 1658-9, amounting to £50 2s 10d, returned by John Marston and Samuel Pickman.

Seeth. wife of Joshua Conant, 9th mo., 1659.

Inventory of estate of Seeth Conant, wife of the late deceased Joshua Conant, taken 28th 3d mo., 1659, amounting to £32 6s 0d, returned by John Brown and Richard Prince.

Geo. Norton. 9th mo., 1659.

Inventory of George Norton of Salem, taken 22 17th mo., 1659, amounting to £134 11s 6d, returned by John Powlew, Jacob Barney.

Free-grace and John Norton, eldest sons of abovesaid George Norton, offer and petition to the Court to allow and confirm the offer to give up their portion of their father, George Norton's estate to their mother, Maria Norton, for her sole use during her widowhood, and if the Court will make division and see what the shares of their brothers and sisters are, they will pay them their shares that their mother may have the whole.

Ages of George Norton's children — Free-grace Norton, 24 years; John Norton, 22 years; Nathanell, 20 years; George Norton, 18 years; Mary, 16; Mehitable, 14; Sarah, 12; Hannah, 10; Abigail, 8; Elizabeth, 5.

James Moore, 9th mo., 1659.

Will of James Moore of Hammersmith, dat-

ed 5th 5th mo., 1659. mentions little daughter Dorothy. wife Ruth Moore appts Oliver Parchis and John Clarke to be overseers. Joseph Jenks, sen'r and Joseph Jenks, junior, witnesses.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £56 8s 0d. returned by Joseph Jenks and John Hathorne.

Sam'l Porter, 9th mo., 1659.

Will of Sam'l Porter, dated 10th 12th mo., 1658. being bound for the Barbadoes.

Wife Hannah $\frac{1}{2}$ of his farm, son John the other half of his farm at Wenham; after the death of his wife the other half to return to his son. Father Porter and father-in-law Wm Dodge, and Edmond Batter to be overseers. Witnesses, Edm'd Batter and Sara Batter. proved 28th 4th mo., '60.

Inventory of above estate, taken 22d 4th mo., 1660, amounting to £331 19s 0d. returned by Roger Conant and John Rayment.

Edward Brown, Mar. 1660.

Will of Edward Brown of Ipswich, dated 9th Feb., 1659, mentions 3 acres, a gift given to his son Thomas by his aunt Watson in Old England, said Thomas being dead he accounts his son Joseph to be his heir, Joseph to have his 8 acres in the common land which he bought of his brother Bartholomew; wife, Faith Browne, son John Browne, his wife sole ex'tx. Witnesses, Robert and Thomas Lord. proved 27th 1st mo., 1660.

Inventory of above estate, taken 20th Feb., 1659, amounting to £225 5s 7d: debts due from the estate, £24 8s 1d; returned by Moses Pingry and Robert Lord, 27th 1st mo., 1660.

John Clements, May 1660.

Consent of Job Clements that his Brother, Robert Clements, shall be satisfied for his voyage to England on his Brother, John Clement's acct out of the estate of his brother John 1st mo., 26th day, 1660.

Jane James, June, 1660.

Inventory of estate of Jane James, widow of Erasmus James, dec'd, amounting to £86 1s 9d, returned by Francis Johnson and Moses Maverick. The land in Marblehead, with the house in wch the deceased lived and dwelt in being in controversy between Erasmus James junior, and Richard Read, wch we know not whose it is, but being desired by sd Erasmus James to apprise it, the appraisers valued it at £40.

List of debts due by Erasmus James when he died, £19 14s 10d, allowed 26th June, 1660.

Wm Golt, 4th mo., 1660.

Inventory of estate of William Golt of Salem, taken 21st April, 1660, amounting to £49 0s 0d. List of debts, £22 02s 0d, returned by Jeffrey Massey and John Kitchen.

Children:—Rebecca, 19 years; Debora, 15 years; Sara, 13 years.

Ed. Norris, 4th mo., 1660.

Will of Edward Norris of Salem, minister, and teacher of the Church of Christ, dated in Salem, 9th 10th mo. (Dec.) 1657. Son Edward Norris; John Horne and Richard Prince, deacons of the church in Salem. Witnesses, Walter Price and Elias Stileman. Proved 27th 4th mo., 1660.

John Bradstreet, June, 1660.

An inventory of estate of John Bradstreet of Mablehead, taken 14th 4th mo., 1660, by John Bartoll, Joseph Dolliver, amounting to £102 19s 0d, returned 26th 4th mo., '60.

Joshua Conant, 4th mo., 1660.

List of charges due to Mr. Joseph Gardner, from the estate of Joshua Conant, amounting to £35 7s 11d, and testimony of Hugh Jones and Jane Coffin, wife of Robert, concerning it, 20th 4th mo., 1660.

Lawrence Southwick, 4th mo., 1660.

The testimony of Wm. Robinson and Thom-

as Gardner, that John and Daniel Southwick have made a very fair agreement about the dividing of their father's estate.

—
Wm. Paine, Nov., 1660.

Copy of inventory of estate of Wm. Paine of Boston, merchant, taken 22d 8th mo., 1660, by Hen. Shrimpton, Joshua Scottow, and John Richards, amounting to £4239. 11s 5d, returned by John Paine, his son, Nov. 14, 1660.

—
Edm'd Nicholson, Nov., 1660.

Inventory of estate of Edmond Nicholson of Marblehead, taken 22d 9th mo., 1660, by Moses Maverick, Wm. Nicke, John Legg, amounting to £150 0s 6d. 28th Nov. 1660. Elizabeth, relict of the deceased, app'd, and sworne to the truth of the inventory. List of debts. £54. 4s 0d

Children:—Christopher, 22 yrs.; Joseph, 20; Samuel, 16; Joan, 14; Elizabeth, 11; Thomas, 7.

—
Chris. Codnor, 9th mo., 1660.

Inventory of Christopher Codnor, amounting to £252 0s 9d. Children—Mary, 5 yrs., Christopher 3 yrs.

—
Lawrence Southwick, 9th mo., 1660.

Will of "Lawrence Sethick, late of Salem, in New England, now being at the house of Nathaniell Sylvester, on Shelter Island," dated 10th 5th mo., 1659. son Daniel, John Burnell, Josiah Southwick, daughter Provided, son John, Samuel Burtai, Henry Traske, Mary his dau., and wife of Henry Traske, Deborah Southwick and young Josiah. Ann Potter, Mary, Sarah and Hannah, daus. of Henry Traske, Sam'l and Sarah, John Southwick's children. Wm. Robinson and Thos. Gardiner to be overseers of his will. Witness. Nath'l Sylvester, Thomas Harris and Wm. Durand. proved 29th 9th mo., 1660.

Inventory of above estate, taken by Wm Robinson and Thomas Gardner, amounting to £196 0s 0d, returned 29th 9th mo., '60.

Evan Thomas, Philip Kertland, 4th mo., 1661.

"A Inventory of the moveable estate web Evan Thomas hath and doth enjoy with and by Alice his now wife; taken before marriage," amounting to £160 14s 1d. returned by Alice Thomas, late wife of Philip Kertland, 26th June, 1661.

Testimony of John Kertland, aged about 52 years, says, "I often hard my brother, Phillip Kyrkland, say ofttimes that his wife shoulald haue all that hee had to dispose of, so long as she liue, and to my best remembrance, hee gaue £15 to his dafter Mary, and ten pounds to his dafter Sara, and ten pounds to his dafter Susanna, and ten pounds to his dafter Hanna,—this to hee giuen to them at ye day of marriag, the land not to be sould so long as she liues." 17th 5th mo., 1659.

William Haecher of Lynnn, aged 65 or thereabouts, testified that when Phillip Kertland was going to see, he told him, in substance, as above.

—
Roger Tucker, 4th mo., 1661.

Inventory of Roger Tucker taken 25th June, 1661, by Francis Johnson and Moses Maverick, returned by Mr. George Corwin, 28th 4th mo., 1661, amounting to £9 14s 0d.

—
Jas. Smith, 4th mo., 1661.

Will of James Smith of Marblehead, dated 9th 9ber, 1660. Wife Mary, gives her all that my farm, called Castle Hill, with 10 acres in the South field bought of Joseph Gratton, son James Smith, son in law Richard Rowland, James, eidest son of his son James, daughter Kathren Eborne, grandchild, Mary Eborne, and other 5 children of his daughter Eborne, daughter Mary Rowland, grandchild Sam'l Rowland, and other 3 children of his daughter Rowland, appoints his wife sole ex'tx, appoints Maj. Wm. Hathorne and his son, Samuel Eborne, to be overseers.

Proved 27th 4th mo., '61.

Inventory of above estate, taken 25th June, 1661, by Francis Johnson, Moses Maverick,

amounting to £492 1s 0d, returned 27th 4th mo, '61.

John Sibley, 4th mo., 1661.

Inventory of estate of John Sibley, taken 24th June, 1661, by Wm. Allen, Pasco Foote and Robert Leach, amounting to £69 10s 0d, returned by Rachel, the widow, who is appt'd adm'r, and it is ordered that all the estate be left with the widow for the bringing up of the children, till further order of the Court.

He left a widow and 9 children, 4 boys and 5 girls; eldest daughter, 19 years, next about 17, the third, 15, fourth is a son about 12 years.

Benj. Bulflower, 4th mo., 1661.

Inventory of estate of Benjamin Bulflower, deceased February 24th, 1660, taken Mar. 16, 1661, by Robert Moulton and Henry Phelps, amounting to £19 5s 0d. debts, £13.

Rich'd Browne, 4th mo., 1661.

Will of Rich'd Browne of Newbury, men. son Joshua a minor, sons Richard, Edmund, under 21, daughters Elizabeth Sarah and Mary, unmarried, and under age, wife to be sole ex'tx. Son Joseph deceased, Brother George deceased. appts Ric'd Kent, Nich's Noyes Robert Long and Joseph Noyes, overseers. Witnesses. Tristram Coffin, Joseph Noyes, James Noyes, Moses Noyes. proved June 24, 1661.

Thos. Seers, 4th mo., 1661.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Seers of Newbury, who deceased the 16th day of May, 1661, taken by Wm. Moody, Rob Coker and Anthony Somerby. amounting to £93 0s 0d. debts allowed, £13 4s 26th 9th mo., 1660.

Isabel Babson, 4th mo., 1661.

Inventory of estate of Isabel Babson of Glos-ter, taken April 9, 1661, by Sam'l Dollaber, Philip Stamwood, amounting to £27 6s, returned by James Babson.

Wm. Witter, 4th mo., 1661.

Will of Wm. Witter, dated 1659. 5th 6th mo., wife Annis, son Josiah, Robert Burdin and Hannah his wife dau of Wm Witter, wife, ex'or. Witnesses, Robert Driver, Wm. Hacker. proved.

Inventory of above estate taken 1659, 15th 9th mo., by Robert Driver, Wm Hacker and Francis Ingalls, amounting to £132 11s 0d, returned by Anis Witter. 23d 4th mo., 1661.

Wm. Lamson, 9th mo., 1661.

Wm. Lamson of Ipswich dying intestate, administ'n granted to his widow, Sarah Lamson, and an Inventory is presented, amounting to £111 10s 2d; she is ordered by the Court to pay to the present children, 8 in number, as follows, viz: to the eldest, £12, and the rest £6 apiece. At a Court held at Ipswich, 29th March, 1659.

Petition of John Ayres and Wm. Fellows, in relation to their brother's, Wm Lamson's estate, mentions their sister, Sarah Lamson, widow of Wm., and said Sarah being about to change her estate to one Thomas Hartshorne of Redding, and said Thomas agreed to give her the liberty to dispose of her share of her husband, Wm. Lamson's estate as she chose, and now refuses it. They petition that the Court take order in the premises.

Wm. Cockerell, 9th mo., 1661.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Cockrell, taken 6th Dec, 1661, by John Brown, Edmund Batter, 11th 10th mo., 1661, amounting to £81 15s 0d.

Jno. Humphries, 9th mo., 1661.

Inventory of estate of John Humphrey, deceased 13th 10th mo., 1661, taken by Edmond Batter and Joseph Humphreys, amounting to £60, allowed, and Mr. Batter and Jos. Humphrey app'd adm'rs.

Hugh Burt, 9th mo., 1661.

Will of Hugh Burt of Lynn, dated 7th Oc-

tober, 1661. mentions son Wm Bassett, two grand daughters, Mary and Sarah, children of his son Hugh Burt. deceased, son Edward Burt, appts his wife extx. Nath'l Standforde and Andrew Mansfield to be overseers, gives to his son Edward all interest he has in any land &c. in London, that came to him by his brother John Burt deceased. proved 26th 9th mo., 1661.

Hugh Burt died 24 November, 1661. Inventory of above estate taken 13th November, 1661, by Nath'l Standford, John Deukin and Andrew Mansfield, amounting to £143 4s 9d, returned 26th 9th mo., '61.

Arzbell Anderson. 9th mo., 61.

"An Inventory of ye estate of Arzbell Anderson, Seutsman, whoe deceased at ye Iron-works at Lyn ye thirteenth day of ye sixt month, 1661," taken 15th 6th mo., 1661, by Edward Baker, John Divan, Oliver Purchis, all of Lynn, amounting to £54 18s 5½d, returned 12th 10th mo., 1661.

Account of debts paid by Oliver Purchis, which were due from above estate, amounting to £11 3s 9d, returned to Court 25th 9th mo., 1662

Deposition of Allister Mackmallen, about 30 years, to prove that Allister Graim was near of kin to Arzbell Anderson above.

Sworne in Court 12th 12th mo., 1661.

Wm. Oderie, 10th mo., 1661.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Oderie deceased the last of December, 1660, taken by Walter Price and Elias Mason. amounting to £41 5s 11d, returned by George Corwin and Edmund Batter, 12th 10th mo., '61.

Wm. Hacker, 1st mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Wiliam Hacker, taken 26th December, 1661, by Thomas Marshall, Francis Ingalls and Henry Collins, amounting to £184 12s 11d, returned 28th Mar, 1662.

Rich'd Brown. 1st mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Rich'd Brown of Newbury, who departed this life April, 26th, 1661, taken June 5, 1661, by Richard Knight Anthony Somerby and Stephen Greenleaf, amounting to £634 3s 0d, list of debts due from the estate, £31 15s 0d, returned by Eliz'h, the widow and ex'tx., 25th Mar., 1662.

John Dorman. 1st mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of John Dorman of Topsfield, taken 12th Feb, 1661, by Francis Peabody and Samuel Brocklebank, amounting to £46 1s 0d, returned 25th Mar, 1662.

Ann Lume. Apr., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Ann Lume, taken 16th April, 1662, by Maximillion Jewett and Sam'l Brocklebanks, amounting to £49 2s 6d, returned 17th April, 1662.

Dan'l Rea, 4th mo., 1662.

Agreement as to settlement of estate of Dan'l Rea of Salem. he son Joshua to have his farm and when Dan'l son of Joshua is of age he is to have half of the farm. daughters Rebecca and Sarah under sixteen years, son Thomas Lothrop and his wife, his wife living.

Allowed and confirmed 26th 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of above estate, taken by John Porter and Jacob Barney, amounting to £239 19s 4d, returned 26th 4th mo., 1662.

John Stevens. 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of John Stevens of Andover, taken Apr. 28, '62 by George Abbott, Richard Barker Nathan Parker and Nicholas Noyes. amount £463 4s 0d. returned by Elizabeth the widow 24th 4mo 1662.

An inventory of what was given by John Stevens to his eldest son John and his receipt and acceptance of the same.

To be Continued.

CURIOUS BILL LADING OF A "WHIGHTT HORS"—1699.—Shipped by the grace of God, in good order and well conditioned, by Wm. Pickering, in and upon the good Ketch, called the Lam, whereof is master under God, for this present voyage, George Cox, and riding at Anchor in the harbour of Salem, and by God's grace bound for Antege, in ye West India, to

Whightt Hors with wall eye
W P—too hhd. p. 1, 2.

say—One Whightt Hors & too new water hogsetts, for ye proper Acoo'tt of ye above sd Wm. Pickering—being marked and numbered as in the Margent, and are to be delivered in the like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Antege—(the danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Mr George Cox, master of ye above said Ketch, or to his Assigns, he or they paying freight for the said Goods, five pounds, at

ye landing of ye above sd horse att Antege alive—with Primage and Average accustomed. In witness whereof the master and Purser of said Ship hath affirmed to to Bills of Lading all of this tenor and date; the one of which too Bills being accomplished the other to stand void And so God send the good Ship to her destined Port in safety, Amen.

Dated in Salem, January ye 12, 1699—1700, mortality excepted.

pr. GEORGE COX, jun'r.

THE "OLD PLANTERS" OF SALEM, WHO WERE SETTLED HERE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ENDICOTT, IN 1628.

BY GEORGE D. PHIPPEN.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, March 25, 1858.

When we look backward from the present hour, which bears upon its surface the multitudinous burden of unfinished purposes, to the sealed record of the past, all, at the first glance, seems impenetrable, or shadowy and unreal.

At such moments we should remember that time is but one progressive present,—day succeeding day;—that from the beginning the green earth has always been bathed in light—rosy morning has always ushered in the day, and the hill tops reflected the rays of the setting sun—children young and blooming, and gray-haired sires have always walked hand in hand together—the bride has continually arrayed herself for the wedding, and the hearth-

stone has been continually re-laid, and as continually the sighing and trusting have departed in the way of their fathers. Strong hands and willing hearts have ever responded to duty—the rights of man have ever found champions, and the Lord, who divides the sun and the rain with all his creatures, has ever found worshippers. Thus at last, time with its unresisting progress has placed us for a brief period upon the scene of action.

Notwithstanding the mutability of all things, important facts and dates, like guide-posts in the traveller's path, direct us in the course of investigation, which perseverance shall combine into a consistent whole and imagination illumine as with the sunlight of present reality; thus may the old homes of our primitive fathers be pointed out and repopled with their original inhabitants, and we become united with them, as we truly are, and participate in their perils and their joys—perils from the fear of savages, the rudeness of the elements, and the pressure of want:—partake also of their zeal in the pursuit of freedom and holiness—rejoice in their hopeful success, which ultimately conducts us to the abiding triumph of their foresight and perseverance, a shadow of which they could scarcely have anticipated: and we hereby learn why we are gathering a harvest we sowed not, and which ripens perpetually above their graves.

We design to give an account of the first permanent settlement upon the soil of Massachusetts,—its very germ, that first struck its feeble root into the scanty soil at Cape Anne, and that was soon after transplanted to the more prolific banks of the Naumkeag River,—and of the few resolute spirits who resisted the depression of disappointment, and the waver of their companions, and remained the small, but living nucleus, which soon received powerful assistance from the mother country, and which has finally increased, and expanded into a populous and influential commonwealth, destined to last as long as her granite hills.

We will first devote a page to a few events,

covering a wide period which preceded and led to this settlement.

About one third of all the time that has elapsed since the discovery of America, had passed, before colonies became permanently established upon our coast. Let it suffice to make but a passing allusion to the voyages of the Cabots, and the illustrious Knights and half brothers Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who rank among the fathers of the commerce of England; and of their abortive attempts at colonizing the Indies of the West.

The first permanent settlement upon the American coast, then generally called Virginia, resulted from the exertions of these maritime brothers, and the kindred families of Sir John Popham, and Sir Fernando Gorges.

King James's Charter, under the name of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the city of London, for the first colony of Virginia," was granted in 1606; which provided for two councils of control, one for Northern and the other for Southern Virginia. Differences which it is unnecessary to explain here, soon arose between the two boards, which was happily turned to the advantage of the North Colony, by the exertions of "Sir Fernando Gorges, and certain of the principal knights and gentlemen-adventurers," who represented to the King that the region lying between the 40th and 48th degrees of North Latitude had been recently nearly depopulated of its savage inhabitants by a wonderful plague. (This occurred in 1617,) and that no Christian power laid any claim to it.

The King "desirous of enlarging his dominions, and extending the Christian name," granted Gorges and his party a patent to that vast territory lying between these parallels, and extending from sea to sea—from the Atlantic on the east, to a sea on the west, the distance of which the King probably had not the faintest conception. This patent bore the title of "The Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devonshire, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New Eng-

land in America." It was passed on the 3d of November, 1620, and sealed with the great seal of England, July 3d, 1621,—and this patent remained "the civil basis of all the patents and plantations that subsequently divided the country."

This was an age of prerogative and one of the provisions of the charter, contemplated the division of the land into Counties, to be apportioned among the Patentees, which might be again divided by these County Lords into Baronies, Hundreds and Towns.

A map published in 1624, by Capt. John Smith, drawn, as he says, by himself, as he passed along the shore in a little boat, gives a plan of the territory, thus divided into twenty parts, and apportioned to the patentees as appears by lot. The King favored this division, whereby each one of the company became Lord proprietor of his portion and vested with an absolute title and powers of government.—Under this prerogative the Right Hon. Edmund, Lord Sheffield, Knight of the most noble order of the garter, a leading statesman of England, who held one of the twenty divisions issued on the "Throne part" on the 1st January, 1623–4, a charter to Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow, [who will be recognised as the agents of the Colony at London and New Plymouth.] and their assistants and planters at Plymouth in New England on the other part of "a certain tract of land lying in 43d degree of North Latitude, in a known place there commonly called Cape Anne, with the bay, islands, &c., in the neighborhood; with liberty to fish, fowl, hawk, hunt, truck, trade in the land thereabout, and all other places in New England,"—with liberty also to make and establish Laws, Ordinances, and Constitutions, for their government, and with power to resist encroachment by force of arms.

Five hundred acres of this land were to be set apart for public uses,—such as the building of churches, schools, &c., and for the maintenance of their ministers, and magistrates. Thirty acres of land were to be allow-

ed each individual upon certain conditions, who should settle there.

This Charter has been recently found by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., and a fac simile of it published in his recent work, entitled "the Landing at Cape Ann," to which we are much indebted.

At the time of issuing this Charter, the Pilgrims at Plymouth had been settled three years. As an ecclesiastic body they were called Separatists, yet there had come among them some persons, who though equally desirous of a reformation of the abuses of the established Church, and who esteemed it no reproach to be called Puritans, were not prepared entirely to sever themselves from the English Church, or relinquish the Episcopal form of worship, to which they had been accustomed from their childhood. And they could exclaim as did our own Higginson, a few years later:—when passing Land's End, he called his children and other passengers into the stern of the ship, and as his eyes gazed for the last time upon his native land, he said: "We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate ourselves from the corruptions of it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America,"—and so he concluded with a fervent prayer for the King, and the Church, and State in England, &c.

These persons, few in number, attached themselves to Rev John Lyford, an Episcopal minister, who had probably arrived in the spring of 1624, about the time of the return of Winslow, with the Cape Anne Charter, and perhaps in the same ship. This minister, with his Episcopal determinations, soon made himself so obnoxious to the Pilgrims, as to be expelled the Colony, together with John Oldham, an Indian trader. They fled to Nantasket, about twenty five miles up the bay, to the westward, (now Hull,) near the entrance to Boston Harbor, and were voluntarily followed by a few other disaffected persons and their

families. Here they took up their abode at a temporary habitation that Captain Standish had erected there, a year or two before, for purposes of Indian trade.

Prominent among these persons was Roger Jonant, afterward of Salem, "a pious, sober, and prudent gentleman,"* as his character for life shows him to have been.

Here for the present, we leave them in their dreary abode, but in the enjoyment of their favorite form of worship.

The fame of the success of the Colony at New Plymouth, soon spread over England, particularly through the western counties, occasioned by accounts borne thither by Captain Smith and other navigators, the correspondence of the Pilgrims, and largely by Edward Winslow, who returned to London in the fall of 1623, and the publication of his "Good news from New England," the year following.

Their success fired not only the zeal of the champions of religion and humanity, but fed also the desire for gain in the brain of the merchant, and warmed the breasts of the young, the venturesome and the hopeful towards further colonizing upon the pleasant bays and harbors of New England; which spread out their borders enticingly before the eyes of the land-loving Englishman. Illimitable forests that never rang with the blows of the woodman's axe,—pastures large enough for thousands of flocks, and a soil rich with the accumulation of ages, awaited inhabitants, Domains before which the princely grounds of the English gentry sank into insignificance, could be had for little else than a quit claim of the wolf and the bear.

One of the first points towards which this spirit of enterprise was directed, was Cape Anne. Here the merchants of Dorchester and neighborhood, had for several years traded and fished on the coast, and returned with cargoes of codfish, beaver skins, &c.†

*Hubbard.

†Planter's Plea. Hubbard.

The English ships had increased rapidly for the past three or four years, and were estimated at this time at forty or fifty ships yearly, and it was thought that they could save much time, and fish more months in the year, if a plantation were established at the Cape, as a depot for salt, trade, curing of fish, &c., and by having a minister there, the fishermen could receive religious instruction.

Accordingly, these merchants, urged on by the zeal of their townsmen, and probably their pastor,* the Rev. John White, who from this time to his death, in 1648, took a deep interest in the colonial enterprise, made an agreement† with the Plymouth Colonists, and organized a joint stock company, with a capital of £3000.‡ under the name of the "Dorchester Company," with John Humphrey as Treasurer, resulting in the patent aforesaid. About one year before the date of the charter, viz, February 18, 1623, Wm. Darby of Dorchester, had petitioned the Council for New England that Robert Bushrode of Dorchester, and associates, might begin a plantation at Cape Anne

The Rev. John White, sometimes called the Patriarch of Dorchester, was no doubt a member of the Dorchester Company, as he afterwards was of the Mass Company.

On Winslow's return, in March 1624, after an absence of six months, he brought with him a few cattle, and abundant supplies for the Plymouth Colony, and materials for a Colony at Cape Anne. After discharging supplies at Plymouth, the ship crossed the Bay to the Cape, taking with her a few of the Plymouth planters, who erected there a great frame house, saltworks, and stages for the fishing business ||

The year of 1624 was one of preparation, husbandmen,¶ cattle, farming implements,

and supplies were sent over, and all things promised well. Their affairs were to be conducted by two overseers, Thomas Gardner over the plantation, and John Tilly over the fishing business.*

This organization was not long satisfactory to the adventurers, and it soon became necessary to have a more judicious management of affairs. About the end of the first year therefore, we find that Mr. White having heard such favorable accounts of Mr. Conant, that the adventurers selected him "for the managing and government" of their plantation, and they instructed their Treasurer, Mr. Humphrey, to write him in their names on the subject, and inform him "*that they had chosen him to be their Governor in that place.*" They committed to him the entire "charge of their affairs as well fishing as planting." † Conant resided at this time at Nantasket with Mr. Lyford, John Oldham and others.

They also invited Lyford to be the minister of the Colony, and Oldham to trade on their account with the Indians. Conant and Lyford accepted, but Oldham preferred to remain and trade on his own account, and he thus pursued his enterprising but devious career for a dozen years after, for most of the time at variance with the Colonists, until he was surprised and slain by the Indians, while on a trading voyage at Block Island, in July, 1636.

Great hopes were entertained of the future success of the plantation, but this project of the Plymouth planters and scheme for purposes of gain of the Dorchester merchants, was destined to farther disaster.

The Colony consisted of men of various conditions, and a degree of misconduct, if not insubordination, prevailed among them—their fishing operations turned out unfavorably, and the Company at home, finding it a losing concern, became disheartened and abandoned it to its fate. Their return cargoes had not paid,

*Hubbard.

†Mass. His. Coll. 28, 181.

‡Planter's Plea.

||Prince.

¶Planter's Plea.

*Hubbard.

†Hubbard.

their salt works had been destroyed by fire, and most of their Capital Stock been sunk ; they however paid off their servants, and to such as chose to return, they gave a passage home to England, but how many availed themselves of the privilege, we do not know.

The Colony had now existed rather more than two years, the latter year being under Conant's administration. This abandonment of the plantation was very unpleasant news to Mr. White, but he found in Conant, and a few of his resolute companions, a spirit not easily subdued. These worthies continued to correspond with each other, and thereby confirm that high purpose which struggled at their breasts of providing a refuge where non-conformists could enjoy their religion ; and which at last proved abundantly successful.

At this primitive period, there could have been no travel through the forests, but the track of the wild beast, or the no less fearful trail of the Indian. The only highway of the settlers was the ocean, or a devious route along the sea shore. Explorations, which were undoubtedly made, would naturally tend to the westward. On such occasions, or perhaps when on fishing and fowling excursions, they had discovered land in that direction more suitable for cultivation than at the rocky bluff where they then were, which is now called Stage Head, on the northwest side of the outer harbor of Gloucester.

It appears that, about this time, Conant must have written the Rev. Mr. White, that he had discovered this more suitable location for a plantation, on the banks of a small river, called Naumkeag, four or five leagues to the southwest,* where, as Mr. Hubbard says, he had recently conceived in his mind a plantation might be begun, which would prove a receptacle for such as were persecuted on account of their religion † Such a sentiment "could have found harbour only in a great heart and a noble mind." ‡ Mr. White replied as has been

stated, that he was "grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground," and urged Conant not to desert the business, and faithfully promised him that if himself and John Woodbury, John Balch and Peter Palfrey, whom he knew to be honest and prudent men, "would stay at Naumkeag and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and send them whatever they should write for, either men, provisions or goods, to trade with the Indians."*

By this letter of Mr. White, we are not to infer that only these four men removed to Naumkeag, but rather that these were prominent men, perhaps personally known to Mr. White, who may have been mentioned in one of Conant's letters, as men he could depend upon ; such men would naturally have others adhere to them. Conant returned answer that they would stay on these terms ; at the same time, entreating that they might be encouraged accordingly. We will now endeavor to trace the actions of Conant and his followers, and see in what this agreement resulted.

The Colony at Cape Anne probably never numbered above fifty persons, who had now dispersed ; a part returned to England, the remainder to the number of twenty-five or thirty persons, as we have reason to believe, of both sexes, and all ages removed to Naumkeag. This statement may surprise some who have adopted the erroneous idea that four forlorn fishermen, the very extremity of this scattered fishing colony, had sought at Naumkeag a transient abode, where they continued their precarious occupation, without any fixed purpose or design, ready at the first turn of fortune to change their place of abode, or leave their huts on the coast, to launch again upon the restless waters of the ocean.

One of the most important witnesses of the old planters, was Richard Brackenbury, who came over with Gov. Endicott, in 1628, and whose testimony appears in a deposition taken

*Planter's Plea.

†Hubbard.

‡Thornton.

*Hubbard.

in 1680, when an aged man, and was called forth thus.

The Mason family claimed a large portion of New England, by virtue of a patent granted prior to that to the Massachusetts Colony, and in 1680 all persons living within the claimed limits were required by a letter from the King to the Massachusetts authorities, to transmit proofs of their Real Estate.

The southern bounds of this claim terminated on the northern side of the North river.—Richard Brackenbury, then living in Beverly, testified on the 16th of 12th month, 1680, that when he came ashore at Salem, fifty-two years before, “we found living there, Old Goodman Norman and his sonn, Wm. Allen and Walter Knight and others,” “alsoe John Woodburye. Mr. Conant, Peeter Palfery, John Balch and others,” and that they had sundry houses, built at Salem, &c. He also mentions the house at Cape Anne, which he says he assisted in taking down, and re-constructing in Salem, for Governor Endicott’s use, a portion of which stands to this day.

These persons appear to have been landsmen,—planters as they were called,—cultivators of the soil,—and some of them were mechanics, as their subsequent career shows, and not simply fishermen. It was undoubtedly a part of their employment to cure fish, collect beaver skins and furs, or perform any and every service that the welfare of the Colony demanded.

We find that about 1631, Roger Conant, Peter Palfray, Anthony Dike and Francis Johnson formed themselves into a Company, for traffic in furs, with a truck house at the eastward. Dike perished on Cape Cod, in 1638, as it seems, when returning from Maine with a cargo for himself and partners.

With but little tax upon the imagination we may say, that during the summer of 1626, Conant, Woodbury, and others, of the prominent men of the Cape Ann Plantation, might have been seen occasionally sailing in their shallop, up the northern shore of the Bay, to

its western bounds at Naumkeag, passing by the “hills and dales” covered with “gay woods and trees,” as they made preparation for removal thither.

Along the same shore that three years afterward filled the enthusiastic Higginson with longings to know more of the new Paradise of New England, whose signals of fertility painted the sea with the storm-reft petals of its flowery meadows,—the same shore whose fragrant breezes revived the drooping spirits of Lady Arabella, and the gentlew men of the fleet of 1630, with that “sweet air from the shore like the smell of a garden,” and whose eyes and palates were greeted on landing there, “with ripe strawberries, gooseberries, and sweet single roses,” the same shore that had a dozen years before caused the gallant Captain Smith to call it “the Paradise of all those parts,” and to name its Cape after the fair Turkish maiden, who had befriended him in former exile,* and that caused the Pilgrims of that dreary wintry welcome of 1620, to wish they had settled there. Even to the present time this shore retains many of its primitive charms, which are abundantly asserted by the wealth and taste that there make their abode, and find therein wholesome gratification and retirement.

In the fall of 1626, after partial preparations had been made, this resolute band embarked with their households and effects, their cattle† and implements of husbandry, making, as they undoubtedly must, many passages in their boats or shallops, for the purpose of such removal, leaving behind them their large frame house, with remnants of their thatched cottages, also their fishing improvements and harvested fields, and with a cold winter before them, they began anew the work of settlement under great weakness, but stronger even in diminished numbers, because purged of the unruly, the weak and the vacillating.

Wood, in his New England Prospect, states in August 1633, that corn had been raised in

*Hilliard’s Life of Smith.

†Planter’s Plea.

Salem seven years together, thus corroborating the date 1626.

The services of such men as William Allen and Richard Norman, must have been peculiarly in demand, (for they were carpenters,) in felling trees and constructing places of abode for themselves, their wives and little ones, and in providing shelter for their cattle.—Here Conant, as he says of himself, built the first house erected in Salem.

Near the extremity of North Point, or at Cape Ann Ferry, or Ipswich Ferry, as it was variously called, now a little west of the junction of Beverly Bridge, may be seen the outcropping of a Metamorphic Rock, as it slopes its checkered surface into the sea, that with its intersected dikes and veins, fills the mind of the geologist with wondering interest, as he counts the deeply graven record of eleven of the old earth's eruptions.

Here on this spot thus scored by the hand of Deity, we believe Conant and his followers, the pilgrim band of Massachusetts, stayed their wandering feet, and commenced their permanent abode; and here too, we believe, they welcomed Endicott and his company to their wilderness home; thereby tallying another epoch in the world's history, for here it was that freedom, long confined in the mother country, burst the crust of tyranny and oppression that bound her, and began to overflow the land with its blessings, and spread out the solid foundations on which our Republic rests.

On this peninsula the Colonists found a soil of easy cultivation, a light warm loam, which they, in imitation of the Indian planters, manured with fish, which frequented the shores in great abundance; and they were thus enabled to raise large crops of Indian corn and other products.

Hubbard says, "Here they took up their station, upon a pleasant and fruitful neck of land, environed with an arm of the sea on each side, in either of which vessels and ships of good burthen might easily anchor."

They settled with the best understanding with the Indians, with whom they "had a field in common fenced in together," and to them the natives sometimes fled for shelter and protection, "saying they were afraid of their enemy Indians in the country," meaning the Tarrantines who lived to the eastward.

Here the first houses were built, and their cattle, which must have been regarded of great value, brought over as they were with much care and cost, were pastured.

The old Planters appear to have occupied the larger part of the peninsula lying between the North River and Collins Cove; and they may not have been strangers to that larger peninsula beyond, which afterward became the centre of the town. This strip of land they appear to have divided into lots, of upland and marsh, running from the river on which they fronted across the marsh to Collins Cove.—With great application under the indefiniteness of extant records, we think some of their lots might even now be designated,—such as Palfrey's and Balch's and perhaps Wm. Allen's, who in 1638 was granted one acre of salt marsh at the end of his lot, and who sold his estate upon his removal to Manchester.

Not long after Conant had removed to his farm at the head of Bass River, the town ordered that his house be bought as a residence for William Plaice, blacksmith, and his wife.

This region in the early deeds of land and later was called "the Old Planters' Marsh," or near or on "the way to the Ipswich Ferry."

Potter's field, where the Lady Arabella and Mrs. Phillips* were buried in 1630, was near the Planter's Marsh.

The venerable Dr. Holyoke was accustomed to say that the grave of Arabella Johnson was denoted by a brick monument within his remembrance, but where that was is now unknown, the nearest designation is, that it was somewhere on the land bordering the west side of Collins Cove. It was by some supposed that her grave was discovered upon the open-

*Magnalia B. iii ch. IV, p. 82.

ing of the Essex Railroad, through the Pickman field, lying between Pleasant and Bridge streets: the late Stephen Whitmore, Jr., when digging a post hole near his rope factory, below Osgood street, found a quantity of very large bricks which he supposed were brought from England, and which he thought were a remnant of the brick monument referred to. This matter has received much investigation from the hands of antiquarians, and will perhaps forever remain in doubt.

Aged persons state that the site on which this ropewalk is built, was, before the filling up of the marsh, for purposes of cultivation, a sandy ridge that ran from the upland into the marsh and might therefore have been an appropriate place, away from their dwellings, for a burial ground.

Governor Endicott and his party, when they arrived, probably regarding the river instead of the present harbor as the best entrance to the country, located themselves beyond the old planters, further up the stream. The Governor's house, which was at first set up at Cape Anne, in 1624, by the party who went over from Plymouth with Edward Winslow, was shaken and brought to Naumkeag, and re-erected here, a few rods from the water, upon the elevated banks of the North River, now the northeast corner of Washington and Church streets,—the Newhall house there standing being in part the same. This site, with the old arbor-fort, a defence from the Indians, erected a few rods distant to the westward, was the highest land in the body of the town.

From and after Endicott's arrival, the settlement radiated from this point toward the harbor. Among the earliest allotments of land, then the chief interest of the country, were grants of farms on the several branches of the Naumkeag river,—and the old planters were among the first to receive awards from the new government.

We will now inquire who composed this lonely band of Massachusetts pilgrims. But where shall we look for their muster roll? With such

evidence as we are able to command, we have traced out the following names, most of whom are mentioned by Mr. Felt, in his *History of Salem*.

1. Roger Conant, Governor.
2. John Lyford, Minister.
3. John Woodbury.
4. Humphrey Woodbury.
5. John Balch.
6. Peter Palfray.
7. Walter Knight.
8. William Allen.
9. Thomas Gray.
10. John Tylly.
11. Thomas Gardner.
12. Richard Norman.
13. Richard Norman, "his sonne."
14. Capt. William Trask.
15. William Jeffrey.

These men were all in the prime of life.—Conant in 1626, was 33 years of age. Knight was 39. Woodbury's son Humphrey was 20 in 1628. Norman's son was perhaps younger. The others, with the exception of "old Norman," were probably all under 40 years of age. These are the names of the men only, upon whom the burden of the Colony chiefly rested; several of them had their families with them. Jeffrey appears to have been somewhat unstable in settlement; he probably at this time resided at Jeffrey's Creek, now Manchester. We feel confident that he was then living within the extensive bounds of what was then and long afterward known as Salem proper.

A writer in the *Genealogical Register*, in an article on the Lindall family, claims Philip Veren as one of Conant's company; but Mr. Savage, in his "Gleanings for New England History," gives an extract from the Records of Salisbury, which shows that the Colony had existed nine years before Veren came over, and that Philip Veren, with his brother Joshua, were about sailing for New England from New Sarum, in April 1635.

In regard to the number of the old planters, perhaps a comparison with the Plymouth Col-

ony will suggest probabilities. Of 101 passengers by the Mayflower, in 1620, 40 only were men, 17 of these were single, the rest of the company was composed of their wives and children. The average members of families, additional to each of the 40 men, are about one and a half persons.

Now if we reckon the men at Naumkeag, fifteen only, this family average would add about twenty more, swelling the total of both sexes and all ages, to thirty-five individuals, which is about the same as Mr. Felt's computation, but how he came to this conclusion, we know not.

It is not at all probable that we have the names of all the men, as Brackenbury states, twice over, after giving the names of some, "*and others*." When a portion of these men left the Plymouth Colony for Nantasket, it is said that they were followed by their families. Roger Conant, in his petition of 1671, says expressly, that he settled in Massachusetts with his family. His wife, Sarah, we know was here, and his eldest son, Lot, was born about 1624, perhaps at Nantasket, and may have been baptized by Lyford, of whose ministrations no record remains. His son, Roger, was born at Naumkeag, in 1626, the year of settlement, being the first white child born in Salem. Conant's family alone adds four individuals to the list.

John Woodbury, when he returned from England in 1628, six months perhaps before the arrival of Endicott, brought with him his son Humphrey, a youth of about 20 years of age, who had probably been left at home to complete his education, a common custom with the elderly children of the first settlers; other members of his family may also have been settled here. His brother William, we know, was living here a few years after, and is supposed to have located in Beverly, certainly as early as 1630.

There is some probability that Palfray had children, older than those whose baptisms are found recorded in the First Church Records.

Richard Norman had a son, of an age, as we should infer from Brackenbury's account, at near that of manhood. Mr. Felt calls him Richard, Jr., but we are inclined to think his son John was referred to, by Brackenbury, as he was then a lad about 15 years old.

His son Richard, whom we find living in Marblehead a few years later, with his father, was born in 1623, and could consequently have been but three years of age, which would be presumptive proof that his mother came with him, which would make out four in this family. And in this manner, other members of the old planters' families, known to have been living at this time, and who, in all probability, accompanied their father or parents to this country, could be added to the number, which would individualize or materially increase the list.

We have thus shown, we think, with scarcely a doubt, that there were at least thirty or forty people here, previous to the arrival of Gov. Endicott and followers, forming a Colony of sufficient numbers and strength to bear that name, and which secured and maintained the most persevering exertions in their behalf, of the Rev. John White, and other friends about Dorchester,* which resulted at last in stirring up such an interest, that a new company was formed in England, composed of the remnant of the old company, united with these friends, and who subsequently bought all the effects of the Dorchester Company, both at Cape Anne and Naumkeag, and procured a charter as had been promised.

They sent over Capt. John Endicott, one of their own number, "to strengthen the Colony and administer its government,"—"to erect a new Colony upon the old foundation,"†—"to begin a plantation, and to strengthen such as he should find there which were sent thither from Dorchester,"‡—"to carry on the plantation of the Dorchester merchants at Naumkeag or

*Hubbard.

†White's brief relation.

‡Dudley's Letter.

Salem, and make way for the settling of another Colony in Massachusetts."* Such are the nearly parallel statements of White, Dudley, and Hubbard.

The constancy of the Colony was severely tried, when their minister, Mr. Lyford, received "a loving invitation" to settle in Virginia. Lyford decided to embark for his new abode, and used such persuasions to induce the entire Colony to accompany him, that some openly expressed their desire to depart, while others, discouraged by privation and the continual fear of attack from the Northern Indians, who were warlike and powerful, were ready to abandon the enterprise, and go home to England. This disaffection is not to be wondered at, when we reflect that this little band were, on account of difference in religion, more or less despised and neglected by the Plymouth people, and being doubtful of assistance from home, their loneliness became oppressive to them.

Lyford departed, probably accompanied by a few of the Colony. It is at this point that the character of Conant stands forth in heroic grandeur. The resolute purpose so dear to his heart, of founding an Asylum for his persecuted countrymen, who still clung to the skirts of the mother church, was not to be lightly relinquished. All the inducements of the designing Lyford, and all the arguments that privation and dread of invasion forced from his companions, fell powerless beside him, like arrows against a rock, and he told them at last that they might go if they wished, and though all of them should forsake him, he should "wait the providence of God in that place where they now were, not doubting that if they departed, he should soon have more company.† Where shall we look to find a "more sublime heroism, a purer self-devotion, loftier faith and trust," than was here displayed ‡

In after years Conant says of himself, "I was a means through grace assisting me to stop the flight of those few that were here with me, and that by my utter denial to go away with them who would have gone either for England or mostly to Virginia have therefore stayed to the hazard of our lives."*—They remained and subsisted partly upon the products of the field and upon fish and game, with which the country abounded. After this they must have redoubled their exertions in husbandry,—cultivating indian corn, tobacco and vegetables, and collecting beaver skins and furs, for purposes of trade and remittance homeward.

Now that their resolution was taken, they wisely thought that they could hasten assistance by sending a messenger to England. Accordingly, in the winter of 1627, they dispatched on this mission, John Woodbury, whose residence in the country for three years had made him familiar with its resources.

Mr. White must have greeted him with a cordial welcome, from whom he learned that there were others interested in the success of the struggling colony, and who stood ready to become its patrons.

Under the Dorchester influence and the exertions of Thomas Dudley and others, he found a company already formed, by the name of "the New England Company."

A charter of the region called Massachusetts Bay, was granted by the Council for New England, March 19, 1628, to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Knight, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whitecombe, Gentlemen,† which superseded the Cape Ann Charter, and Woodbury had the satisfaction of returning to Naumkeag, after an absence of six months, with assurances of both men and supplies. He brought with him his son Humphrey as before mentioned, and arrived here in the spring of 1628, and cheered the hearts of the anxious colonists

*Hubbard.

†Hubbard.

‡Thornton.

*Mass. His. Coll. 27, 252.

†Hubbard.

with a recital of the interest that their fidelity had inspired.

The new company set themselves to the work with a zeal worthy of their noble cause. They purchased all the rights and improvements made under the Dorchester Company in New England, and prepared to furnish substantial assistance to the Colony in men, provisions, &c. And although they had every commendation in favor of retaining Mr. Conant in office, they preferred to make choice of one of their own number, to be Governor of the Colony here. Capt. John Endicott, a "worthy gentleman," and a man well known to persons of note,* he was cousin by marriage to Matthew Craddock, the Governor of the Company's affairs in London. The following language is used in the Company's letter to Endicott, of April 17, 1629, after he had come over. "Since your departure we have for the further strengthening of our grant from the Councill at Plymouth, obtained a confirmation of it from his Majesty by his letters patent, and confirmed you Governor, of our Plantation," with a Councill "styled the Councill of the Massachusetts Bay;" and again April 30, 1629, they "thought fit to settle an absolute government in our plantation in the said Massachusetts Bay," and they "chose and elected Capt. John Endicott to the place of present Governor, in our said Plantation.

The judiciousness of this choice, though bearing severely upon Conant, was all important to the Colony. The struggling colonists had now been two lonely years at Naumkeag, nearly as long as their abode at Cape Anne, and had supported and protected themselves through two long, cold New England winters. Their second crop of corn was nearly ready for harvest, when the "Abigail" heve in sight, as she approached along the Cape Anne shore, and at last cast anchor at the mouth of the river. That succor so long prayed for had

at last arrived, and their drooping spirits bounded with renewed vigor.

On the other hand, to the passengers on board the Abigail, everything must have appeared cheering and delightful,—the forests in their most expansive suit of green, untarnished as yet by the frosts of Autumn, studded the islands upon their track,—crested every hilltop and bordered every cove, and seemed to welcome the weary voyagers as they swayed in the fitful breezes of the departing summer.

As they neared the shore, balsamic odors borne down from pine-clad slopes, refreshed them;—here and there the parting forests revealed fair fields and meadows, where waved hundreds of unshorn acres, mottled with patches of golden rod, trumpet weed, and the Michaelmas daisy. The rose and the barberry from rounded copses, hung over the waters their ripened fruits in clusters of the richest scarlet.

With eager eyes the pilgrims discern in the thicket, the rude wigwams of the natives, and a few erect forms of a recently numerous tribe return their gaze; but the most cheering sight to the emigrants were the abodes of Conant and his companions, but just visible in their little clearings in the forest.

The Colonists in expectation of their arrival had made such preparation for them as was in their power. Their dependance upon each other was mutual. Succor on one hand, and hospitality on the other, sealed a hearty welcome and filled their cup of joy. The Colony was cared for, the prayers and zeal of Mr. White were answered; but the mild and self-sacrificing Conant had yet other trials to endure; he had accomplished much for the Colony thus far, but the consciousness of his well-doing was to be his only reward. He was deposed,—all his schemes for its advancement must now be abandoned to others,—all the effects and improvements of the Colony had been sold.

It was not long before Gov. Endicott showed Conant his letter of instructions from the Com-

*Planter's Plea.

pany, which informed him of the new aspect of affairs, and that he had come with full authority to take possession of their houses, boats, servants and improvements, and assume the reins of government. This information could not have been welcome either to Conant or his companions, and we can readily sympathise with them when they afterward complain that they have been accounted but little better than slaves.

There arrived in the *Abigail*, fifty or sixty passengers, which united with the old planters, swelled the number to about one hundred persons, and much greater preparations were making at home to place the Colony in a far more substantial position. Any careful reader of history cannot fail to see that the old Planters were of sufficient influence and importance to give the new government much uneasiness under the disaffection which followed, and it required all the prudence and public virtue of Conant, the firmness of Endicott, and the influence of Rev Mr. White, with Craddock, at home to restore harmony of action, so that by the third of June of the next year, the Colony then consisting of about three hundred persons, at a General Court convened by Gov. Endicott for the purpose, they all by common consent combined together into one body politic under the same Governor: therefore up to this time, a period of nine months, Conant's party probably kept up a more or less independent organization, both of Church and State. Hubbard* says of this, "The late controversy that had been agitated with too much animosity betwixt the forementioned Dorchester planters, and their new Agent and his Company, being by the prudent moderation of Mr. Conant, agent before for the Dorchester merchants, quietly composed, that so *meum* and *tuum*, which divide the world, should not disturb the peace of good christians, who came so far to provide a place where to live together in christian amity and concord."

The very name of our city. *Salem* (*City of Peace*.) adopted at the same General Court, and suggested by this occasion shall ever remain a witness of this disaffection and controversy, and a lasting memorial of its happy termination and adjustment, and which is echoed by her sixty namesakes, scattered over the United States.

White, in his Planter's Plea, says of this controversy, the change of name from Naumkeik to Salem, was done "upon a fair ground, in remembrance of a *peace* settled upon a conference at a general meeting between them and their neighbors after expectance of some dangerous jar." It is supposed that the suggestion of this name was made by Francis Higginson.

Still the wound was not entirely healed, and its irritation can be occasionally seen throughout that generation. It is plainly apparent upwards of forty years afterward in Conant's petition to General Court, in 1671, when he speaks of the hazard of life and the sacrifices he had made for the public good without personal reward.

The compromise adopted was brought about chiefly by the careful and judicious instructions of the Company to Gov. Endicott, a policy dictated both by a sense of justice, and a reasonable apprehension that Mr. Oldham, of the Church party, might draw the old planters into his plan of maintaining independent jurisdiction over the territory of Massachusetts, according to a conveyance he held from John the brother of Robert Gorges.

Under date of April 17, 1629, Mr. Craddock in his official letter to Gov. Endicott, uses this language, "and that it may appear as well to all the world as to the old planters themselves, that wee seeke not to make them slaves, (as it seems by your letter some of them think themselves to bee become by means of our patent.) wee are content they shall be partakers of such privileges as wee, from his Majesty's especial grace, with great cost, favor of personages of note, and much labor, have obtained, and that they shall be incorporated

*Mass. His. Coll. 15, 113.

into this society, and enjoy not only their lands which formerly they have manured, but such a further proportion as by the advice and judgment of yourself and the rest of the council, shall be thought fit *for them or any of them*. And besides it is still our purpose that they should have some benefit by the common stock as by your first commission directed and appointed; with this addition, that if it be held too much to take thirty per cent. and the freight of the goods for and in consideration of an adventure and disbursement of your moneys, to be paid in beaver at six shillings per pound, that you moderate the said rate, as you, with the rest of the Council, shall think to be agreeable to equity and good conscience."

They also granted the old planters the exclusive privilege of raising tobacco, from which they expected great remuneration, and in the Government they were to have the privilege of choosing two of the twelve Councilmen from their own number. (Is it not absurd then to suppose that there were but four settlers here, when Endicott came?) The followers of Conant had undoubtedly been increased by the arrival of the fishing and trading vessels, that frequented the coast from the time he took his firm determination to remain at Naumkeag. Mr. Thornton says:—"If, under such conditions, and such a fulfilment of the agreement, Conant and his associates are desirous to live amongst us, and conform themselves to good order and government, said those who had taken summary possession of the territory and of the improvements thereon, we will permit them to remain."

"The legal title was now in the new Company, who, strong in wealth and influence, were decidedly aggressive in spirit, and the only alternative for these leaders in the forlorn hope was dispersion and an abandonment of the now ripening fruits of their labors.— They submitted to the lesser evil; but historic impartiality, upon a survey of the facts, will

yield a verdict of exact justice, unvitiated by superior interests and prejudices."*

It would be extraneous to my plan to enter into an ecclesiastical review of the affairs of the Colony, and to show the development of the simple congregational form of worship adopted by the government, and of the influence of Dr. Fuller, of Plymouth, in bringing it about, and of the accommodation of Higginson and Shelton to it, who had not made up their minds to any particular form of church government before leaving England,—resulting in the simple ordination of August 6, 1629, and the establishment of the Salem Church.

Suffice it to say, that Prelacy could not exist in such a community, which was soon manifested in the expulsion of the two Browns, and so universally was this feeling impressed that no Episcopal minister was settled in Salem, for upward of one hundred years afterward. Under this state of things, we see another instance of the self-sacrificing spirit of Conant, who again yielded up his private wishes to the majority, and joins in communion with a Separatist Church, and at its altar his children were baptized. His name stands enrolled the fifth upon the extant list of its members.

The church party consisting chiefly of the old planters, are supposed to have relinquished their Episcopacy, and joined the Congregational Church, about the time the Browns were sent home,† and but a few weeks after the organization of the church. The old planters were allowed to retain the lands they had already improved and cultivated, and to be allowed an equitable portion in other lands to be subsequently granted. Accordingly we find by the town Book of Grants, on the "25th of 11th mon, 1635, that Captain Trask, John Woodbury, Mr. Conant, Peter Palfrey, and John Balch, are to have five farms, viz: each two hundred acres apiece, to form in all, a

*Thornton.

†Felt.

thousand acres of land together lying, and being at the head of Bass river, one hundred and twenty-four poles in breadth, and soe runin northerly to the river by the great pond side,* and soe in breadth making up the full quantity of a thousand acres, these limits laid out and surveyed by vs.

JOHN WOODBURY,
JOHN BALCH."

This locality is afterward in the Records, often called "The Old Planters' Farms."

Again there were granted to John Woodbury, John Balch, and Mr. Conant, five acres of meadow apiece, in some convenient place. Conant soon after removed to his grant, and was followed by some of the others. Palfrey never settled upon his, but removed to Reading.

The first grants of land we find recorded, were made on 1st of 8 month, 1634. The grant above mentioned, was recorded on the third page of the book of Grants, and there appear to have been but two large lots granted prior to the one thousand acre lot to the old planters, and these were granted but one week previous, viz : three hundred acres to Robert Cole, where his cattle are, by Brookshy, and a farm of two hundred acres to Lieut. Johnson, also at Brookshy, (South Danvers.)

The question may arise here, why were not more of the names of the old planters mentioned in this grant. The answer to this may be, that under the Company instructions, planters were to have land granted them in proportion to their interest in the common stock, perhaps for improvements they had made, in advance of their comrades. Distinction of merit seems implied in Craddock's letter, as appears by the above quotation in my italics. Other of the old planters received separate grants of land as can be seen by the Book of Grants, such as Richard and John Norman, who were granted twenty acres of land each.

The exertions of Rev. Mr. White did not

cease with the obtaining of the charter and despatching the ship Abigail ; it was through his means that the original patentees "were brought into acquaintance with other religious persons of like quality in and about London, such as Mr. Wintrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Craddock, Mr. Goffe, and Sir Richard Saltonstall."

The emigration of Endicott was followed by that of Rev. Francis Higginson, with two hundred more passengers, and planters, who arrived early the next summer.

The year after, (1630,) was signalised by the arrival of Gov. Winthrop, with the home Company, original charter,* and a large number of passengers, in a fleet of seventeen ships ; and emigrants continued to pour in rapidly, so that in 1637, nine years after the return of Woodbury, and arrival of Endicott, the Massachusetts Colony numbered not less than eight thousand souls, nine hundred of whom were inhabitants of Salem.†

The acts of the old planters soon became no longer distinctly visible, as Hutchinson says of Conant :—"The superior condition of those who came over with the charter, cast a shade upon them." Suffice it to say that they continued to bear a fair share in town and colonial affairs, and spent lives of great usefulness and honor. Partial accounts (which might be greatly enlarged,) of these men and their families are here appended. Several of their grand-children, mere youths, perished in that memorable battle with the Indians, at Bloody Brook, under Capt. Lathrop, of Beverly, September 18, 1675.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

*The Charter provided in itself for an "exemplification," or duplicate of precisely the same legal authority : this duplicate charter Gov. Endicott brought with him in 1628, and under it he ruled the Colony ; it is preserved in the Archives of the Salem Athenæum, and may be seen at Plummer Hall.—Winthrop, a succeeding Governor of the Colony, with whom the Company—the Governor making power—came, brought with him the other, or original charter, as it has usually been called ; this also is preserved in the State House at Boston.

†Felt's Am. Stat. Ass'n., vol. 1, 138.

LETTER OF HON. BENJAMIN GOODHUE,
MEMBER OF CONGRESS, TO ELIAS HAS-
KETT DERBY, OF SALEM—CITY OF NEW
YORK IN 1787.

I send you for publication a copy of a letter from Hon Benj. Goodhue to Elias Haskett Derby, of Salem, which, I think, may interest some of your readers:

What a different aspect New York City must have presented at the date of this letter, from her present appearance! Sam Breck, in his Historical Sketch of the Continental Paper Money, says,—"In the month of June, of the year 1787, on my return from a residence of a few years in France, I arrived at that city, and found it a neglected place, built chiefly of wood, and in a state of prostration and decay. A dozen vessels in port. Broadway, from Trinity Church inclusive down to the Battery, in ruins, owing to a fire that had occurred when the city was occupied by the enemy, during the latter end of the war. The ruined walls of the burnt houses standing on both sides of the way, testifying to the poverty of the place, five years after the conflagration; for although the war had ceased during that period, and the enemy had departed, no attempt had been made to rebuild them. In short, there was silence and inactivity everywhere; and the whole population was very little over twenty thousand."

This is in striking contrast with the new York of the present day—the leading commercial city of the world.

B.
New York, April 5, 1789.

The people of the United States, I think, are peculiarly unfortunate, after manifesting so laudable an avidity for the adoption of the new government, to have the exercise of it so long delayed through the inexcusable, and I may add reproachful inattention of several of the persons whom they have elected for its administration. Congress have not yet a sufficient number of members of both Houses in Town to enable them to proceed upon business. The Senate wants one to form their body, and from the accounts of a Senator from Virginia being near at hand, that desirable event is momentarily expected. I pray we may not again be mortified with a disappointment, for I am

persuaded if the doctrine be true that it's good for us to be afflicted, we have had so bountiful a portion as leaves no reason to doubt of its salutary operation. I inclose you the names of the gentlemen present:

New Hampshire—Honorable Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts—Fisher Ames, Geo. Leonard, Geo. Thatcher, Benj. Goodhue, Elb. Gerry, Geo. Partridge.

Maryland—Wm. Smith, Geo. Gale, — Carroll

Connecticut—Jona. Sturges, Jere'h Wadsworth, Benj. Huntington, Jona. Trumbul, Roger Sherman.

New Jersey—Lambert Cadwallader, Elias Boudinot, James Schureman.

Pennsylvania—Fred'k A. Muhlenburg, Spk., Thomas Hartley, Henry Wynkoop, Peter Muhlenburg, Daniel Heister, Thomas Scott, Geo. Clymer.

Virginia—James Madison, Rich. B. Lee, John Page, Alex'r White, Andrew Moore, Sam'l Griffin, Josiah Parker, Theoderick Bland.

South Carolina—Thomas T. Tucker.

Senators, which ought to have preceded the Representatives:

N. H.—Messrs, Langdon, Wingate.

M.—Strong.

C.—Dr. Johnson, Ellsworth.

N. J.—Patterson, Elmore.

P.—Morris, Macclay.

D.—Bassett.

G.—Few.

I am, with sentiments of esteem, Your Friend and Serv't,

B. GOODHUE.

P. S. I have just this moment heard of the arrival of Mr. Lee, the Senator from Virginia, who I have mentioned as being expected. We shall therefore, after so long a time, have the pleasure of forming both houses, to-morrow, and after opening the votes of the Electors for a President and V. President, immediately dispatch a messenger to Mount Vernon, and another to Baintree, to notify those great personages of their respective appointments.

E. H. DERBY, Esq.

PRIVATEER JUNIUS BRUTUS.

I find among the papers of my late grandfather, Jonathan Andrew, (deceased 1781,) who was an ardent patriot during the revolu-

tionary war, and an agent for Privateers, the following list of the officers and crew of the Ship Junius Brutus. She was a ship carrying 20 guns, and 110 men, and was captured in Oct. 1782 and sent to Newfoundland. Felt says, 1782. Feb'y 19, "A ship arrives, taken by the Junius Brutus; had 1 killed, 2 wounded, and the prize 2 killed and 5 wounded." I find by a memo. on the paper from which I copy, that the J. B. was in Virginia 31st October, 1780, where several men deserted her. Thinking this list may possess some interest at this day, I have transcribed it for publication in your paper. B. F. B.

List of Names, Stations and Shares, Junius Brutus.

John Brooks,	Captain,	9 shares
Wm. Patterson,	1st Lieut.,	6 do
Hugh Smith,	2d do.	5 do
Chas. Hamilton,	Master,	5 do
Martin Levett,	Surgeon,	6 do
Robt. Fairservice,	Clerk,	2½ do
Jonath Glover,	Ship Mate,	3½ do
Jno. Sinclair,	2d do.	3 do
Jonath. Mayson,	Prize Master,	3 do
Thos. Webb,	do.	3 do
Ben'jn Thompson,	do.	3 do
Joseph Trask,	do.	3 do
Jno. Adden,	do.	3 do
Joseph Salter,	do.	3 do
Stephen Archer,	do.	3 do
John Saint,	Boatswain,	3 do
And'w Trewlove,	Mate,	2 do
Charles Peterson,	do.	2 do
David Bickford,	Stuard,	3 do
Jno. Hovey,	Cooper,	2 do
Edward Dalton,	Gunner,	3 do
Andrew Morgan,	Mate,	2 do
Neh'iah Cushman,	do.	1½ do
Jno. Nooton,	Carpenter,	3 do
Sam'l McIntire,	Mate,	1½ do
Peter Smothers,	Jr. Master,	2 do
John Jackson	do.	2 do
John Hall,	Sail Maker,	2 do
Sam'l Knap,	Cook,	2 do
Jonath Newell,	Cabin Cook,	1½ do
Gibson Clough,	Capt. Marines,	2½ do
Jno. Wakefield,	Armourer,	1½ do

Seamen.	Shares.	Seamen.	Shares.
Jno. Watts,	1	Jacob Newell,	1
James Elliot,	1	Ben'jn Butler,	1
Joseph Homan,	1	Edward Perlans,	1
Jno. Peeters,	1	Jno. Still,	1
James Hynds,	1	Jona. Teague,	1
Jno. Mc. Niel,	1	Jno. Allen,	1
Thos. Milburn,	1	Jno. McKenney,	1
Isaac Lofly,	1	Edw'd Tucker,	1
James Hamelton,	1	Nic'k Wallace,	1
James Robertson,	1	Wm. Saucefield,	1

Seamen.	Shares.	Seamen.	Shares.
Tho. Traverse,	1	Thos. Norris,	1
Leander Smith,	1	Jno. Orrick,	1
Martin Whitforth,	1	Thos. Rigley,	1
Duncan McPherson,	1	Wm. Brardson,	1
Oliver Wellman,	1	Aaron Crowell,	1
Robt. Hazelton,	1	Jona. Brown,	1
Daniel Mehaney,	1	Joseph Allen,	1
Wm. Burbank,	1	David Whipple,	1
Ben'jn Felt,	1	Sam'l Russell,	1
Thos. Smith,	1	Peter Folsom,	1
John Hooton,	1	George Herculeous,	1
James Turner,	1	David Roach,	1
Joshua Grant,	1	James McNeil,	1
John Cain,	1	Anthony Knap,	1
Jno. Oakman,	1	Wm. Butler,	1
Thos. Robertson,	1	Wm. Pve,	1
Thos. Jones,	1	Sam'l Pickworth,	1
Rob't Remmons,	1	Ben'jn White,	1
Rob't Cloutman,	1	Wm. Adams,	1
Thos. Driver,	1	John Leach,	1
Ebenez. Whitfoot,	1	Nehem Gould,	1
James Bean,	1	John Wait,	1
John Meach,	1	Ben'jn Woolbridge,	1
Jno. Pitman,	1	Joseph Severy,	1
John Cooley,	1	John Archer,	1
Amos Dolliver,	1	James Black,	1
James Wood,	1	Jno. Edmonds,	1
Jona. Thompson,	1	Sam'l Towns,	1
Otho Seal,	1	Abrah'm Woollett,	1
John Fannock,	1	Amos Newell,	1
Clement Severy,	1	Edward Still,	1
John Dennis,	1	Thos. Powell,	1
Wm. Bradish,	1	French Deacons,	1
Jno. Fenley,	1	David Leach,	1
Rob't Gover,	1	Charles Wood,	1
Robt. Orrick,	1		

Christ'r Wallburt was missed on the 3d day of September; was supposed to have fallen overboard.

EXPEDITION TO RHODE ISLAND IN 1778.

In the summer of that year, the Island was in the occupation of a body of British troops, under the command of Major General Sir Robert Pigot; and it was determined that an attempt to recover possession should be made by an American army under Maj. Gen. Sullivan, in conjunction with the French fleet commanded by the Count D'Estaing. The British force was estimated at about 6500 men; the American, at 9000 or 10000, consisting of 2200 continental soldiers and 7000 or 8000 militia. Of the latter a large portion were volunteers from New England. Owing to disasters to the French ships, occasioned by a tempest, and to jealousies subsisting between D'Estaing and his captains, the fleet failed to cooperate, and the Americans, who had landed upon the Island, and had taken a position near to Newport, were under the necessity of retreating. The quota required of Salem was 52 men; but the following list, copied

from an ancient original supposed to be correct, contains the names of 81 volunteers. Some contemporary letters say that nearly or quite 100 men marched from Salem; but unless they mean to include about 25 boatmen for landing the Americans, there is of course an error, either in the list or in the letters. It will be seen that many of the prominent men of Salem were in the ranks. The company left Salem about the 4th of August, and landed on Rhode Island on the 16th. On the evening of the 29th, the American army retired to the north part of the island. The next day they repulsed the British, and in the night effected their retreat to the main land without the loss of men or stores.

The list is presumed to be correct, from the fact that it is headed "List of the Volunteer Company from Salem," in the hand-writing of Mr. George Williams, brother-in-law of Col. Timothy Pickering, and is indorsed in Col. Pickering's hand-writing, "List of Volunteers from Salem, for the Rhode Island Expedition, August, 1778."

Sam'l Flagg, Captain,	Sam'l Phippen,
Miles Greenwood, 1st Lt.,	Jona. Tucker,
Robt. Foster, 2d do.,	Daniel Cheever,
Benjamin Ropes, Jr.,	Benj'n P-ters,
George Smith,	Sam'l Tucker,
David Boyse,	Ezekiel Wellman,
Caleb Smith,	Robt. Peele,
Wm. Gerald,	Elth Mansfield,
Simon Gardner,	Nathan Peirce,
Jno. Chamberlain,	Aaron Waitt,
Benj'n Hathorne,	Robt. Cook,
Joseph Young,	Nath'l Ropes, Jr.,
George Williams,	Sam'l Ropes,
Jona. Peele, Jr.,	Wm. Osborne,
Jona. Gardner, Jr.,	Asa Peirce,
Jacob Ashton,	Jno. Barr,
Bartho. Putnam,	Josiah Austin,
Samuel Ward,	Jno. Page,
George Dodge, Jr.,	Benj'n Cloutman,
Benj'n Goodhue, Jr.,	Jerath'el Peirce,
Francis Cabot, Jr.,	James Eaton,
Wm. Orne,	James Bott,
Edward Norris,	Benj'n Frye,
Benj'n Daland,	Isaac Needham,
Abijah Northey,	Thos. Needham, Jr.,
Sam'l Grant,	Zach'y Burchmore,
Jno. Fisk,	Samuel Webb,
Simon Forrester,	Eben Peirce,
Francis Dennis,	Benj'n Warren,
Sam'l Blyth,	James Walker,
Joshua Dodge,	Joseph Mansfield,
Jona. Har-den,	Eben Porter,
David Ropes,	Daniel Peirce,
Joseph Chipman,	Henry Higginson,
Jona. Waldo,	Wm. Lang,
Geo. Abbot,	Francis Clarke,
Joshua Ward, Jr.,	Jno. Felt,
Benj'n Moses,	Jos. Lambert,
Josiah Dewing,	Jona. Mansfield, Jr.,
Jno. Andrew,	Joseph Miller,
James Wood Gould,	

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS, OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 36.

Henry Bragg & Elizabeth Machmallen were married the 17th 10th mo., 1677, their daughter Elizabeth, borne 7th 7th mo., '78. Mary, borne 24th March, 1680 Henry, borne 12th April, 1682. William, borne 17th Octob'r, 1684. Sarah, borne 26th March, 1687. Sone Alexand'r, born 6th March, 1689

John Buxton & Elizabeth Holton were married the 7th 8th mo., 1677. their son Joseph, borne the 24th 9th mo., 1678. their daughter Sarah, borne the 9th 12th mo., 1680. their son Anthony, borne the 24th 12th mo., 1682. Hannah, borne 20th January, 1685. Rachell, born 6th May, 1688. Amos Buxton, born Feb'y 12th, 1700-1, Jonathan, born 25th July, 1706.

Christopher, son of Christopher Babbadge, borne by Hanna his wife the 11th 9th mo., 1678. son Richard, borne ye 1st 8th mo., 1680; the said Richard, deceased 1st mo '81; their second son Richard, borne ye 14th July, 1682; his son Nehemiah, born 25th March, '84.

Tho's Bell & Rebecka Ebborne, married 10th 10th mo., 1680; their son Thomas, borne the 26th August, 1681; George, borne 10th June, 1684.

Samuell Beadle, his daughter Mary, borne by Hanna his wife the 21st of May, 1678; their son Lemon borne the 30th July, 1680; ye daughter Hannah, borne 18th 10th mo., '82; ye son Rob't. born 14th 9th mo., '84; son Jonathan, born 24th July, 1687, and dyed 16th May, 1688; Kaleb, born 24th Feb. 1688.

Thomas Beadle & Elizabeth Drake were married ye 18th 7th mo., 1679: their daughter Elizabeth, borne July the 9th, 1681; Mary, borne 5th 2d mo., 1683; Thomas, born March, 1685-6, and dyed '86; Benj'n, born 7th 7th mo., '87; Thomas, born 10th 12th mo., '89-90; John, born 14th Feb'y, 1691-2.

Jno Butolph, his son John, borne by Sarah, his wife, 1st July, 1688. Hannah, born 9th 10th mo., 1689.

Jno Bayly, son of Jno Bayly, borne last Maye, 1681; Thomas, borne 16th Maye, '82; Eliza, borne 16th July, 1684; Nicolas, borne 26th Sept., 1686.

William Bartoll & Susanna Woodbury were married ye ———; their son Andrew Bartoll, borne the 20th of August, 1680; there son William, borne the 4th August, 1682.

Mathew Barton, his daughter Susana, borne by Sarah, his wife, the 10th of May, 1680; their son Mathew, borne the 6th 9th mo., 1682; their daught'r Sarah, borne 1st Aprill, 1685; their daught'r Elizabeth, borne 20th Aprill, 1687.

John Bullock & Mary Maverick were maryed the 3d day of August, 1681; their daught'r Elizabeth, borne the 22d of June, 1683; their sone John, borne 5th Aprill, 1686.

Edward Bush & Elizabeth Pitman widow were married the first of August 1678, theire daughter Elizabeth borne the 30th of April 1679; Son Edward born 1st of March 1681-2; daughter Ann borne the 25th of February, 1682-3; Benjamin, borne 7th Maye, 1685; Edw'd Bush born 2d August, 1687; son Eastick, born 22d of March, '88-9; son Eastick, borne 14th Maye, 1693.

Jno. Bachelor, dyed August 6th, '84; his wife Mary, dyed 19th of August '84.

Robert Braye, Jun'r, married the 5th November, 1685, their sone John, borne 4th Sept'r, 1686; son Robert, borne 22d December, 1688; Prissillah, borne 11th March, 1689-90; sone Benj'n, borne 27th Sept'r 1692; Christian, borne 19th March '94.

Hannah Buffington, daughter of Thomas Buffington, Jun'r & Hannah his wife, born May 11, 1701.

Hana, daughter of Sam'l Cutler, by Eliza his wife December 1655, their daughter Abigail borne 11th mo. '56; daughter Sarah, born 23d 10th mo. '58

Anna, daughter of Willim Curtis, by Alice

his wife, born 30th August, 1658: their daughter Sarah, born 13th 8th mo., 60 and dyed 25th 8th mo., '60; son Will'm, borne ye 26th 10mo. '62; son Jo'n, borne 14th May, 1666. Abigaile borne about the 15 August, 1664.

Christopher Croe (or Cros) and Deliverance Bennet were married by Maj. Hathorne the 8th October, 1657; their dau. Hanna bo 10th 7th mo 165-.

Jon Collens & Mahetabell Giles were married by Major Hathorne ye 9th 1st mo., 1658-59.

Humphrey Coomes married to Bathsheaba Rayment by Capt. Marshall, ye 29th 5th mo., 1659.

Henry Cooke married to Judith Birdsale, June, 1639; their son Isaack borne ye 3d 2d mo., 1640; son Samuell bo 30th 7th mo., 1641; da'r Judith bo 15th 7th mo., '43; Rachel bo 25th 7th mo., 1645; John bo 6th 7th mo., 1647; Mary & Martha bo 15th 7th mo., '50; Henry borne 30th 10th mo., 1652; Eliza bo September '54, & deceased. Hana bo Sept'r, 1658; Henry Cooke deceased 25th December, 1661. (viz the father.)

Frances Collens his da'r Sarah bo by Hana his wife, 13th 3d mo., '60; da'r Christian bor in Aprill, 1665; son John borne August, '67.

Richard Curtise his son Caleb bo by Sara his wife ye 24th 7th mo., '46; their son Samuell 1st 2d mo., '51; son Richard bo 14th 12 mo., '52; da'r Sara bo 19th 1st mo., '5-; da'r Hanna ye 16th 7th mo., '56; son John 2d 12th mo., '58, & dyed ye 28th 5th mo., '59; their son John bo 4th 4th mo., '60, & dyed 4th 7th mo., '60; dau'r Mary borne 11th 12th mo., '62.

Humphrey Coomes his da'r Hana bo by Barsheba his wife, ye 26th 3d mo , '69

Sam'l Cutler, son of Sam'l Cutler & Elizabeth his wife, borne at Salem, 1661; Ebenezer, son of ye aforesd S., borne at Salem, 1664.

John Croad & Elizabeth Price were married by Maj. Hathorne, 17th 1st mo., '58; theire da'r Eliza bo 21st 8th mo., '61; theire son Jon borne 14th 4th mo., '63; Da Hanna

borne 14th July, '65; son Jonathan borne ye 17th 11th mo., 1667.

Giles Coree his da'r Deliverance borne by Margaret his wife ye 5th 6th mo., '58.

Joshua Connant his son Joshua bo by Seeth his wife ye 15th 4th mo., '57.

William Cattlebury deceased ye 1st 4th mo., '63.

Deborah Clearke deceased 16th March, '60, da'r of Will'm Clearke, vintner.

Richard Camplin dyed ye 23d April, '62.

Nath l Carrell his Da'r Mary by Mary his wife, bo 20th 5th mo., '62.

To be Continued.

A GENEALOGICAL RAMBLE.

Several days since, in company with a friend who has spent much time in genealogical research pertaining to his own family, we spent a very pleasant afternoon in the vicinity of the Danvers Alms House, always profuse in charming summer sights. This neighborhood affords a pleasant rambling place for those who occasionally stroll away from the city, and yet who feel no particular interest in the locality from any ancestral associations. Those who are averse to walking the full distance to this place, can find exactly the accommodation they need in the South Reading Branch Railroad train, which leaves the depot in Salem at fifteen minutes before three in the afternoon, and which stops at the signal station near the mill of Mr. Buffum, about half a mile this side of the Alms-house.

The famous boulder, known as "Ship Rock," is very near to this station, and is attainable over a somewhat hilly and uneven foot-path extending a short distance to the right. This huge rock, which must weigh many tons, is visible to travellers upon the railroad, lifting its top above the trees, though in such a manner as perhaps would fail to convey a true idea of its size. Like most of the natural wonders which are named for real things, its resemblance to a ship can be perceived only by a compromise of facts with the imagination, which, having been duly accomplished, the visitor can easily distinguish the bow from the stern, and perhaps trace out, to his own satisfaction, a tolerably fair model of a bull. The rock rests upon a very small base, a large part of it extending along parallel with the

ground, yet a few inches above it; in one place the space being sufficient to admit of the passage of a small child. This boulder is the property of the Essex Institute, which society has taken the steps necessary to make this natural curiosity an attractive point of interest, and to exhibit its large dimensions in the most advantageous manner. An iron ladder has been constructed upon it, with chains to serve the purpose of maintaining the equilibrium in the labor of ascending. The top commands a good view, over the trees, of distant scenery, including Salem and South Danvers, the prominent structures of which stand forth to the vision very conspicuously.

The familiar mill, on the opposite side of the railroad track, now owned by Mr. James N. Buffum, stands upon or near the spot where the first saw-mill in Danvers (owned by a man named Very,) was erected. The meadow from whence the water which furnishes the power for this mill is derived, is flowed by a brook which runs from Cedar Pond, which is about half a mile above the alms-house. It is near this pond and the alms-house, where the original ancestor, in this country, of those who bear the name of *Very*, once lived and owned a considerable tract of land. The identity of the locality is indicated by extracts from old wills, which mention "*Ceader Pond*" with some frequency. The will of Bridget (Very) Giles, made in 1668, mentions "a ten acre lot, also meadow land both sides of the brook; also house and land," &c. In 1675, Bridget Giles, widow, grants unto Eleazer Giles, her son, husbandman, "all the upland and meadow formerly owned by Edward Giles of Salem, my husband, twenty acres as far as the corner of my son, John Giles." In 1679 Eleazer Giles sold J. King ten acres bounded with land of Samuel Very; and, in 1681, the same person sold Wm. Lord two acres of meadow "*on Ceader Pond*," bounded on Samuel Very's farm. Samuel Very, son of Bridget Very, in his will in 1683, gives to Alice (Woodis,) his wife, his dwelling house in Salem, with outhousing, orchards, &c.; also speaking of two pieces of meadow next the river (or pond,) before his house on the south side, and likewise of other land bordering on other parts of the river, or pond.

The lands here indicated are all in this vicinity; and the original house where Bridget Very,—who came from England with her two sons, and afterwards married a Giles,—lived, was on a road which extended from the rear of the alms-house to the Kings' estate. This road has long been closed and merged in a common lot of wood and shrubbery;

but the indications of the cellar of the old Very house still remain, and was pointed out to us by an elderly man connected with the alms-house, who well remembered the land as the "Very lot." The subjoined brief account of this family may prove interesting to the genealogical readers as well as to those who are directly or indirectly connected. It was prepared by a descendant, (Rev. Jones Very,) who has a full record of the family from the original emigrant, which will probably soon be printed in the Historical Collections.

N. A. H.

THE VERY FAMILY.

This family may be traced back to Bridget Very, who came from England with her two sons, Samuel and Thomas, and a daughter Mary. They probably came from Salisbury. The name of Very, together with that of Verin, (which is also an early Salem name,) is often mentioned on the Salisbury records. See Mass. His. Col., vol. X., 3d series.) Bridget Very was born about 1600. She was a member of the first Church in Salem in 1648. She lived, together with her son, Samuel Very, on the north side of Cedar Pond, and of the brook running from it, about sixty rods from the Danvers Alms House, where they owned a large tract of land. She was married a second time to Edward Giles of Salem, a member of the first Church in 1636; who also resided here, as did their children, Mehitabel, Remember, Eleazer and John Giles. On this spot her descendants resided for a century perhaps, as her own and her son's will, and the deeds of the land, as well as local tradition show. Some of those who bear the name of Very, still live in different parts of the town of Danvers. Most of them, however, moved to Salem, leaving the pursuits of husbandry to become seamen. Many of that name have been shipmasters in Salem. Those who bear the name of Giles have lived mostly in Beverly and Gloucester. The oldest stone in the South Danvers Burying Ground is that which bears the name of James Giles,—a grandson of Bridget Giles. It is probably the oldest in the State erected to one so young. It contains the following inscription upon the headstone:—

Here lyeth ye body of James Gyles, aged about 10 years. Deceased ye 20 of May, 1689.

On the footstone is this beautiful epitaph:

Mind not the grave, where his dear dust is laid;
But bliss above, whither his soul's conveyed.

I have found no other memorials to mark the remains of any of that early date. The above mentioned stones were probably procured from England. It was the custom in Danvers, at that early period,

for families to bury on their own farms, with only a rough stone at the head and at the foot of the grave. One of these ancient burial places is still to be seen on the Putney farm, at Brookdale, about three miles from where the Vercys lived. These two families were related to one another. The following lines, written by the Rev. Washington Very, after a visit to the former place, are so applicable also to the latter, that I here transcribe them.

Lines on the Old Putney Burial Place, in Danvers.

Sleep on, sleep on, beneath the sod
Which oft your weary feet have pressed;
Forgot by man, but not by God,
Ye lie unknown, though not unblest.

Sleep on—though high above your grave
No sculptured marble meets the eye;
Here the green birch trees rustling wave,
And vines in tangled mazes lie.

Sleep on among these wooded hills—
Beholders of your joys and woes;
Another's thirst now slake these rills,
Another's voice this echo knows.

Sleep on—though lands and wealth are left,
And all that earthly sense could give;
Of nothing have ye been bereft,
If but your souls have learned to live.

Sleep—till the morning sunbeams play
All lovely round this smiling height,
Then wake to that everlasting day,
That knows no sorrow, darkness, night.

August, 1847.

Samuel Very, the oldest son of Bridget Very, was one of the Narragansett soldiers, and received a grant of land on the Sowhegin River. Jonathan Marsh, who married his daughter Mary, and John Giles, the grandson of Bridget Giles, were wounded in the celebrated battle with the Indians at Haverhill, Aug. 29th, 1708. A number also of this family were revolutionary soldiers.

In visiting the spot where Bridget Very and her descendants so early located themselves, and so long resided, I found that it still bore the name of the "Very lot." And I was shown by an aged man the cellar where the first house had stood. No house had been there since his recollection, but the stones were still there, overrun with blackberry vines.—There, too, was the well, closed now by a stone. A few old moss-covered apple trees, in the midst of a new growth of oaks and pines, showed where, two centuries ago, the strong hands and brave hearts of the early settlers had cleared the land, and made them a home.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE COMMERCE OF SALEM FROM 1626 TO 1740—WITH A SKETCH OF PHILIP ENGLISH—A MERCHANT IN SALEM FROM ABOUT 1670 TO ABOUT 1733-4.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from page 91.

From 1661 to 1684 the colonial government struggled against the application of the laws of trade, particularly between 1678 and '83 — The indefatigable, mischief-making Randolph, who was selected in 1677 or 8. by the Commissioners of Customs to act as Inspector (of customs) in the colony, and make seizures and bring information for breaches of the acts of trade, kept the colony in a ferment during the latter period; and made, according to his own statement, eight voyages from Old England to New England in nine years, in furtherance of his watch upon the colony. Being generally condemned in costs in the colonial courts upon the actions he brought, and being thereby, as he represents, a great sufferer, he no doubt clearly saw, and as faithfully reported, that unless Massachusetts was deprived of her charter, and with it her power of choosing her Governor and Admiralty officers, it would be in vain to hope for obedience to the laws of trade from the colony. The way he was treated in 1681 when he came over with a commission from the Crown for Collector and Surveyor and Searcher of Customs—the worse than silent

contempt which greeted him on arrival at Boston, doubtless had their weight in the final proceedings against the charter. In 1689, however, all this came back upon his head, and he narrowly escaped with his life for the mischief he had done.

Perhaps to him, more than any other man, Massachusetts was indebted for the subsequent loss of her charter and other liberties. A shrewd observer of men and passing events—keen, indefatigable, and perhaps unscrupulous—he knew when, where, and how to strike the colony, and was well understood in turn by the colonial authorities, who excepted him from bail in 1689, as a capital offender, and would have executed him probably, but for the order of Nottingham for his removal with others to England for an examination there.—During this long struggle for the charter liberties, civil as well as commercial, the clergy nobly led the van in opposition to royal tyranny, and when Massachusetts fell, she fell with the sword of the spirit in her grasp, and her face resolutely towards the foe. The ancient Puritanism of the colony seemed to die in this struggle—but merely in seeming, for it was only asleep—pleasant, moreover, with dreams of Freedom, and it finally arose as the giant refreshed with slumber, and as the strong man prepared to run his race.

In 1668 “a maritime code” is promulgated by the Gen’l Court, containing 27 sections,

comprehending the rights of owners, masters and mariners, their duties to and contracts with each other, and various provisions relating to pilots, marine losses, accidents, neglects and wrecks. As a preamble, the Gen'l Court acknowledge that the navigation and maritime affairs of Mass. have grown to be a considerable interest, and the well management thereof of great concernment to the public weal. In 1682, Marblehead, Beverly, Gloucester, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury and Salisbury were *annexed by Gen'l Court to Salem, as the Port of Entry, and no native vessels from foreign parts are to break bulk before entry with the Naval Officer, on penalty of confiscation of ship and goods; and vessels passing from port to port in the colony are to take permits from the Naval Officer. Any vessel taking plantation commodities to give bonds, or show certificate of bond under penalty of confiscation. The naval office was to be open for entry and clearing from 10 to 12 A. M., and from 2 to 4 P. M.

In 1684 Benj'n Gerrish is appointed to be naval officer of Salem, and annexed ports, instead of the late Hilliard Veren, and to demand and receive the powder money of all masters of ships and other vessels according to their respective burdens, giving an account to the surveyor General yearly, or oftener, as the law directs. At this time Boston, Charlestown, and Salem are the *three* commercial ports of the State. Salem as late as 1736 was evidently second in importance after Boston in (commercial) wealth, as she pays the second highest sum of the £9000 fund and security tax then levied on the State—Boston paying £1620, and Salem the next largest sum £258—15—0, or between a sixth and seventh of that of Boston.

The Customs levied by the Colonial Government from 1635 to 1740, are a curious study. In a former note in this article, an abstract of several of these customs has been given. More yet remain on the Colony Records, but some of them are somewhat obscure, and some ap-

pear to be local. The general principle running through them, appears to be, that the articles needed in the Colony—of prime necessity—shall be favored or free,—such articles as salt, sheep's wool, cotton wool, fish, gunpowder, money, plate, and bullion. These are particularly favored by law in 1668-9.—The customs on wine and liquors seem to be a double one; 1st, the regular import duty, and 2dly, the privilege of retailing them, which privilege or license was hired of the State by retailers, for longer or shorter periods, the State not permitting the importers or wholesale dealers to sell by retail less than a quarter cask, in order that those purchasing the privilege to retail, might have no competition from any other quarter. This is one explanation of the phrase "farming out the customs," which one meets with in the old History of Mass.—It was simply a sale of the exclusive privilege of selling wines and liquors by retail, in certain districts or places. Occasionally *other* privileges were also farmed out, as in 1668 we see (in the Colony Records,) that the Treasurer of the country, with three assistants, is authorized "to farne let" for the use of Massachusetts for one or more years, not exceeding three: 1st, the import of wine, brandy and rum; 2d, the benefit of beaver, furs, and peltry with the Indians; 3d, the rates of drawing wine from the vintners; 4th, rates upon beer, cider, ale and mum from public sellers; 5th, the benefit of selling ammunition to the Indians.

This farming out of the customs began as early, certainly, as 1644. Mr. Edward Rauson then paid for "ye rent due for wine drawn in ye country, £107 10s, for a yeare." In 1645 an act is passed, imposing certain duties on sack, French wines, &c, in which it is ordered that the duty shall be paid "in money, good merchantable beaver, or ye best of ye same wine at ye merchants' price." The Auditor General then had the care of the custom of wine, and perhaps all liquors. In 1648 and 9, we see the customs again let out to cer-

*Salisbury was shortly afterwards taken out of this list.

tain parties in Boston and elsewhere. In 1649 certain duties are levied on goods imported from Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, and they are to be entered with the Auditor-General, who is to act as Collector. It was probably a Deputy under him, who was Collector of the "*French House*" Custom House in Salem, mentioned by *Felt* as having been located on the South River, in 1645. When Hilliard Veren was appointed Collector in Salem, in 1663, he probably reported to the Auditor-General as Head Quarters. In 1684, Benj. Gerrish is to report to the Surveyor-General.

Down to 1675 a committee are appointed to farm out the customs, but how much longer this plan continued, we know not. It appears to have been abandoned before 1700. About that time our commerce and Custom House

*In 1700, Mr. John Higginson of Salem recommends to his brother, the direct trade from Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and other places to England, rather than Salem as the place to make returns to England; and Bilboa, Cadiz, Oporto and the streights in Europe as places to make direct returns to England. According to Mr. H. the Navigation laws were obeyed in Salem, in 1700, as he says "we trade with all parts, where the law doth not prohibit." These facts indicate that the trade from Salem, direct to England, was then unprofitable, and profit could alone be made by carrying Sugar, Molasses, Cotton, Tobacco, &c. from Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Virginia, to England, or Fish to Spain and the streights. The English Laws had already begun to cramp and injure our trade. They were felt very seriously when the gold and silver, which should have returned from Spain, Portugal and the Streights for our fish, went to England to pay for goods. The same policy prevented the Colonists from bringing into Mass the coin from their West India trade; and as a natural consequence, specie became alarmingly scarce in Mass. The trade and the coin centred in England to our prejudice.

In 1696, the affairs of the English Plantation were entrusted permanently to Commissioners, who formed the Board of Trade, and thereafter Massachusetts was rapidly subjected to the Laws of Trade of England. The Governor, being appointed by the King, was sworn to see those laws obeyed, and am-

seem to have come under the direct control of the English authorities, thus ending for the time the long struggle against the Navigation Laws.—a not very satisfactory change, however, for the Colonists.

In 1668 two per cent. is levied, as duty on general merchandize. In 1669 one penny on every 20 shillings worth. This latter is the same duty, we presume, as Bradstreet says was levied in 1680, and continued in force until 1726, (excepting English goods at that time,) and even later. The duties seem to be heaviest throughout on liquors of various kinds, sugar, spices, tobacco, molasses and dye stuffs. Though the Colonists seem not to have exported manufactured goods, except wooden ware and kindred materials, down to 1720 or 30 say; yet they manufactured domestic goods for their own use, and most probably paid but a small tax to the English manufacturers, who complain about it.

Some of the early Mass. laws concerning ships and shipping are perhaps lost. Some of those which yet remain, referring to the discipline on board ships, are quaint, and suggestive of the early days of New England—having sometimes a reason in them, which, though dimly seen by us, was yet acknowledged to be important then. In 1663 a law

ple powers were conferred on the officers of the revenue to the same end. From that date to 1740, Massachusetts was made the victim of the Trade Monopoly of England, which sought by various laws to destroy her industry, impair her Colonial trade, render her interests subordinate to the Sugar Colonies and Slave labor, and herself dependent on and indebted to England. Massachusetts was in consequence much crippled in her Colonial Commerce, and an attempt was made to cut her off also from the French and Dutch West Indies, to which she had traded (says Bancroft) in an humble way after the peace of Utrecht in 1713. The English manufacturers and merchants united in suppressing her commercial freedom, and her manufactures—excepting of course the freedom which was taken as against law, and the domestic manufactures persisted in by the prudence and economy and independence of the people.

passed, by which no gun was to be fired off on board ship after sunset, or on the Sabbath, under 20s penalty. This may have had reference to false alarms.* By the same law no healths† were to be drunken, by day or night, on board ships in harbor, under penalty of 20s. This law seems to have been the one in force in 1663, according to Felt's Annals.—The laws in regard to runaway sailors were stringent. A glance at the "Maritime Code" of 1668, will show this. (See Colony Records, 1668.) Between 1680 and '93 an Act was passed for the regulation of seamen, which was unrepealed in 1737, wherein seamen are exempted from arrest for debt, while belonging to any ship, and both they and the masters of vessels are punished, if such masters entice them from any ship upon which they have agreed to go a voyage—the master by a penalty of £5, and the seamen by a forfeiture of a month's pay. Seamen deserting were to be imprisoned. By this law it appears that a book was sometimes used by the masters of vessels, as the shipping paper, and was called the "Master's Book." It seems the law exempted sailors from arrest, because they were often taken off from voyages "by arrest or restraint of debt, or pretence thereof."

We find but little information in regard to

*The reason of this law does not distinctly appear, except so far as the Sabbath is concerned. It cannot have any reference to a state of affairs existing, like that of 1644-5, when the authorities had to prevent the ships of the opposing English factions from fighting in our harbors. It may, however, have reference to the excitement and alarm preceding the visit of the Royal Commissioners.

†The law against drinking "healths" may refer to drinking the King's health. The Colonists were then dreading the incroachments of the King upon their charter and liberties, and may have thus shown their independence. They were staunch Republicans, and did not wish perhaps to hear even the name of the King, always fearing the loss of their liberties by monarchical hands.

In 1650, (as appears by the Colony Records,) sailors could not be sued for drinking debts unless guaranteed by their owners.

the rate of the wages of seamen in the early days of Mass. The rate of wages paid farm laborers in England from 1625 to 1740, varied from 6½ pence per day (in 1625,) to 10 pence per day in 1740, and did not amount to a shilling or upwards until between 1760 and '80. So *Ruding* calculates in his annals of the Coinage of Great Britain. In Massachusetts, the rates of labor in 1630 were for various master traders, 16d per day; common workmen and laborers 12d per day, with 6d for meat and drink. This was soon repealed,—perhaps as being too high a value for labor. In 1633, however, master carpenters, sawyers, masons, clapboards ryvers, bricklayers, tylars, joyners, whelewrights, mowers, &c., are not to have above 2s per day, "findeing themselves dyett," and not above 14d per day if boarded. The penalty for every day's violation of this order on either side, was 5s. All inferior workmen of such occupations were to be paid such wages as the Constable of the place, and two other inhabitants he shall choose, shall appoint.—The best sort of laborers shall have 18d, if without diet, and 8d with—the same penalty to attach to a violation of the law. The wages of inferior laborers, were likewise to be referred to the Constable and his chosen two. Master tailors were to have 12d, and inferior sort 8d, if dieted. (See Colony Records, Oct. Term of Gen'l Court, 1633.) By such laws it

‡ It appears from old Letters of Instructions from ship owners, that seamen on foreign voyages had then certain privileges—that is some space allotted them in vessels for their own adventures, perhaps half a ton, less or more. This custom was somewhat similar to the joint interest that Fishermen held with the owners of the Fishing craft, in the catch of fish. We believe that until within a few years this privilege of sailors continued. Perhaps owing to this privilege, the rate of sailors wages may not have been as high in old times as it otherwise would have been. According to Sam'l Browne's Instructions to Touzell, 1727, (Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, 1st vol., No. 2d, page 66) it appears that the sailors were to pay their proportions of all foreign permissions to trade, according to their privileges.

would seem that the wages of labor in Mass. were generally higher than those paid in the old country from 1629 to 1740; though the N. E. shilling after 1652, (where this shilling is used as indicating the value of labor,) must be considered as at a discount (when compared with the then English shilling,) of about 25 per cent. It may be, however, that the colonial coin, though at this discount, would buy more of the products of the field or sea than the English coin (of the same nominal value) in England. The rates of wages paid common laborers in Mass. can thus be reasonably estimated, and perhaps those paid seamen also, though but little evidence in regard to the latter seems to remain.

In 1677 (according to an old paper in the Hollingworth family,) a Hugh Woodbury charges Wm. Hollingworth £3 03s 0d, as wages for a voyage to Virginia. Whether this is for the whole voyage (out and return,) does not appear, nor whether it was for total wages, or simply a balance of account. From the pages of an old memorandum book of Capt. Samuel Ingersoll's, (found among the English papers,) and under date of 1694, (March 19,) we learn that the wages paid on board the "sloop [sloop] Prudent Marah" [Mary] (belonging most probably to Philip Englegh.) were as follows:—Sam'l Ingersoll, Captain £4 10s 0d "per month;" Will Woods, mate, £3 5s 0d, do.; Abram Gale, £2 15s 0d, do.; Richard Ingersoll, £2 05s 0d, do.; John Rese, or Rose, £1 05s 0d, do.; the boy, £1 10s 0d, do. This would give the captain \$15 per mo., the mate \$10.84 do., Gale \$9 17 do., Richard Ingersoll \$7.50 do., Rese or Rose \$4.16 do., the boy \$5 00 do. This calculation is based upon the value of the Pine Tree shilling, as assayed at the U. S. mint, and kindly furnished us by Matthew A. Stickney, Esq. We reduced these wages to shillings of the specie currency of Mass., which, by the U. S. assay, have an intrinsic value of about 16½ cents. As there is no evidence that these wages were to be paid but in specie, we have calculated them as to

be paid in specie, and the Colonial pound to contain 20 shillings, at 16½ cents the shilling.

In 1713 we find Capt. Wm. English, in his account, being on a voyage to Connecticut, credits his owner with payment of several payments of monthly wages to seamen. The lowest is £2 02s 0d; the highest £2 15s 0d; while the larger number receive £2 10s 0d. Whether these sums were paid in the silver or paper currency of Mass, at that time, does not appear, nor is it of much consequence, as the paper money of the Province was then at a very slight discount. In 1714, according to the Portlidge Bill of the sloop *Sally*, of Salem, Peter Henderson, master, the captain received £4 10s per mo., the mate £3 5s, and the two men £2 10s each do.; to be paid perhaps in paper currency. In *1728, according to the receipts of several sailors of the Brigantine *Edeavor*, bound for Bilbao, it appears that 87 shillings was their month's advance pay.—Whether paid in silver or bills, does not appear. If in bills, it must have been at over fifty per cent loss, the bills then standing in the ratio of 17 shillings paper to the oz. of silver, which latter, in 1710 to 1713, was equal to only 8 shillings of paper.

The wages of those serving on board of the country sloop of Massachusetts, (perhaps a Revenue Boat,) from 1730 to 1734, were:—for the captain £6 per month: for the mate £4 per month; and three sailors each £3 per month. As these were very probably picked men, they commanded a higher rate of wages than ordinary officers or seamen, we may presume. If paid in paper money, they must have taken it at a great discount, for in 1734 16 shillings in bills would not purchase 5

* In a deed bearing date of 1728, and kindly loaned us by Dr. Benj. F. Browne of Salem, one of the Parties (Sam'l Browne) agrees upon a certain contingency to pay to his sister (Mary King) "Fifty pounds in good Bills of Credit of the Province, or Silver money at eighteen shillings per ounce."

We presume the above must be understood as at 18 shillings of paper currency per oz. of silver.

shillings in silver, and from 1730 to 1734, nineteen shillings in paper, were considered equivalent to about 8 shillings in coin.

Fish being the great staple of Salem, as of the colony, was of course the early object of the care and attention of the legislature.—Laws were passed protecting it as well as the fishermen. The curing of it seems to have become at last a distinct business, left to those called shoremen, who received the fish on return of the fishers and cured and dried it. It then passed under the review of the cullers, who were sworn officers, certainly after 1700, and was divided into merchantable, middling, and refuse—also scale fish. The first two went to Spanish and the first class markets—the refuse to the slaves in the West Indies, and perhaps the poorer classes of Europe. The fish from Acadia (Nova Scotia) (Cape Sable fish) was in great demand in Bilboa, Spain, as being a superior fish, and was largely shipped there. Marblehead sent this description of fish to Spain even after our American Revolution. In 1670 the legislature denounce the use of Tortuga (West India) salt on account of its impurity, and fish cured by it was made unmerchantable by law.

Winter Island and the adjoining Neck seem to have been especially devoted in Salem to the fisheries—Winter Island being in 1695, and yet later, the head quarters, to judge by history, tradition and old papers. How far Salem may have been engaged in the whale fishery is dubious. Some of her sons may have gone down to Cape Cod on such an errand, for the Cape as late as 1714 was so largely visited by cod and whale fishers, that the General Court that year made all the province lands there a precinct, and the visitors to it (fishermen) support a settled minister at £60 per annum, by a tax of four pence a week levied on each seaman, to be paid by the master of the boat for the whole company. This was in the days when no man was permitted to be absent from church a month, if in health, without presentation before the Grand Jury, and punishment by fine of twenty shillings!

In order to protect herself and commerce, Salem early erected a *Fortress. Felt says the company (in London) had one built in 1629, and that it was erected on Naugus' Head. This was Darby Fort, and was well provided by the company with large cannon and a cannoner, he says. In 1634 the General Court grant Salem "the use of two olde *tsakers*" landed from the ship Neptune, for which they are to provide carriages. This may be for their fort, or land service. In 1646 Salem had "divers great pieces" mounted, and one mounted mortar, and perhaps had in 1648 one of the "*Leather guns*" which our General Court ordered the "major general" in 1647 to procure from England, which "*if found good and profitable, may give light and encouragement for ye procuring or making of more.*"—This well illustrates the prudence of our fathers, who knew that the Indians dreaded artillery, and that *leather guns* being very light, could be transported through the woods, swamps, morasses, and over the rocky hills of a new country with great celerity, and would produce among the ignorant Indians a panic equal to that of regular artillery. It was a Napoleonic strategy based on the known effects

*In 1628-9 among the articles to be provided and, apparently for our fort, were 8 pieces of land ordnance, with 5 more already provided, namely, two demi culverins, weighing 3000 pounds and three sakers (sacres) weighing 2500—with one whole culverin and two small pieces—iron drakes.

†The *Saker* (or *Sacre*) was a piece of ordnance deriving its name from *Sacre* (French) a hawk of the Falcon kind. It appears to have been a peculiar cannon. Dampier in his voyages, 1688, says,—"*Of guns the long sacre is most esteemed.*" To judge by some old accounts of spoils taken or lost in war, the *saker* or *sacre* was often used as field ordnance—a species of field artillery.

The loan of these guns to Salem suggests, though it may not refer to, an arming of the sea-ports on account of the requisition of the colonial charter by the authorities in England. The infant colony was in trouble in 1633-4 through the malice of its enemies in England.—(Bancroft Hist. U. S. vol. 1 pp. 405-6.)

of genuine artillery upon the natives—real guns first, and sham ones afterwards.

In 1653 Salem is granted out of the next country levy (colony tax) £100 towards their fortifications. *Felt* thinks a fort was commenced on Winter Island in 1643—says that Salem is granted a “barrell of powder” in 1652 for saluting ships on necessary occasions—and that in 1655 Winter Island is appropriated for the use of the fort, and that, as this was not finished, every man refusing to work there was to be fined *three shillings* a day. The grant of £100 to Salem out of the next country levy in 1653, was perhaps made on account of the panic then prevalent, that there was a conspiracy of the Indians throughout the country to cut off the English, which afterwards proved to be unfounded. Salem at that time had very probably another fort, if not two, as well as palisades to keep out Indians on the land side, or if not regular forts, yet block-houses.

In 1664 the whole colony was in a state of alarm, not only from civil causes and misfortunes, but also from the visitation of comets, both that year and the year before, which were regarded as the harbingers of change and woe, and the monitors of a Divine wrath to human guilt. The General Court seemed to share the panic produced by these mysterious celestial visitants, and, being oppressed with many misfortunes, appointed the 22d of June as a day of humiliation, stating, among other reasons for so doing, that they were “not unmindful of the alarm sent from Heaven given us by the awful appearance of comets, both this and the last year, warning us to be watchful and quickened unto the discharge of the several duties incumbent upon us respectively.”—Acting upon her misfortunes, including the

Dutch war, whose injustice was generally felt and acknowledged, Massachusetts begins to look after her fortifications, and in 1666 Salem is ordered, as one of her ports, to erect a battery on some convenient place upon its harbor, as it is too open and exposed. The work is to be done under the advice and direction of the major general, and Salem is to have an abatement of the country rate for the purpose. Capt. George Corwin is to improve all means to speedily effect this work, and the committee of the militia of Salem are desired to assist him. *Felt* says that each male above 16 was required to labor in his turn at the work under penalty of 3s a day; and that in 1667 the great guns are ordered to be carried to the fort with speed. They have heard in Salem perhaps of the threatened visit of the Dutch fleet which ravaged Virginia.

In 1673 our fort is to be refitted, and “the great artillery” prepared, and all be done as “this juncture of time requires.” So says *Felt*. This “juncture” in all probability, was

the colony. The authorities treated them with independent deference, though the people seem to have abominated them. Various stories were set in circulation as to their motives in coming to Mass., the effect of which was to cast ridicule and odium upon them and their pretensions, and which the people, perhaps, believed. Their manner of acting, moreover, justified grave suspicions.

The authorities at that time treated the commissioners boldly as well as wisely, resisting, disputing and gaining time by a wearisome correspondence, hoping, perhaps, for a change or revolution in England. The commissioners were an illegal, unwarranted body, according to Bancroft.

The fleet which bore the commissioners to Boston had undoubtedly a double duty to perform—first, to impress the colonists with the power of England, and secondly, to reduce the Dutch settlements on the Hudson. The Colonial Authorities expected violence from this fleet—the armed seizure of their Charter—and thus were placed in the suspense between Civil injustice on the one hand, and armed wrong on the other—a misfortune indeed, and one of the causes, most probably, of the appointed “day of humiliation.”

*One of these misfortunes, probably, was the expected visit and troublesome efforts of the royal commissioners. They arrived in July 1664, and by their intrigues with disaffected people in the colonies, and even with Indians, did what was in their power to unsettle the authority of the General Court, and that in addition to their positive unjust demands upon

the fear of a Dutch fleet, as England had declared a second and still more unjustifiable war against Holland on the 17th March, 1672.—Had it not been for the great naval engagements near home during this war, and which prevented the Dutch from using their fleets extensively abroad, New England might, and probably would have received a warlike visit from De Ruyter, Brankert, or Van Tromp.

In 1682 our fortifications are reported by the Gen'l Court to be "very defective and unserviceable if occasion should require." This shows that King Philip's war, though so deadly a one for New England generally—about every eleventh family having been burned out, and an eleventh part of the militia throughout New England (according to *Trumbull*) having been slain in it,—did not alarm the commercial towns much, or the fortifications therein would have been in better repair, especially as Philip's war closed practically in 1676. The Gen'l Court, moreover, further order in 1682 that the Committees of Militias and Selectmen of Salem with the advice of the Major General, are empowered to repair their fortifications, or build a new fort or forts, and the said Committees and Selectmen are empowered to levy on the town and inhabitants the sum needed to effect this. This committee seem to have made their report to the Gen'l Court, where upon Salem is ordered to mount its great guns, and upon good serviceable carriages, and provide a competent number of good common baskets, to be filled, to secure those who stand by said great guns if occasion requires them to be used.

The closing reign of Charles 2d exhibited so many strides towards absolute power—so many fears for the safety of Protestantism—and involved so many losses of power and privileges to the colony, that the colonists may have felt themselves called upon to prepare for any change. The Republican spirit was rising again with resistless strength in England, not to clothe itself to be sure in Republican forms, but in constitution-

al monarchy, a modification of Republicanism, but of lower degree, with a king for protector, instead of a civilian. The colonists may have been on the alert, with an expectant faith in better days, and our Salem fort may have been repaired anew, and its great guns mounted in anticipation thereof. The 11 great guns and ammunition bought in 1690 by a committee seem to indicate a hope of their future need for freedom. In the same year (1690), the fort on Winter Island is repaired, and a breast-work thrown up in another place, according to Felt. In 1699 Winter Island fort was called fort William. In 1714 we have in Salem a 20 gun fort which is most probably the Winter Island fort, and in 1742 a new fort with a platform for 16 guns, which Felt thinks was most probably erected on the heights of the Neck.

The early currency of Mass. colony—an important matter in its commerce and trade—seems during its first few years to have consisted of English coin, wampum (white, black and blue), Dutch coin, and Indian corn, wheat, rye, barley and peas, at certain stated rates per bushel. Live stock, beaver, bullets, (and still later gunpowder) were also currency. Up to 1652 taxes were often paid in such a currency. English coin, bullion and Spanish coin seem to have circulated in Mass. between 1640 and '52, also some Western Island money (Portuguese?). It seems some of the Spanish coin from the West Indies was of light weight. Money being scarce in Mass. the colony, desiring and needing a standard currency, and that too without calling on England for it, in 1652 set up a *mint, and

*There seems to be some division of opinion among various writers as to the cause of the origin and reasons for a continuance of the Mass. Mint. *Randolph* (who was a keen investigator, but no friend to the Colonists,) states in 1676, that Massachusetts struck off her coin as of 1652, to commemorate the era of her independence—the year in which she erected herself into a Commonwealth—subjected the adjacent Colonies to herself, and called the deputies

gave liberty to any who had bullion, plate or Spanish silver to bring it in, and have it coined into colonial currency.

To judge by the order of the Gen'l Court in 1652, the 12d, 6d and 3d silver pieces then coined were to be of the same alloy (purity) as the sterling currency pieces of the same class in England, but were to be about a *quarter* less in value, so that they should not be shipped out of the country, as the foreign coin was, which had been brought into Massachusetts. Foreign debtors, of course, wanted to be paid in money, and not the colonial produce, and this drained the colony of money, though it had supplies of other articles. In order to make the currency of 1652 the standard currency, it was declared to be the current money of the colony, and none other was to pass, except English, unless by the consent of those receiving it.

The current shilling of England was worth about 22 cents—the Colonial *shilling about

into her Councils. An English authority states that the act of coinage by Mass. was not very offensive to England, and though mentioned as one ground of complaint in the action to vacate the Colonial Charter, was not by any means the principal complaint. Hutchinson, however, says that Charles 2d forbid Massachusetts from coining, and the Colony Records show that the commissioners certainly complained of it in 1665. It is reasonably certain that Massachusetts was compelled to supply herself with a currency, even if it originated in a spirit of independence, and the compulsion was also spiced with some independence, as she continued to coin as long as she had the power, and in spite of warnings and threats. Her money, however, mainly went to pay the debts of English merchants—to satisfy their monopolizing avarice, and even at this day the Pine Tree money is said to be much more easily obtained, as a curiosity, in England, than in Massachusetts.

*Through the kindness of Matthew A. Stickney, Esq., whose research into our Colonial currency is well known, as well as his splendid collection of early New England and American currencies, we are enabled to state the value of the old Pine Tree Shilling. As assayed at the U. S. mint, it was found to weigh from 65 to 67 grains, proved to be 926 one-thousandths fine, and its intrinsic value about 16½

17—the lesser pieces proportionably. The difference in value between our coin and that of the same class in England, was ordered for the purpose of retaining our own money at home. The difference of exchange between England and the colony soon amounted to 25 per cent. against Massachusetts,—a quarter part. The coinage of these moneys was continued as of the same date for many years. (Hutchinson says) and therefore it is very difficult to tell their real dates. This was done perhaps to conceal from the authorities in England the fact that they (the Colonists) were issuing their money year after year, when repeatedly ordered to stop coining. So there got finally to be as many shillings of the date of †1652

cents. It will be easy, therefore, for any readers of this article to reduce for themselves the Colonial pounds and shillings mentioned therein to the modern currency. Also to find the value of the old oz. of silver.

†It seems, according to a writer in the Mass. Hist. Coll., that coin was also issued by the State, as of the date of 1662. A late writer in the "Hist. Mag., and Notes and Queries," Vol. 3, No. 7, pages 197 to 202, discusses the subject of the Massachusetts Pine Tree money with great acumen, and judging from his remarks, which seem entirely reasonable, the original issue of that money was a step towards independence, and so intended. The original order of the General Court for coinage, orders simply the issue of coin, (as a sovereign State would,) with precautions only against fraud. It is well known that the Colonists desired of Cromwell to be set apart, as a separate kingdom. The royal Commissioners in 1665 charge this upon them, and Randolph in 1676 (whom Hollis calls a court spy on the Colony,) states that Massachusetts struck off her coin as of the date of 1652, *as being the era of her independence*. He does not mention the coinage of 1662, which coinage, however, the writer in the Hist. Magazine, and Notes and Queries, thus attempts to explain.

When Charles the 1st came in, (1660) he was incensed against the Colonists—among other things, on account of their coining money. They, seeing this, passed an order in 1662, which, while authorizing the re-issue of coins, gave a reason therefor, viz., to answer the purpose of exchange. This the order of 1652 did not, but was a more imperative order. It therefore is most probable that the order of

as there are relics of the saints among Catholic collections.

In order to keep their coin at home, a quar-

1662 was intended to conciliate Charles so far, at least, as being a defence of their previous coinage. Moreover, the Pine Tree of this latter coinage is made bushy and broad, to resemble the famous Oak of Boscobel, in which Charles had hid himself from his enemies, and which had been topped but a year or two before his concealment therein. These circumstances induce the writer above mentioned to suppose that the coinage of 1662 was only a *ruse* on the part of the Colonial authorities to conciliate or blind Charles. The order of 1662 in regard to this coinage is said never to have been printed.

This writer further states that the device on the Pine Tree Money, viz. the double ring and Pine (Cedar) Tree, were taken, in all probability, from the prophet Ezekiel, and signified both *independence* and *growth*, and were a declaration of the independence of God's chosen people by the General Court. The Pine Tree was used, as being the nearest resemblance at hand to the Scriptural Cedar. They (the General Court) allowed the money to be *usually* called Pine Tree money, but it bore a deeper meaning to the initiated, and was the symbol of an independence, which, however, came not until about a hundred years later. It, however, shows what the aspirations and intentions of the colonial authorities were at that day.

We have given a brief sketch of some of the views of this writer—whose whole article is well worth attention from the keen philosophy of its research and spirit. We make the further suggestion that Sir Thomas Temple, when he told Charles the 2d that the flat and broad Pine Tree on the Colonial currency was the "Boscobel" Oak, may really have believed it to be so, for this, the Colonial authorities may have told him was the case, concealing, however their motives for so doing. They would hardly have trusted Temple, as a Royal Governor, with their whole secret, and it is evident that Temple points to the coin of 1662 as illustrative of the loyalty of the Colonists, which coin was struck off to conciliate Charles, and lull his jealousy to sleep. It appears as if Temple was somewhat used by the Colonial authorities, who were deep and wise enough to circumvent Machiavelli himself, though for wiser and better purposes.

In further confirmation of the views of this writer, we may add that it is evident Massachusetts was re-

ter part loss on it—the difference in exchange, —was adopted, so that foreign returns should not be made in Colonial coin, and in addition to this, no person was to take out more than 20 shillings of it from the colony, on pain of the confiscation of his whole estate, and searchers were appointed in every port of entry, to see that this latter order was obeyed. The coin, however, naturally gravitated towards England as the centre of trade.

Massachusetts still suffered from a scarcity of coin. The merchants, perhaps, did not lack, and held their coin all the more closely, on account of its general scarcity, and the power which the possession of ready money gave them. Contracts for money, corn, cattle or fish, were by law in 1654 to be paid in kind or a kindred variety. This law, however, was repealed in *1670, and in 1672 our

garded by her enemies as seeking independence after she had *apparently* submitted on her coin in 1662 to the King, for J. Curwine, in his letter on affairs of New England, 1663 or 4, (Coll. Maine Hist. Soc., Vol 1, page 301,) says, that at a meeting of the New Englanders at the Exchange, in London, (where Curwine then was) "Mr. Mavericke said before all the company, that New England were all rebels, and he would prove them so, and that he had given in to the Council so, &c." This was said in the presence of Col. Temple, who had been endeavoring to enlist the King in favor of the Colonists, and, to judge from Curwine's letter, in the presence also of Jeremiah Dummer, then the agent of Massachusetts in England. Mavericke understood the Colonists thoroughly. He was not deceived by their professions, or their assumed innocency in continuing their coinage in 1662; but his wisdom availed little against the Colonists, for the Power which protected them was not the King, but the King of Kings.

*The General Court, in order to favor debtors, and perhaps as against foreign creditors, passed a law in 1669, which "shutt up Booke debts" in 3 years—that is, outlawed them after that period. It was so strongly remonstrated against, and by native creditors, perhaps, that the time was extended three years more in 1672. Such laws show, however, the sufferings of the times. Massachusetts could not keep her own coin at home, nor the foreign coin

General Court give a certain value to foreign coin, as compared with their own standard; so as to increase their specie circulation; first affixing a peculiar stamp upon them, to show they were of the right alloy and value. In 1680 a free mint was proposed in Massachusetts—one in which no charge should be made to those sending bullion to be coined. It was not, however, adopted. It seems that at that time Massachusetts was coining but little money, and much of that was circulating in the other Colonies.

In 1685 our coin is said by the officers of the English mint to be $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent lighter than that of England. They ask the King, if the Boston mint is continued, to compel its issues to be made of the standard (English) value.—They notice the fact that there was no alteration of *date* upon the issues of colonial coin—all appearing as the coinage of 1652—a *ruse* of the authorities, perhaps, to blind the Home Government as to the fact of their still continuing to coin money after the date of 1652.

As late as 1694 corn, wheat, rye, barley, malt, oats and peas were appointed by General Court as currency, and taken at certain prices. Under the reign of Sir Edmund Andros the town of Hingham paid her country rate in *milk-pails*. In 1688, January 1st, the treasury report states the treasury funds

brought into the Colony. It went to pay foreign creditors, who would only of course take money. This drove the Colony into adopting produce as currency. Massachusetts was much straitened by this policy—a policy which was gratifying however to the English merchants and manufacturers, as it kept the Colony poor, and therefore unable to compete with the mother country in commerce or trade. This policy became still worse in its evil fruits after the loss of the charter, and the accession of William to the throne—for the English manufacturers and merchants had then far greater power than before over the Colony—in the first place indirectly through the new charter, and then directly through the English laws of trade. In regard to the causes and effects of the depreciated currency of Massachusetts, see Bancroft's Hist. of U. S., Vol. 3, pp. 103-4.

to be “*Corn remaining unsold* £938-11-1. *Money* £1340-10-3.” In 1672 shoes as well as grain passed in payment of debts in certain places. When grain, shoes, manufactures, &c., passed as currency, it seems to have been at times, with an abatement (in 1690 a third) and this shows the relative value of money in the old currency as a circulating medium.—In 1723 the products of the land and the sea, which had been renewedly current at the treasury for taxes, had ceased to be so received there, though again received some years afterwards.

Our currency was divided in 1693 into “pay—money, pay as money, and trusting. Pay was grain, pork, beet, &c., at the prices set by General Court. Money was pieces of eight, ryals, (Spanish coin) Boston or Bay shillings or good hard money, as sometimes silver coin is called; also wampum, viz: Indian beads which serves as change. Pay as money is provision aforesaid, one third cheaper than the Assembly set it, and trust, as they agree for the time.” As an example of this the author gives the following:—“When the buyer comes to ask for a commodity, sometimes before the merchant answers that he has it, he says, ‘Is your pay ready?’” Perhaps the chap replies ‘yes.’ ‘What do you pay in?’ says the merchant. The buyer having answered, then the price is set; as suppose he wants a 6d knife—in pay it is 12d; in pay as money 8d, and hard money its own value 6d.” By this it would appear that purchasers in those days, paying with produce, paid a third more than even the legal rate of the currency.

The Massachusetts mint ceased its operations about 1686 say, and was never permitted again to issue its money. Our currency was then in a very poor state, nor was England herself very much better off in this respect. In 1695 England established the Bank of England to regulate her monetary affairs, which before that had been very distracted at times. Cromwell indeed had, with his customary energy, set about a reformation of the English currency, with a zeal kindred to that with which he had

entered into civil reforms, and had introduced a skilful overseer from France to attend to the coining at the English mint; but from various causes his plans were not altogether successful. nor was it until William was seated on the throne, that the English currency began to be systematized, and a sense of security in monetary affairs felt. In 1690 the General Court ordered an emission of £7000 in bills from 5s to £5. partly for the purpose of defence against the French and Indians, and partly as 'an adequate measure of commerce' owing to the 'scarcity of money.' Here commenced the paper currency of Massachusetts, which was continued until about 1750. It was issued by the state, and regulated by law, under the charge of a committee. From this date (1690) to 1740 our currency seems to have been a mixture of the new with the old currency, viz. Pine tree money, foreign coin, old charter bills, province bills and province productions. Gunpowder was one item to be received at the treasury.

As Massachusetts was obliged to pay her quota of troops in the Canadian wars, she emitted so much paper money through that cause, and her desire to afford a circulating medium for her trade, that her paper money depreciated greatly, and caused much suffering, as debts were legally paid in the depreciated currency, instead of silver. Like the continental money of the Revolution, only on not so fatal a scale, the province bills kept on sinking. In 1700 the colonial pound is said by one authority to have been worth \$2 96 of our money—in 1727, \$1.48; 1734, 91 cents; 1738, 78 cents, and depreciated finally to 'old tenor' money, worth only a tenth of the pound sterling. In 1700 two shillings in money (coin) was worth three shillings in pay (produce).

The paper money of Massachusetts was divided after 1737 into *Old and *New Tenor.

The old tenor dates from and includes the emission of £9000 in 1737, because the conditions of that emission were different from preceding bills, inasmuch as they were to be received in all payments (import and tonnage dues and Light House incomes only excepted) the object being to supply the treasury with hard money by compelling cash to be paid for these excepted duties. As the old tenor bills by the same law ordering this £9000 new tenor were not to be received at the treasury in payment of the excepted duties, though originally issued and ordered to be taken for all taxes, they fell in value even below the discount standard that government appointed for them. Though the government's standard of the new tenor was at one for three of the old tenor, they were really valued as one for four, and only passed at that.

The emission of paper money in Massachusetts sometimes without certain provision for its redemption—the drains upon her for her troops in the Canada wars—the scarcity of coin—the influx of the paper of neighboring

—the new for all taxes *excepting* certain treasury dues, the object being to collect *money* in the treasury to redeem the bills issued by the government.—The old tenor bills prior to 1737 were in this respect placed that year on the same footing as the new tenor of 1737, though originally issued to be taken in payment of any and all taxes. At this the merchants bitterly complained, and with justice.

The new tenor bills of 1737—the first—were afterwards called *middle tenor*, because in 1740 there was a fresh issue of old tenor as well as new tenor bills. In 1742, by law, £4 old tenor, or 26s 8d *middle tenor* was equal to 20s, and so pro rata of the last form and tenor (the issue of 1740, we presume.) In 1740 £5½ Massachusetts paper currency were only equivalent to one pound sterling of England. The condition of things then was, as a consequence, "an empty treasury, a defenceless country, and embarrassed trade." This continued until coin was introduced into Massachusetts more abundantly, and a stricter attention also paid to the public credit. In 1750, the old paper currency seems to have been swept away, as well as numerous schemes also for swindling the public by fraudulent or irresponsible issues of paper money.

*The names *Old Tenor* and *New Tenor* were not given with reference to their dates but the conditions contained in them. The *old tenor* bills were originally intended to be received in payment of all taxes

colonies—some of it private and entirely irresponsible—all served to add to the monetary confusion in Massachusetts. In 1735 colonial taxes were permitted to be paid in *hemp, *flax and bar iron. The emissions and re-emis-

*In a note to page 72, No. 2, Vol. 1, of this magazine, it was stated that *Hemp* and *Flax* were native products of Massachusetts, and this may induce some to infer that the Hemp and Flax cultivated in Massachusetts were the natural products of that name. The present mention of these articles enables us to correct such inferences, as also a mistake concerning *Flax*, which does not, on closer examination, appear to have been a native product of the State, though there was a native plant called *Hemp*, which the Legislature in 1641 describe as "growing all over the country," and which they require masters to instruct their children and servants to work on. The subjoined valuable note from Prof. John Lewis Russell, throws much light upon these topics, as well as on the subjects mentioned in the various notes on pages 71 and 72, and the concluding note on page 76 of the same No. We are happy to give the whole note, first stating that we have corrected the error concerning the Flax, to which our attention was early called by the Professor. On asking him his opinion on all these topics, he kindly sent us the following note:

22 Lafayette Street, Aug. 15, 1859.

Mr. Chever.—What I deemed an error was in calling flax and hemp "native products of New England," and in your saying in note "hemp grew wild in Massachusetts."

I cannot conjecture what "flax" could have been at so early a period as 1629. It could scarcely have been raised as a field crop, at least sufficient for export. "Flax" (*Linum usitatissimum*) is an European plant, and we have no "native" species fit for flax thread. Some of our species of *Asclepias* or milkweeds, have tough, soft fibres, and may have been called flax on that account.

The hemp now cultivated for cordage &c., is of Asiatic origin. It is the *Cannabis sativa*. We have however, another quite different plant in *Apocynum cannabinum*, which affords a very tough fibre, and probably was the *Indian hemp* (so called now,) from which the "Indians made fishing lines," according to Lewis. And perhaps the same plant was then both the "flax and hemp," after all.

In regard to *Yucca filamentosa* being the silk grass, I merely wished to state, that the name *silk-grass* is applied to the *Yucca* by Elliott in his *Sketch of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia*; but the *Yucca* is a Southern and Western plant, growing no nearer New England than Kentucky at the least.

"*Jamaica Sarsaparilla*" is the *veritable* root of medicine, and is identical with that from the Span-

ish Main. It is a *Smilax*, such as is found only in tropical regions. We have in *Aralia medicinalis* of our woods the New England *Sarsaparilla*, considered by native simplers and root-doctors as valuable, but really of very little efficacy; its long, fibrous roots possess a very pleasant flavor, but that is all; though Dr. Darlington says of both kinds that they are "innocent medicines, provided the disease be not serious." (*Flora Cestrica*, 2d Ed., p. 109.) The European practitioners attribute much virtue to the products of the true sorts, notwithstanding.

sions of Massachusetts from 1702 to 1740 are said to have amounted to £1,132,500 on funds of taxes, and £310,000 on loans, and that £230,000 were still out-standing in 1740. The grievances of this period in commerce and trade—the various schemes for remedying these evils—the frauds, hardships, distresses of such a state of things, are minutely detailed in Felt's account of the Massachusetts currency—a work of much original research, and which we have freely used in this rough sketch of our old currency, and have also consulted the Colony Rec. & Laws to some extent, Hammatt's account of the revenues of the Ipswich Grammar School (5 vol. N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register,) Humphrey's Coin Collector's Manual, one or two Encyclopedias, and various valuable English and American works in the possession of Matthew A. Stickney, Esq., of Salem, whose information in this matter is widely known, and whose kindness to us we are very happy to acknowledge.

In the days when our Fathers began their commercial career in this New World, the geographical knowledge of the age, like its scientific, was not free from various errors and absurdities. Not a little that went forth, from grave authorities on geography and science, was based on fancy, rather than fact. Philosophy, at that period, was not altogether free from the astrology and alchemy of the middle ages; and some of their quaint terms yet lingered, like the shades of departing Night, in the vales and sequestered haunts of contemplative Science. It was then commonly believed even by the *savans*, that the magnet held "in its dusky entrails" an attractive power, by

Yours, &c.

JOHN L. RUSSELL.

which the veins of all kinds of mines (saving perhaps iron) could be traced. It was still regarded as a "mirror of Philosophy," and it was a general belief among the unlearned that to rub it with onion or garlic would destroy its efficiency. These and kindred fantasies befogged the visions of men, who were exploring the unknown in space, nor were they dissipated, until men began to observe the *facts* of nature and science, and deduce *theories* from *facts*—not *facts* from *theories*.

In Geography, even as late as 1719, amusing and strange were the errors gravely promulgated in learned works and treatises. We have before us a work called "Geography Anatomis'd or, The Geographical Grammar; being a Short and Exact Analysis of the whole Body of modern Geography, &c."—"By Pat Gordon, M. A. F. R. S." In this treatise, published in London, 1719, and which was "The Eighth edition, corrected, and somewhat enlarged," Gordon gravely tells us (when speaking of the rarities of Newfoundland,) that upon the Bank of that name, "So thick do these Fishes (*Cod* and *Poor John*) sometimes swarm upon this Bank, that they retard the Passage of ships sailing over the same." Speaking of the rarities of New England, (which he gets perhaps from *Josselyn*) he thus discourses—"of many rare Birds in New England, the most remarkable are the *Troculus*, and that called the *Humming Bird*. The former of these (being about the bigness of a swallow) is observable for three things: *First*, Having very short Legs, and hardly able to support himself, Nature hath provided him with sharp-pointed Feathers in his wings: by darting of which into the wall of a house, he sticks fast and rests securely. *Secondly*, the manner of his nest, which he useth to build (as swallows) in the Tops of Chimneys, but of such a Fashion, that it hangs down about a yard long. *Lastly*, Such Birds are remarkable for their Ceremony at departing; it being always observed, that when they remove, they never fail to leave one of their Young behind in the Room where they have nested, making thereby (as

t'were) a grateful Acknowledgment to the Landlord for their Summer's Lodging."

According to the same authority, one of the commodities exported from New Jersey, is "Monkey-skins," and from Carolina, "Leopard-skins," though in justice to Gordon, we cannot believe that he actually meant the skins of animals exactly similar to those of the same name found in the East Indies.

California, he makes out to be an island, a fact settled by late discoveries. As he evidently has in his vision the Gulf of California as a Sound, his error is not so important. In describing *Florida*, however, he takes a tale of horror from *Purchas*, who describes a certain tree as growing in that country about the size of an ordinary apple tree, with so strong a poison in it, "that if a few handfulls of its leaves are bruised and thrown into a large pond of standing-water, all sorts of Beasts that happen to come and drink thereof, do suddenly swell and burst asunder." Marvellous as this story is, he tells one far more marvellous concerning the Desert of *Punas* in Peru, and as it would appear on the authority of one *J. Acosta*, who wrote a work on the natural and moral History of the Indies. Says Gordon—"Many Travellers endeavoring to pass over the Desart of *Punas*, have been benumb'd on a sudden, and fall'n down dead; which makes that way wholly neglected of late." In *Chili*, he speaks of another "Rarity" called, in Peruvian dialect, *Cunter*, (*Condor*) a "very remarkable bird," "of a prodigious size, and extremely ravenous. He frequently sets upon a sheep or calf"—"and not only kills, but is also able to eat up one of 'em entirely. Two of 'em will dare to assault a Cow or Bull, and usually master them. The Inhabitants of this country are not free from such attempts; but Nature hath so ordered, that this destructive creature is very rare, the whole Country affording only a very small number, otherwise not to be inhabited." This marvellous story he gets too from *Acosta*.

In Gordon's descriptions of the West Indies, and adjoining *Terra Firma*, are some rare sto-

ries, but time will not permit us to dwell upon them. We will mention only that truly wonderful fish found in the rivers of (Dutch) Guiana, which he describes as "a certain little fish about the bigness of a smelt, and remarkable for having four eyes, two on each side, one above the other; and in swimming 'tis observed to keep the uppermost two above, and the other two under water."—Such wonderful stories greeted our Fathers in print as late as 1719, in a work published by a learned man, not desirous of deceiving, and who dedicated his work to no less a functionary than *Thomas*, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.—And if such stories as these were believed by the learned—what imaginations, fantasies, credulities and exaggerations may not have haunted the minds of the more ignorant mariners, who, with a bold timidity, explored the shores and islands of a new world then actually teeming with novelties, and yet still more abounding with imaginative mysteries?

There remain unfortunately too few accounts of the voyages of our earliest commercial fathers. What they saw, what they heard, mainly died with them, or were left to papers or traditions, which are now mostly extinct. We can believe that they too shared the errors that then existed, and were haunted, too, by those mysteries which brooded over the new world, then so lately discovered. The fertility, the luxury, the beauty of the more southern shores of North America, and particularly of those islands which lie scattered between Florida and the northern shore of South America, were then almost in their original freshness and virgin prime. The mariner, wandering along the southern shores of the continent, or through the charming maze of those tropical isles, saw strange sights by the lonely shores, and scented strange and yet fragrant odors gently wafted from out the forests oppressed with perfume—the invisible essence and spirit of the flowers, gently forced by the almost as gentle wind to come forth, and tell the modest tale of their fragrant worth. Some fair native, bathing by some lonely cave or rock

by these lonely seas, and, in the simplicity and purity of nature, became perchance to these imaginative voyagers the veritable *mermaid* of old, who, half fish and half woman, disported in the depths of the sea, and combed her yellow locks on the scattered rocks amid the foaming and ever restless sea; and who, like the syren of eld, was of wondrous and yet fatal beauty, and like that charmer, too, lured the mariner, who was beguiled by her, to a certain though pleasing destruction.

Those mariners, too, had seen perhaps the veritable *Merman*, who was so accustomed to sun himself on Diamond Rock, off the coast of Martinico, and had been approached so near; that he had actually been heard to blow his nose! Mermen and Mermaids had been caught in Europe and off the coast of Madagascar, and their existence and identity had been solemnly established by credible witnesses; and why should not our fathers have seen them among the beautiful Isles of the West Indian Archipelago? Were they not fitting haunts for the men and women of the sea? They saw, too, perhaps, the troubled ghosts of the mariners, who in those seas, so soft and so azure, had perished by the piratical Buccaneer, and so haunted the sea and shore which their life blood had dyed. They had seen, too, perchance, and with the horrid chill of fear, that mysterious ship, seen in so many oceans, and by so many generations of mariners,—wrapt in perpetual flames—a burning yet phantom ship—and wondered why, for what cause, that craft should drive before every wind in every sea, given over to the unendurable yet eternal agony of fire. What awful crime had been committed upon her decks, or by the lost mariners who sailed within her, that nevermore should she seek a haven or a harbor; but, lit up by fires kindled not by earthly hands, and not of earthly kind, she should drive forth upon the sea, now blazing dim and lurid amid the storm and the darkness, and now, as in a sheeted auroral flame under the light of the wan and ghastly moon? No human being could board her decks; no

human hands relieve the souls, if aught there were, who sailed in that ship of fire. Cut off from the world below, as from the heaven above, they were to drift—drift on—until the world itself should roar and melt in final flame. Was this ship an imagination—looming up, not on the horizon of the visible sense, but on that of the invisible spirit—a spectral shape projected forth and painted on the imagination by the creative fear of man—or a spiritual verity, floating as a solemn and awful warning over the sea of time, with its flaming doom of guilt, to awe into virtue each sinning, sea-faring soul? On the broad and all but illimitable ocean, crime had a fearful power and limitless sway. The deeds of darkness, and wickedness, and blood, which could be done on the ever silent and solitary sea—seen by no eye save that of Omniscience—heard by no ear save that of Omnipresence—under no judge save the Omnipotent,—these deeds, we say, could only receive their punishment at the hands of God himself—the Great Invisible,—and these crimes, so vast, so solitary, so free of human jurisdiction and control, could alone be reached by spiritual means, and by spiritual torments: and hence the great criminals of the sea, in the belief of the seamen of all ages, are to expiate their crimes on the spot of their origin, by those torments which alone can reach them, and in the terrible isolation and loneliness of the wastes of ocean, cut off too hopelessly from all human sympathy, with no companionship but the dreary unsocial sea, lonely even in the brightest sunshine, and desolate and awful indeed when the terror of the storm and night is upon it.

What more terrible fate indeed could be given the wicked, who have roamed over it, and how awful the real or fancied sight of their torments upon it—so fitting too with the time and the place—the realities and the mysteries of the lonely and mysterious sea—which has hidden in the impenetrable reserve of its depths those tales—to which the creations of fancy are but as the merest imaginations beside eternal verities—and whose very winds

at times breathe tales of terror and mystery to the keen and watchful ear?

Some of these mariners of New England, in their adventurous search may have traded too with those outlaws of mankind, the Buccaneers, perhaps ventured into their very dens, at Tortuga and St. Domingo, and heard from them rare stories of the Spanish Main, or desperate adventure against the wealthy Spanish galleons. They may have eaten with them their roasted ox, the peculiar cooking of which is said to have given them their name, and then departed in friendly peace. They saw too perhaps the fast fading remnants of the inoffensive Indians of Cuba, or the savage and cannibal Carrib of the Leeward Group. Wherever they travelled or gazed among desolate keys, or cloudy green isles, they saw many strange verities, and perhaps yet more strange creations of the plotting brain, all magnified and of marvellous guise as seen through the half luminous ignorance of the age.

Those adventurous yet simple mariners of old had some faiths and also some credulities, and the latter took a sea-turn, and made them sea-bigots, at times, instead of land ones. Those, too, who, in those days, innovated upon the beliefs of the sea, fared but little better than those who assailed the ancient beliefs of the land. He, who scouted the existence of the Flying Dutchman, was akin to him who disbelieved the Flying Witches, broomsticks and all. The sea had its mysteries as had the land, and the Phantom Ship filled with its awful shadows—the spiritual forms of those despairing and lost mariners, bound like the sea everywhere and yet nowhere, in an eternal unquiet and restlessness for their sins and crimes—that ship—those forms were as real, as visible, as those unearthly and mysterious visitants who tormented our fathers, with every spiritual and temporal torment, in the awful days of 1692. It took, indeed, a more fatal turn upon the land, for the *living* had to bear the odium and hatred of the Demoniac sin and shame; but it was the same belief under a different form, passing, however, upon land into a ter-

rible revenge upon the living. Still the land belief was akin to that very belief of the sea, which saw at times in horror, and with every particular hair on end, that Phantom Ship—spectral and shadowy—that seemed indeed to have been

“Built in the Eclipse and rigged with curses dark,” and which, perhaps ominous of evil, could be seen at times sailing in the dim twilight towards the midst of the lowering tempest clouds, and after the sunken moon; or passing in dangerous proximity, and unearthly speed, and under a press of canvass even before the very strength and fury of the gale, while from her deck peered out those faces, which once seen, could never be forgotten.

It was not often that the mysteries of the sea clothed themselves in pleasing and mirth provoking merry forms. Even the pleasing Mermaid lured to destruction. The mariner, who became fatally beguiled by her beauty, jumped into the sea, not to be received into her arms, but to sink into the dark depths, lost, forever lost, without even the reward of his folly and crime. The sea—so solemn, so vast, so sad, so treacherous in calms, so fearful and destructive in storms, so full of dangers and perils, so suggestive of the infinite, the lonely, the desolate, grand and sublime—gave birth mainly to imaginations kindred to its own solitary sublimity—and hence the visions, the tales—the mysteries of the sea were often shrouded in the drapery of gloom—were sad as is the wail of the tempest, mysterious as is the vast heaving ocean itself—suggestive of the wild license, untamable power, fierce passions, and remorseless deeds of the sea around—which knew no compassion for human misfortunes, and under all moods and at all times was deaf, and blind, and reckless, and merciless as Fate. So the imaginations of the sea became earnest, and serious, and sad, as if reflected from the great verity itself, whose waters washed the shores of all climes, and with equal indifference to all, and kept in its dark bosom the crimes of all the people, which, from the birth of man, have been by or upon

it, and which have stained the salt purity of its waves.

These, and kindred mysteries of the sea, were in full force in the early day, and tinged the mariner's life with their sombre, yet unreal romance. Indeed, they linger yet—for the unrealities of time are the most real and enduring, whether they be for good or evil. What the spiritual in man (whether that spirituality be good or evil) can see, is in no man's province to say. What may be the great mysteries around us, who, indeed, can tell? The good and the evil alike see the invisible; the good, that which is good, tho' heavenly and unseen, and the evil, the spectral and unearthly, though shrouded from other eyes in merciful darkness. The excited, the morbid, the fearful vision of man sees, at all events, what it creates, and may see even those terrible unrealities which are but too real. Fear sees strange sights and hears strange sounds. So does despair, and so does faith. So indeed does credulity, into which fear enters with large license, and both fear and faith see with telescopic vision, resolving the far off nebula of mystery into the distinctness of shape and reality.

But those mariners of old saw too not alone the mysteries which haunt the sea, but the beautiful and sensuous realities of tropic lands. Trading, as was their wont, amid the West Indian Archipelago, with its various star-like clusters of islands, floating on the almost ethereal azure of that sea, and clad with eternal green, with flowering vines of exquisite beauty, even upon their very brinks; and cedars, and lofty and graceful palms waving far above, and bright hued birds flitting from bough to bough, in colors no art could equal or imitate; those mariners of old saw these with almost a child-like wonder, and in vivid contrast with the sober sternness and temperate hues of the northern clime. The lands of the orange, the lime, the pomegranate, the papaya, the mamey, the zapote, the mango, the pine apple, the citron, the banana, the fig-tree, lay before them. The cedar, the

palm, the calabash, the manchineel, and cabbage tree, waved over them. The giant mahogany, the lignum vitæ, the iron wood, stood in almost imperishable strength, and towered in the tropical airs. The gigantic *Quiébra Hacha*, with its ambitious and giant parasite, the *Bejuco*, that Anaconda of vines, the lofty cotton tree, with its enormous shaft, covered with vines, and filled with colonies of birds, insects, and animals—the odoriferous gum trees and shrubs, the splendid varieties of parasites, the flowering vines, rich in all the colors of the tropics,—these met their eyes and excited their curiosity as they have those of the generations since. Beneath the waters played the parrot fish, snappers, gray cavallos, tertunes, crawfish and mullet, and above them the turtle, dear to appetite and luxury. By the reefs they saw those plantations and fields of the coral, filled with the living plants and flowers of the sea—yellow, and crimson, and scarlet and purple—among whose bending boughs and sea-lifted leaves, green, and red, and grey fish were darting, and where

“The purple mullet and gold fish rove.”

Our fathers saw, as we see, the *poetry of the sea in these gardens of the deep—for the sea hath its gardens, as hath the land—and many a New England home could show boughs and branches of coral, plucked from the wide, beautiful and abundant gardens of the deep, and suggestive, even in their silent and fragmentary fate, of the beauties, the wonders, the mysteries of the sea. With them, too, came strange tales of mermen and mermaids disporting in those gardens;

“Where the sea-flower spreads its leaves of blue,
That never are wet with the falling dew,
But in bright and changeable beauty shine,
Far down in the green and glassy brine.

The floor is of sand, like the mountain drift,
And the pearl shells spangle the flinty snow;
From coral rocks the sea-plants lit
Their boughs where the tides and billows flow;
The water is calm and still below,
For the winds and waves are absent there,
And the sands are bright as the stars that glow
In the motionless fields of upper air;
There with its waving blade of green,
The sea-flag streams through the silent water,
And the crimson leaf of the dulse is seen
To blush like a banner bled in slaughter;
There—with a light and easy motion—
The Fan-Coral sweeps through the clear, deep sea,
And the scarlet and crimson tufts of ocean
Are bending like corn on the upland lea!”

The land, too, had its sights. The grim alligator, the scarlet flamingo, the host of beautiful parrots, the glittering humming bird, the brilliant yet changeable gobemouche, the nimble monkey, with numberless troops of brilliant birds, bright colored serpents, beautiful sea and land crabs, and strange quadrupeds, met there their eyes, as they may have ours, only perchance as greater wonders. They had felt the fury of the tropical hurricanes, and revelled in the glory of the tropical summer. Wafted in and through these gentle summer seas, they, too, saw and felt the surpassing beauty of the tropical nights, when the moon is as a silver sun, and though she be absent, yet the Milky Way, or Venus, in all her glory, sheds a kindred lustre, unknown in Northern skies. They, too, wondered at those brilliant meteors of the air, the lightning *Cantharides* or the *Cayouyous* (Flies) and *Cucuiolos*, which at night flitted over the savannahs of these isles, and which good honest *Gordon* speaks of as giving “a mighty lustre in the night-time while they fly.” They had visited old Port Royal, Jamaica, and seen its unrivalled luxury and crime, and some of them perchance were there at its fearful doom—that city by the sea, which was the haunt of the Buccaneer, and every unlawful, unhalloved trader, and which, as in an instant, was swallowed up forever in the angry waves—and over whose very houses and streets the mariner now floats into modern Kingston. Some of them, too, may have found in these lands, so luxuriant, yet at times so deadly, their last

* The Salem mariners had a prose and practical, as well as poetical side to their character, since, in the earlier days of their commerce, they brought *Coral* from the West Indies both as ballast, and to burn for lime—then much needed and only obtained from burning sea-shells found on our coasts—before limestone had been discovered in these parts.

rest, smitten by the pestilence, which walketh in darkness and wasteth at noon day through these beautiful isles, though they be fanned by airs of balm, though fragrant with orange and citron blooms, and shaded with the soft sway-ing palm into luxurious quiet and repose.

And these scenes,—which must be seen to be known,—with all their indescribable delights, were doubtless doubly delicious to our fathers, after having traversed the sea, not as with our certainty and speed, but with many an imperfect rule and chart, and under risks, which will never more be run. Well contented, perhaps, to be not more than a hundred miles out of their true longitude, and not always exact in their latitude, they must have felt, when the harbor was won, a sense of relief, more keen perhaps than the modern mariner is ever wont to feel. Not alone for them had the sea its ordinary dangers, but the license of the sea was greater then than now, and the Pirates under the guise of law were then far more to be dreaded than the open defiant outlaw of more modern days. Oppressed with ignorance, beset with dangers, and in craft that would now be scouted from our commercial enterprise, they still ploughed the ocean with adventurous keels, and have left us many a brave example of what the mind may plan and the heart may dare in the pursuit of honest gain. Honor to them is honor to all the brave commercial spirits whether of the Past or Present, and even a welcome and encouragement to those of the Future.

We ought not to omit, in closing this general sketch of the commerce of Salem from 1626 to 1740, some more particular notice of the dangers and difficulties which were attendant on our early navigation. These we gather mainly from old nautical works. When our fathers ran their little sloops, ketches and brigantines (of from 20 to 40 or 60 tons burthen) to England, Europe and the West Indies, they had to compute their longitude by the run of the ship—or by lunar observations with the

imperfect *books, methods and tables then extant, or by charts marked with the variations of the needle—all imperfect, and practicably unreliable. The loss of Sir Cloudesly Shovel and his fleet, through ignorance of the true longitude, roused the English government to attempt to improve and perfect navigation by the discovery of some reliable method of determining longitude at sea, and in 1714 a reward of £20,000 was offered for its certain determination within 30 miles—£15,000 for 40 and £10,000 for 60 miles—the government being willing to offer a partial reward even for its determination within 80 geographical miles of dangerous coasts. It was not until 1764 and 1774 that Harrison convinced the English government that his chronometer watch was a reliable time keeper, though in 1761 it had only made an error of 28 miles in a voyage to Jamaica and back to England. It was not until the close of the last century, to judge by nautical works, that the discovery of longitude by lunar observations also became of practical use. An old sea captain, now in his 90th year, and who commenced his sea life in 1788, informs us that longitude was obtained by our New England craft from then, up to the time Dr. Bowditch introduced the lunar method, (about 1800) by dead reckoning—that is the measured run of the ship; and mistakes of half a degree, or a whole degree, and even more, were common. No certainty within a hundred miles could be obtained on long voyages. The chronometer, he informs us is comparatively a modern instrument, so far as a prac-

*As a specimen of the old works of navigation, there can be found in the Essex Institute a volume of Sellers' (John) Practical Navigation, printed in 1676. Seller was Hydrographer to the King. This was first the property of Philip English, and then was used successively by his sons William and John. In it can be found descriptions for the use of and diagrams of the ancient Meridian Compass—Fore Staff Quadrant—Plough—Nocturnal, &c., and it is well worth the passing attention of the modern navigator, so much more blessed by later and superior means of navigation.

tical use of it is concerned—not having been in general use more than these last thirty or forty years. The dangers attendant upon approaching coasts were thus vastly greater in old times than now, when any error in longitude would not ordinarily exceed probably ten miles. He informs us that a schooner he sailed in (1788) from Bilboa to Marblehead, and when near Marblehead, was only saved by one of the crew first seeing the rock named Satan, close to the bows, (there being a snow storm at the time) and shouting out that fact lustily to the crew. The captain was thus for the first time aware of his true longitude on the coast!

Our fathers used for obtaining their latitude the instruments known as the cross-staff, and Davis's Quadrant—the latter the best instrument then extant, and yet not reliable itself when there was much motion to the vessel—In 1731 Hadley brings forward a very superior Quadrant (which was, however, invented before him both by Sir Isaac Newton and Godfrey of Philadelphia,) but this improvement probably did not come into general use before 1750, if even as early as that. Take into the account, moreover, the absence of correct charts in the early day,—the presence of *pi-

rates and freebooters on the ocean, and even under command and submit to the laws and harbor rules of the Colony, and prohibits her, her goods or her company from coming into our jurisdiction, or ports upon penalty of being seized, secured, &c.

In 1673 piracy and mutiny were especially denounced by General Court, and made punishable by death. To judge by this order of the Court, piracy and mutiny were not unfrequent in our harbors and seas—the mutineers appearing to have risen upon their officers and seized the vessels for the sake of the plunder merely!

In 1696 our General Court passed a law against pirates and privateers, stating in the Preamble that many persons had obtained licenses as privateers and that for the purpose of becoming pirates and preying on foreign friendly vessels. "The Booke of Records for Masters, &c.," a valuable record of the past, kindly pointed out to us by Ira J. Patch, Esq., (and found by him in our Essex County Court files,) 1st vol. page 73, contains the affidavits of Capt. Habbakuk Gardner, of Salem, commander of Ship Friendship, and Joseph Browne, one of the mariners, wherein they state that on a voyage to Antegua and the Leeward Islands, on the 13 March 1707-8 in latt. 17 10 North, a French Privateer captured them and carried them into Martinico—ship and cargo a total loss.

In the same vol. Capt. John Shattock enters his protest against capture by Pirates. He sailed from Jamaica for New England, and on Oct. 3, 1719 in or about latt. 23 20 N. and in sight of Bohemia, otherwise Long Island, was captured by a "Pyrat" of 12 guns and 120 men, under the command of Capt. Charles Vain, who took him to Crooked Island (Bahamas) plundered him of various articles—stripping the brig for what articles they wanted—abused some of his men, and finally let him go. Coming, however, on a winter's coast—his vessel stripped of needed sails—he was blown off to the West Indies, and did not arrive in Salem until the next Spring.

As late as 1724 the *Boston Gazette* contains an account of the capture of a sloop off Cape Ann by two pirates, (Nut and Phillips) and her capture by Andrew Harradine and crew—the captured master and crew of the vessel. Harradine and his crew rose upon their captors, killed Nut, his comrade, and the other officers, and brought the pirate crew into Boston, and surrendered them to the authorities as prisoners. In the West Indies, the Spanish, and on the coast of New Foundland the French privateers, were

* From the settlement of the country to 1724 certainly, our early commerce was subject to piracy. The Algerine and Tunisian pirates troubled our commerce in the English channel for several years, beginning from 1640. As early as 1632 English pirates came upon our coast. French privateers or pirates gave us trouble occasionally, from 1645, onwards. The Indians to the southward, and northward especially, gave us trouble until 1724, and even afterwards. French and Spanish vessels being or assuming to be privateers troubled our commerce from 1687 to 1725, and drove some of our vessels ashore. From 1684 to 1725, particularly from 1684 to 1700, our commerce was preyed upon by English pirates, and that too near our very shores. In 1722 our Salem Fort maintained a watch on account of a rumor of pirates being near the coast. In 1670 the General Court publish in Boston by beat of drum (27th May) a proclamation against a ship at the Isle of Shoals, suspected of being a pirate, which ship does not come

very near home—the want of light-houses, (Boston light-house being first lit up only as late as 1716, Thatcher Island light house in 1771, and Baker's Island light-house in 1798) —with the more clumsy hulls, spars, rigs, &c. of the olden time, and we shall have abundant reason for believing that modern navigation is vastly superior to and safer than the old, and be inclined also to give due credit to the enterprise and courage of the old merchants and navigators, who in spite of these difficulties and dangers sought commercial success. Some of them felt indeed their dependence on a Higher Power, as they ploughed a thrice dangerous deep, and their journals and papers show that this is true. It made them, moreover, generous, liberal and brave. Do the moderns surpass them as much in these respects, as they unquestionably do in all the other elements of knowledge, power and success?

at times formidable. The French, and the Indians —instigated probably by the French—gave our commerce, for a series of years after 1680, much trouble; —the French almost destroying the fishing fleet of Salem, between 1689 and 1711. The “good old times” of commerce, as of other matters, is an error of the imagination—a perfect delusion, which investigation at once dissipates.

For a circumstantial account of the capture of the pirates who captured the Ketch Mary off Half Way Rock in 1689, see the 2d vol. N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, page 393. It is an instructive paper, as explanatory of the impudent boldness of these ancient outlaws, who, however, have been said to have had “*friends at Court*” in those days, which may account for their audacity.

‡ Among other dangers attendant on the navigation of the olden time, the absence of regular pilots was an important one. Our fishermen needed, it is true, no pilots for Salem Harbor, for they were well acquainted with the coast harbors, including, of course their own, and their ketches and sloops being seldom over 40 tons, did not draw, probably, more than from four to six feet. Larger vessels coming on to the coast, ran, of course, much more danger, especially strange vessels, as there were no regular pilots. It was not until 1783, according to Felt, and after some heavy losses had been sustained for want of

Here ends our general sketch of the commerce of Salem up to 1740—an imperfect one we are aware, but still of some use perhaps to him who shall write the history of our Salem commerce at some future day—a history, moreover, which well deserves to be written, and by the pen of an able and competent man.— There are, however, some reflections which are forced upon us in a review of our commerce even up to 1740, which we desire to state, but as briefly as we may.

well-regulated pilotage, that the General Court enacted that there should be two regular pilots for Salem. Before that time, it appears as if pilotage here was only a chance and uncertain business, and pilots, of course, as chance and uncertain. By the maritime code of 1668, any person undertaking the charge of “Pilot,” and not being able to discharge his duty, was to lose his wages, in part, or in whole, and be further punished for his presumption as the judges “shall see meete.” Judging from this law, there were no regular professional pilots in Massachusetts at that date.

Our fathers, so far as we can find, generally acted as their own pilots, and sometimes acted as Pilots for the English men-of-war in their expeditions against the French to the northward, or on our coasts. Their method of navigation on sea voyages was, of course, a simple and rude science. It has been said that they sometimes ran their sloops and ketches to the West Indies by the bearing of the North Star, or other stars, and an amusing story is told (how true we know not) of one old sea captain, who was accustomed to take his bearings of the North Star through a hole made in a flag-staff on the stern, and was very skillful in his own original mode of navigation; but whose secret was discovered by a waggish mate, who cut off his flag-staff one night, and thus totally confused the old man's calculations and plans. The old way of navigation to the West Indies is said to have been—first to attempt to run down to the latitude of the Island sought, and then steer as directly East or West, as they could, on the line of Longitude. Their uncertainty as to their longitude was often very great and perplexing.

With their small craft, however, they could readily run into the bays and creeks of the coast harbors, and well understood between 1660 and '70, not alone their own immediate coasts, but those of Virginia and Maryland, into the intricacies of whose creeks and bays they pried with adventurous audacity.

The Puritans began their settlement at Salem upon the idea and basis of religious freedom—a noble base, and the only true basis of government; and it may be that their zeal for a while in this cause outran their discretion, as is apt to be the case with the pioneer and reformer. Commerce and civil government, as a result, were somewhat neglected. As soon, however, as the puritans saw their mistake, they came back to the support of these matters, for there was a reason among these men, after all, which did not permit them to go far astray. They were, as a general rule, free from the extravagancies which marked the course of many of their puritan brethren then in Old England—that wild visionary spiritual democracy, culminating in the fifth monarchy men and millenarians. The puritans in New England were wiser—more liberal—the result, doubtless, of their more perfect freedom, both in religion and civil government. They respected Cromwell, and sympathized with him in his republican views, and the respect was mutual, but even him they kept at arm's length, mistrustful of King or Protector—jealous of their liberties either in church or state—looking to independence of all powers under Heaven. If forced to yield, it was but for a time, and, as soon as they could, they overthrew the tyranny which oppressed them.—Their defects—the defects of their faith and policy—were not incurable, nor did they long continue. Like the clouds, they in time passed away, while their wisdom, like the sun, endured. These puritans, moreover, when they came back to right views in civil matters, carried the same idea of freedom, supported too by their religious faith, into commerce and government; and the results were a noble liberality—a genuine wisdom in both. Into their *legislation* they carried many noble plans for the civil freedom and rights of men—a regard to justice—the love of learning, industry, prudence, liberty. Into their *commerce* they carried not only their industry, energy and sagacity, but they demanded there also greater liberties than the Old World ever knew. They

became pioneers there too—the pioneers of unrestricted trade—the able and earnest supporters of the doctrine, that commerce is only to bear its just proportion of the burdens of government. They resisted the civil tyranny of England in trade, as they did her ecclesiastical tyranny in the church. The banner they threw to the winds was "Liberty in Church—Liberty in State—Liberty in Trade"—and to the extent of their ability they maintained this creed, even in the face of haughty mother England, with the Savage, too, at their very doors, and his war-whoop ever and anon sounding in their ears. To the thoughtful student of history there is something noble and grand in the position oft times assumed by Massachusetts in the hour of her trial, sore beset as she was, not alone by enemies, but by those spiritual and temporal evils, which never try the worldly and base, but which purify the genuine and the good as by fire. Still she maintained in that hour her noble independence.—She did not forget the sanctity of her origin—nor the power which alone can save. Having faith in Him—faith in whom is victory—she demanded of old, demands now, and will ever demand, *Liberty*—Liberty for the soul of man—Liberty for the mind of man—Liberty for the skill, the labor and the body of man;—for with these liberties come all other prosperities, human or divine, and without them come only those licenses which give over men and nations alike to temporal and eternal perdition.

In making this general sketch of the commerce of Salem up to 1740 we have consulted the Mass Hist. Collections—Colony Records—Local Records—Histories of England, Mass. and United States—Old Geographies—Felt's Annals of Salem (a work full of local items)—Old Nautical Works—Old Traditions, papers and letters. We return our thanks to Dr. H. Wheatland, H. M. Brooks, H. J. Pratt, H. F. King, I. J. Patch, Joseph Cloutman and M. A. Stickney, Esq's for favors—also to Prof. John Lewis Russell. We are indebted to Felt for many items which we thus acknowledge. After a somewhat careful examination of various

authorities, (including the commercial papers yet remaining in the English family.) we have been enabled to give a fuller sketch of the early commerce of Salem, than we had dared at first to hope for; and will now endeavor to sketch the life and commercial pursuits of Philip English, one of the old Salem merchants, whose active business life extended from about 1670 to about 1733 or 4, and who died shortly before 1740, the period at which we have closed our remarks on the Commerce of Salem.

APPENDIX TO REMARKS ON THE COMMERCE OF SALEM.

COMMERCE OF SALEM BEFORE 1640. Though the commerce of Salem may be said to have begun about 1640, yet there seems to have been a commercial spirit stirring here previous to that, for even as early as 1638, the ship *Desire* of Salem made a voyage to New Providence and Tortuga, and returned laden with cotton, tobacco, salt and negroes, (slaves) the latter the first imported into N. E. This inhuman practice of making men slaves was subsequently denounced, however, by our General Court. In 1639 the first importations of indigo and sugar seem to have been made into New England. In 1642 a Dutch ship exchanges a cargo of salt for plank and pipe staves in New England; and the very next year 11 vessels sailed from New England for the W. Indies, with lumber. This shows the rapid increase of our marine. It is most probable that before 1637 the Salem people began building large-decked shallops, and perhaps also ketches for fishing and trading purposes—their craft not being then (as a general rule) larger than twenty or thirty tons burthen, if even that.

Gov. CRADOCK. We find, on a particular examination of the Colony Records, that though Gov. C. was never paid in person his claim against the Colony, yet that his widow, in 1670, and after various examinations of the claim by officers appointed by the General Court, was granted (through her third husband) a thousand acres of land, in consideration “of the great disbursements made by

Mathew Cradock for the good of these plantations.” In 1671 Mr. John Davenport gets a grant from the General Court of 500 acres, in consideration that his father was an adventurer in the common stock, and was instrumental in furthering of this plantation. This seems to indicate that the General Court then acknowledged a *quasi* proprietary right at least in those originally interested in the early common stock of the Colony to the soil of Massachusetts.

PROPRIETARY RIGHTS. In reference to the extinguishment of the Proprietary Rights of the Home Company in the soil of Massachusetts—when did this take place? The original charter of James to the Plymouth Company granted the *fee* of New England to that company, as did also *their* grant to Sir Henry Rosewell and his associates, and as did also the confirmation of that grant to Rosewell and his associates by Charles the First. The charter gave not only the *fee* to the body politic and corporate to be called by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, but gave them also power to acquire lands. It gave the *fee* absolutely to the Patentees, their heirs and assigns, but with the permission also to join with them such freemen as they should choose into the Company. The charter, moreover, gave broad powers of government to the patentees, but never contemplated the erection of a Commonwealth, only a Corporation.

The *fee* was not, moreover, to be held in *Capite*, [that is, as a tenancy in chief and directly under the King—the most honorable, but most burdensome of all the tenures,] nor by Knight Service, [a tenure held by personal, military or pecuniary services given the King—ofttimes a burdensome and expensive tenure,] but in free and common soccage, as of our manor of East Greenwich in Kent,—which was most probably one mainly of homage and fealty,—the tenure in free soccage being a free and honorable one—the name *soccage* being derived, according to Bosworth, (Anglo Saxon Dictionary) from *soc*, which signifies “*liberty*,

immunity, franchise, privilege, to minister justice or execute laws, jurisdiction," and the whole term signifying a free and privileged tenure. Free soccage was generally a tenure held by a certain determinate service, and not only a certain but honorable one; and really a more valuable one than the higher tenures, whose services were too often precarious and burdensome. It has been supposed to have been a remnant of the old Saxon liberties.

This tenure, moreover, granted the patentees, was of a higher order even than free soccage in general; for the charter states that its privileges are granted without express mention of any certain yearly value (rent) made (to be paid) for the premises. This proves the high order of the tenure under the patent. It was of the highest named order of free soccage—"as of our manor of East Greenwich"—and this order was most probably the very highest, since Greenwich had been the residence of several of the Kings and Queens of England. King Henry the 8th often made it his residence, and Queens Mary and Elizabeth were born there. This is undoubtedly the same manner which Charles describes as his in the charter, and the franchises belonging thereto were of a royal nature, of the freest order, and the best adapted for the new Colony—being doubtless the least aristocratic, and therefore least burdensome, of all the English tenures.

As the *fee*, however, was given to Rosewell and his associates, their heirs and assigns, when shall we consider their proprietary rights as having ceased in the Colony? It does not appear that they took the *fee* merely *in trust* for governmental and Colonial purposes, but as a corporation—as owners. The *fee* did after a while, very probably at or before 1636, merge in or become the high and eminent domain of government, whenever, in fact, the corporation became a commonwealth. Gov. Bradford in 1680 states that they (the Government) were obliged to grant land *in fee* to the early settlers, that they might not be discouraged by not having land of their own. This

precedent doubtless destroyed any feudal policy of the patentees in Massachusetts, and perhaps practically extinguished the proprietary rights of the patentees, who then may have been in the old country. At all events, the transfer of the Patent operated (with or without a sale or release of the proprietors' rights—of which sale or release, however, we see no positive proof) to break up any landed monopoly and any feudal privileges or rights resulting from the grant; while the increase of adventurers in the common stock of the Colony, and freemen also, must soon have destroyed the power of the original patentees. It was, moreover, the policy and interest of the patentees or proprietors here to conciliate new comers by granting lands *in fee*—which soon became the settled policy of the Colony. The civil troubles in England probably did not much affect after all the rights of the proprietors, though the judgment pronounced individually against several of the company in England in 1635, on the "*Quo Warranto*" then brought against the company, may have been considered both in England and Massachusetts as a legal forfeiture of all the proprietary rights of such patentees then being in England or in America.

The original policy of the patentees was doubtless to grant land to the Colonists, not *in fee*, but by tenures which reserved certain rents to be paid by the grantees, who would thus become tenants under a species of perpetual lease, paying their rents therefor. It is evident that the company in London did not wish the Colonists in Massachusetts (unless they were joined with the patentees in the common stock of the company, and therefore associates) to hold their lands *in fee*, but by a lesser tenure—as tenants—simply paying "some service certain days in the yeare, and by that service they and their posteritie after them to hold and inherite these (their) lands." This service was to be their rent, or its equivalent. For proof of this see the Company's letter to Gov. Endecott, quoted in Felt's *Annals*, Vol. 1, p. 103.

There seems, however, to be no conclusive evidence that the patentees desired that the Colony lands should be divided into counties, to be apportioned among themselves, again to be subdivided into lesser partitions ruled over by inferior officers. Royalists like Gorges, and men of his class, might dream such dreams, but the patentees were probably wiser, and seem throughout, both in the transfer of the patent, and their subsequent action under it, to have considered more the common weal of the colonists, and at least yielded wisely, where any feudal policy of the charter might have oppressed the Colonists. Colonizing with religious liberty in view, they wisely rejected a worldly ambitious policy, and the consequence was, that any and all feudal traits in their charter soon disappeared.

The proprietary rights of the original Patentees may have disappeared in the same way—almost insensibly—becoming merged in the common weal of the Colony. The simple transfer of the patent here did not extinguish such rights—that is legally. It must be, we think, after all, the fact that the religious spirit and purpose of the settlement here—the wise and generous policy put in practice under the charter by the authorities in the Colony—together with the general liberty of the Colonists—that these causes all combined to merge the large proprietary rights to a great degree into a common weal for the people, and the patentees and their associates never attempted afterwards to disturb such a policy, or favored it—having a higher object in view than mere worldly ambition or avarice in the matter.

COMMERCE UNDER THE CHARTER.

In the preceding Article on our Salem Commerce, little has been said of commerce as affected by the charter. A note on this point may therefore be interesting. According to the charter itself, the intention of Charles (the King) in establishing the Colony, was to win and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian

faith, "*which in our royal intencon and the adventures' free profession, is the principall ende of this plantacon.*" To this end the company of adventurers were authorized to erect themselves into a corporation, with powers to make all needed and wholesome laws, "according to the course of our other corporacons in this our realme of England," and "be so religiously, peaceably and civilly governed," that "their goode life and orderlie conversation" may win over the natives to the Christian faith. Very ample civil powers were given to these ends,—almost sufficient to justify the Puritans in any constructions they might be pleased to put upon the charter. Admiralty powers seem to flow naturally from this charter: while its concluding provisions declare that the charter itself shall be construed, reputed and adjudged in all cases most favorably on the behalf and for the benefit of the Governor and company, and their successors, and this, though no express mention of any certain yearly value (rent) had been made (as to be paid the King) for the premises (lands under the patent.) and in spite of any act, rule or restraint to the contrary, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary notwithstanding. These powers and their construction were both ample and liberal, and it is not to be wondered at, that the Puritans, up to the loss of the charter in 1684, held it as a sacred instrument—full of grand and indispensable liberties.

The early Puritans took all the liberties the charter gave, and some in addition. Charles contemplated (we may suppose) the establishment of an Episcopal Church and system in New England, and the Puritans established Congregationalism, and excluded Episcopacy. He granted a corporation, and they established a Commonwealth. The Puritans, moreover, by denying the right of appeal to the King, together with the accusation made against them of aiming at sovereignty, finally roused the Monarch against them, as their church discipline had the Episcopal Church, and in 1634 the Archbishop of Canterbury and his associ-

ates were made a special commission, with full power over the American plantations. These powers extended over the government, laws and the Church, and went even to the revoking of any charter *surreptitiously* obtained, or which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative. If our Colonial Charter is to be considered as aimed at on the score of being *surreptitiously* obtained, it must be as having been obtained through legal and proper forms, but with a *fraudulent* intent—the main intents of the Charter being the conversion of the Indians, and the establishment of a trading corporation, which intents the King may have considered as violated by the subsequent civil and religious acts of the Colonists, those acts having been in the intentions of the Colonists from the first!

The commercial privileges granted by the charter were ample for that day. In order that the Colony should be settled, permission was freely granted the Company to transport persons, (with but one exception,) arms, clothing, animals, merchandise, &c., (including all needed articles) for seven years, free of duty, and were also to be free for 21 years (after the seven) of all duties on imports from or exports to England, or English dominions, except 5 pounds per cent. on goods and merchandise imported into England or English possessions. They were also permitted to export their goods or merchandise from England and English possessions to foreign countries without paying any additional duty, if shipped from thence [England or English possessions] within thirteen months after landing; and had six months time given to pay the half duty. Certain provisions (as exceptions) were made to prevent fraud—and the Patent or duplicate or an exemplification thereof, was to be considered as proof of these privileges before any custom or excise officers. The Colony was to be free from all taxes, subsidies, (pecuniary assistance to England) or Customs (Custom dues). By the terms of the charter, moreover, the patentees and associates paid no rent to the

King for the tenure of their land, and thus in fact (considering the other charter privileges) were placed upon a footing, (it was thought) but little short of independent sovereignty.

The charter contained, as will be seen, the germ of the subsequent navigation laws of England, as it required the Colonial exports to seek English markets in the first instance and pay the mother country the duty, prior to exportation to foreign countries. This provision was not complied with. The Colonists, in fact, made themselves as independent of the charter in commercial as in civil matters. It is evident that they wisely considered that the charter was made for them, and not they for the charter.

It ought to be said here that the Colonists, and the great lawyers of England looked at the powers conferred by the charter in a somewhat different light. The lawyers in England thought the charter was originally intended to be exercised in England, under the direct operation of the English courts and laws, that it conferred, therefore, and needed no admiralty powers—had no authority to establish Courts for Probate of Wills, and Courts exercising power over the lives of the Colonists, &c. They thought the Colonists had usurped various powers, not originally given in the charter. When the agent of Mass. in England endeavored to save the charter, he was met with these objections, and though the lawyers there (the Crown officers) were for the continuance of the old charter, with various additional needed powers—that is, for continuing the old powers so granted with new powers—though Archbishop Tillotson, and Bishop Burnet also favored this, yet the old, and newly demanded liberties of Mass. were destroyed by the *Trade* interest of England, which proved too strong for justice and liberty. Bishop Burnet said that he considered that the charter granted to the patentees was a more sacred one than those given corporations in England, since the charter given to the patentees was on condition of their enlarging the King's dominions—a thing they

had done, and therefore the powers under the charter belonged of right to the Patentees, while the power usually granted corporations was a *matter of grace*. It is evident that Tiltonson considered the charter as very different from that of an ordinary trading corporation. He looked at it in a religious point of view, and as one which ought to be confirmed. His denunciations of Laud in his conversations with Mather, the agent of Mass, seem to confirm this view. (See Mass. Hist. Coll., 1st series, Vol. 9, pages 273-4, and also same Vol. page 249.)

To be Continued.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c.,
ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF
COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 96.

John Andrews, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Corporal John Andrews, taken May 23, 1662, by John Doolittle, John Hathorne & Andrew Mansfield, by request of the widow, amounting to £1116 18s 4d; debts about £758 11s 0d, returned by Mr. Thomas Andrews 27th 4th mo., 1662.

John Balch, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of John Balch of Salem, taken 19th 1st mo., 1662, by Roger Conant & Sam'l Corning, amounting to £189 17s 0d; list of debts £30 0s 0d, returned 24th 4th mo., 1662.

Item in the list of debts:

"For keeping a sick and weakly child, viz, Mary Balch, six months, £6 0s 0d.

At a court, 27th 4th mo., 1662.

Mary Balch, widow of John Balch, is appt'd adm'r of her husband's estate, and when all just debts are paid, the whole estate is to be divided between said Mary & Mary their daughter, the whole estate remaining in the widow's hands until her daughter is of age or married.

John Row, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of John Row, dated 15th 8th mo., 1661, gives all his estate to his wife and two sons, John and Hugh. Witnesses—John Collins, sr., John Collins, jr., Stephen Glover.—proved 24th 4th mo., 1662, and the widow and two sons adm'rs.

Inventory of above estate taken 2d day April, 1662, by Sam'l Dolliver, John Collins & Wm. Browne, amounting to £205 16s 10d, returned by Bridget Row, the widow, and John Row, son of the above John 9, June 1662.

David Lewis, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of David Lewis taken 22d June, 1662, amounting to £22 06s 0d; debts £16 8s 0d, returned to the Court and is allowed, and Samuel Archard is appt'd to administer in behalf of the country, & to be accountable to this court.

Thos. Wilks, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Wilks taken Nove., 1661, at Boston, by John — & John Lake, amounting to £70 0s 0d.

Also inventory taken December, 1661, at Salem, by Walter Price & Hilliard Veren, amounting to £30 6s 11½d, returned 25th 4th mo., 1662, and Mr. Edmund Batter appt'd adm'r, who is to dispose of the said estate by advice of this Court.

Robert Gray, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of Robert Gray, of Salem, dated 1st 11th mo., 1661, daughter Elizabeth Gray, sons Joseph, Robert, daughters Bethiah, Hannah & Mary; servant Elizabeth Wicks.

Gives "to George Hodgins a quadrant, a fore staffe, a gunter's scale, and a pr of compasses," wife Eliz'h Gray who he appts ex'tr, John Brown and Henry Bartholomew, overseers.

Witness—John Brown and Henry Bartholomew.

proved 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of above estate taken 5th 12th mo., 1661, by John Brown, Richard Prince &

Henry Bartholomew, amounting to £608 01s 0d, returned 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Wm. Browne, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of Wm. Browne of Gloucester, dated 29th April 1662, son in law Abraham Robinson, under 21 years, dau Mary Browne, under 18 years, to be ext'x, wife Mary; witnesses—John Emerson & John Collins, Jr. proved 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of above estate taken May 13, 1662, by John Emerson, Sam'l Dolliver, John Collins and Philip Staynwood, amounting to £203 0s 7d, returned by Mary Brown, widow, 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Lawrence Leach, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of Lawrence Leach, of Salem, aged 85 years; his debts to be paid, and his wife to have all his estate. Witnesses—John Porter, John Batchelder; proved 25th 4th mo., 1662, & Eliz'h, widow of above, apptd adm'x.

Inventory of above estate taken by John Porter & Jacob Barney, amounting to £138 14s 8d, returned and allowed 24th 4th mo., 1662.

Ann Fuller, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of Ann Fuller, widow, aged 79 years, son Richard Leach, Bethiah Farrow, John Leach & Sarah Leach. Witnesses, Jonathan Walcott, John Rowdon, proved 25th 4th mo., 1662, and Ric'd Leach apptd adm'r.

Inventory of above estate taken by Nath'l Felton, Anthony Buxton, amounting to £23 17s 6d, returned 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Henry Cook, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Henry Cook, deceased the 14th of 11th month, 1661, taken by Nath'l Felton and Henry Bartholomew, amounting to £225, returned by his widow, Judith Cook, and her son Isaack, 26th 4th mo., 1662.

List of debts, amounting to £92 05s 8½d.

Henry Cook's children—Isaac, aged 22: Sam'l 20; John, 14; Henry, 8; Judith, 18;

Rachel, 16; Mary and Martha, 12; Hanna, 4.

Israel and Nathan Webster, 9th mo., 1662.

Petition of Israel, 18 yrs, & Nathan Webster, 16 yrs., with the consent of the mother, that their father in law, John Emery, sen'r, and their brother, John Emery, jr., might be appt'd their guardian, and the petition allowed and confirmed 26th 9th mo., 1662.

Geo. Tarr, 9th mo., 1662.

Will of George Tarr, dated 1st July, 1662, sons John, Lazeros & Benjamin, (Joseph under age,) daughters Mary, Martha, Eliz'h & Sarah.

Mr. Eaton & Francis Burrill, & Allen Breed jr., shall be overseers. Henry Silsby & Francis Burrill, witnesses, proved 26th 9th mo., 1662.

Inventory of above estate taken by Henry Collins, Jr. & Henry Silsby, 24th 9th mo., 1662, amounting to £189 8s 0d, returned 26th 9th mo., 1662.

Thos Smith, 9th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Smith, of Salem, taken 17th 4th mo., 1662, by Jeffrey Massey & Tho. Porter, amounting to £63 15s 0d: list of debts, £39 9s 8d, returned 26th 9th mo., 1662, allowed and ordered to the use of the widow & the bringing up of the children.

John Goyt, 1st mo., 1663.

Inventory of John Goyt, amounting to £34 6s 0d.

Mary Smith, May, 1663,

Will of Mary Smith, wife unto the late James Smith, of Marblehead, dated 28 Mar. 1663, daughter Catherine Eborne, & daughter Mary Rowland, grand children Samuel & Joseph Rowland, Mary Eborne, daughter Mary Rowland's five children, daughter Cathren Eborne, children Mary, Rebecca, Moses, Hannah, James & Sarah, Samuel, son James Smith.

To be Continued.

THE "OLD PLANTERS" OF SALEM, WHO WERE SETTLED HERE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ENDICOTT, IN 1628.

BY GEORGE D. PHIPPEN.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, March 25, 1858.

Continued from Page 110.

ROGER CONANT.

Governor of the Plantation at Cape Anne, and Naumkeag. A variety of terms have been used to express Conant's trust at "ye Bay of ye Massachusetts," such as Overseer, Business Agent, Local Manager, &c. Certain it is that he succeeded the two Overseers, Gardner and Tilly, who previously superintended the planting and fishing interests at Cape Anne. We have preferred to adopt the title applied by the Dorchester adventurers themselves, (according to Hubbard,) in their instructions to Mr. Humphrey, their Treasurer, when communicating to Conant that they had chosen him "to be their *Governor* in that place," without discussing the validity of the Cape Anne charter, or the powers conferred by it, or whether Conant was accustomed in magisterial robes to hold courts, make laws, or administer them. This fact cannot be gainsaid, that he was at the head of a respectable Colony, which received from the beginning, both before and after the absorption of the Dorchester Company into the Massachusetts Company, the fostering care of such men as White and Humphrey, members* of both Companies, and that Endicott was sent over to take charge of and strengthen this Colony, verily the corner stone of the Commonwealth, which in due time embraced under its Government the elder Colony of Plymouth, and all the minor settlements around the Bay.

Conant was born at Budleigh, in Devonshire, about 1592. From the Parish Records of East Budleigh, through Mr. "Savage's Gleanings," we learn that he was baptised April

9th, 1593. and that he was probably the son of William Conant, who was married Nov. 26, 1588. Mr. Gibbs, in Farmer's Register, thinks he traces his descent from a worthy family of Gittesham, near Honiton, and that his remote ancestors were of French extraction, but of this we give no opinion. Mr. Felt supposes he came to New England in the same vessel with Lyford, in March, 1624, but a deposition of Conant's seems to place his arrival in the early part of 1623, or perhaps the fall of 1622. [Christopher Conant came over in the "Anne," and arrived at Plymouth in 1623.]

The name of Roger Conant is so interwoven with the early days of the Colony, that in relating its history, we have given much of Conant's also.

During his residence at Cape Anne, an event occurred which reflected great credit upon him, and illustrated a marked feature in his character. The Episcopal portion of the Plymouth Adventurers at home, who had withdrawn from the Company, at the rupture occasioned by the Lyford discussion there, hastily despatched a fishing vessel to the Cape on their own account, Hewes, master, who, upon arrival, took summary possession of a fishing stage, and other conveniences that had been erected by the New Plymouth people; intending no doubt to usurp this Episcopal seion of the Plymouth Colony as their own. The valiant Capt. Standish was early on the spot and demanded immediate evacuation. Hewes's party, knowing with whom they had to deal, fortified themselves at the stage head, behind a barricade built of hogsheads, and defied Standish and his men, and by the advantages of situation, &c., which they possessed, could easily have destroyed them. A battle of words only, however, decided the fortunes of the day.—Hubbard says, "the dispute grew to be very hot, and high words passed between them, which might have ended in blows, if not in blood and slaughter, had not the prudence and moderation of Mr. Roger Conant, at that time there present, and Mr. Peirce's interposition,

*Humphrey was a member of both Companies, and there is scarce a doubt that White was also, and probably others of the Massachusetts Company.

that lay just by with his ship, timely prevented." The matter was at last settled, by Peirce's crew promising to help the aggrieved fishermen build another stage, and so they allowed Hewes to keep it.

This disturbance, not settled without great and painful exertion on the part of Conant, must have gone far in convincing him that the permanency and stability of the Colony rested more upon its agricultural than its fishing interest, and his settlement at Naumkeag as a more suitable place for planting, resulted from special explorations subsequently made for that end.

Conant says that he built the first house erected in Salem, where, together with its adjoining town and offspring, Beverly, he spent the major part of his valuable life.

He was admitted a freeman, May 18, 1631; was chosen one of the Deputies to the General Court, at their first meeting in 1634; was often one of the twelve Selectmen for the management of town affairs, and also of the board who presided over the landed interests of the town, and in 1637, was one of the magistrates of the "Quarter Court," so called.

In 1636, he was upon a Committee for the inspection of the canoes of the town, which it should be remembered were the principal vehicles for travel and convenience. A writer of that day says, "there be more canowes in this town than in all the whole Patent, every household having a water horse or two."*

Conant bore his share of ecclesiastical as well as municipal duties; in 1663, he was a delegate at the ordination of Mr. Newman, over the Church at Wenham; in 1667 he led in the organization of the first Church in Beverly, and his name stands first on its list of members.

But a few years before his death, he presented the following petition to General Court in relation to the town of Beverly, which is now cherished as a document of great value, and it is so suggestive of his character, that

we present it entire; it is dated May 28, 1671, and reads as follows:—*

"To the honorabel Generall Court, consisting of Magistrates and Deputies.

"The umble petition of Roger Conant of Basriuer, alias Beuerly, who haue bin a planter in New England fortie eight yeers and upward, being one of the first, if not the very first, that resolu'd and made good my settlement vnder God, in matter of plantation with my family, in this collony of the Massachuset Bay, and haue bin instrumentall, both for the founding and carring on of the same, and when in the infancy thereof, it was in great hassard of being deserted, I was a means, through grace assisting me, to stop the flight of those few that then were heere with me, and that my vtter deniall to goe away with them, who would haue gon either for England or mostly for Virginia, but thereupon stayed to the hassard of our liues. Now my umble sute and request is vnto this honorabel Court onlie that the name of our towne or plantation may be altdred or changed from Beuerly and be called Budleigh. I haue two reasons that haue moued me vnto this request. The first is the great dislike and discontent of many of our people for this name of Beuerly, because (wee being but a smale place) it hath caused on vs a constant nickname of beggarly, being in the mouths of many, and no order was giuen or consent by the people heere to their agent for any name vntill they were shure of being a town granted in the first place. Secondly. I being the first that had house in Salem (and neuer had any hand in naming either that or any other towne) and myself with those that were then with me, being all from the western part of England, desire this western name of Budleigh, a market towne in Deuonsheer and neere vnto the sea as we are heere in this place, and where myself was borne. Now in regard of our firstnesse and antiquity in this soe famous a colony, we

*Mass. His. Collections, 3d S., 7, 252, or Gen. Register, 2d vol., 333.

*Wood's New England Prospect.

should umblie request this littell priuclidg with your fauors and consent, to giue this name abousaid vnto our town. I neuer yet made sute or request unto the Generall Court for the least matter, tho' I thinke I might as well haue done, as many others haue, who haue obtained much without hassard of life or preferring the publick good before theire own interest, which, I praise God, I haue done. If this my sute may find acceptation with your worships, I shall rest vmbly thankfull and my praises shall not cease vnto the throne of grace for God's guidance and his blessing to be on all your waightie proceedings and that iustice and righteousness may be euerie where administred, and sound doctrine, truth and holiness euerie where taught and practised throughout this wildernes, to all posterity, which God grant. Amen.

"Your worships' vmbly petitioner and
seruant,

"ROGER CONANT."

His petition was not granted; his claims to their consideration, however, were not overlooked, for at the same session they granted him as "a very ancient planter," two hundred acres of land, afterward set off near Dunstable, which land is mentioned in his will made in the eighty-fifth year of his age, now preserved among our Probate Records of Essex, at the Salem Court House. He died Nov. 19, 1679, in his eighty eighth year, and descended to his grave like a shock of corn fully ripe, and the melancholy tidings were borne to thousands of households where but fifty years before he had erected the first dwelling.

Conant possessed elements of great firmness, at the same time he was mild and conciliatory; the possession of such a character, independent of place or honors, bears its own reward.

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

He had seven children, four sons and three daughters, viz :*

Lot, born 1624, died 1674.

Roger, born 1626, died June 15, 1672.

Mary, born ———, married first, John Balch, second, William Dodge.

Sarah, born ———.

Exercise, [a son,] bap : Dec. 24, 1637, died April 28, 1722.

Elizabeth, born ———.

Joshua, who died in 1659.

The Conant family have descended to the present time through Roger's sons, Lot and Exercise, and among them have been men of talent and influence. Roger and Joshua had few or no descendants. Lot was the ancestor of the local or Beverly branch, who are well represented in that town, Ipswich and neighborhood at the present day. Exercise removed to Boston and is the ancestor of a family who have spread largely in Connecticut. Descendants have borne the name of Roger, through many generations, and it is likely, we hope, to be continued to a distant period of time.

On the fly leaf of an old Bible, once the property of the Conants, but now in possession of Chas. W. Palfrey, Esq., is this entry,—
"The 4 day of May 1672 being Saturday my dere littel sone Samuel Conant dyed. The 15 of June 1672 being Saturday—my dere, dere, dere husband Roger Conant dyed." This was written by the widow of Roger Conant, jr., son of Roger who lost both her son and husband in the short space of six weeks.

Roger Conant, Jr., the second son, was the first child born in Salem, (1626,) and the town in recognition of this circumstance, granted him on the 21, 11 mo., 1639, twenty acres of land.

Governor's Island in Boston Harbor, was early known as Conant's Island. Conant street in Salem, not far from the Old Planter's settlement, was so named about twenty-five years since, at the suggestion of Major Conant of Beverly. An extended notice of Conant by

*A genealogy of Conant's descendants is in pro-

gress by our townsman, J. F. Worcester, Esq., to whom I am indebted for facts.

Rev. J. B. Felt, appeared in the *Genealogical Register* of July and October, 1848.*

JOHN LYFORD.

The minister of the Old Planters, at Cape Anne and Naumkeag, was originally sent over by the Plymouth Adventurers, to be pastor of the people at Plymouth; he seems to have been selected by a faction of the Company, and that much the larger part, with a design to oppose the Congregationalism inculcated by Robinson, and restore the Colony to the Episcopal fold; both Cushman and Winslow, then in London, were opposed to him, but finally consented "to give contente to some."

Lyford had resided in England but a short time prior to being selected for this mission, having been previously settled in Ireland. He probably came over on the return of Winslow with supplies, in the ship *Charity*, which arrived in March, 1624.

Cushman, in his letter of January 24, 1623, [1624 new style,] says: "The preacher we have sent is (we hope,) and honest plaine man though none of ye most eminent and rare; about chusing him into office, use your owne liberty and discretion."

When he came on shore he was exceedingly complaisant, and was received with great cordiality, by the Plymouth people. "They gave him ye best entertainment yey could," they furnished him a dwelling in one of their best houses, and apportioned a larger allowance of food out of the common store to him and his family than to any other person, and of clothing as they severally had need. Gov. Bradford, in deference to his calling was accustomed to consult with him in all "waightie affairs," as was his habit with their Elder, Mr. Brewster, and he was otherwise by the Colonists generally, held in especial favor.

Cushman, in the letter above quoted, says "he [Lyford,] knows he is no officer amongst

you, though perhaps custome and univerealitie may make him forget himself," which according to Bradford, he most effectually did, and caused the Pilgrims a vast deal of trouble the first three or four months of his residence with them, during which time he acted as their preacher, displaying abilities but little superior to their Elder, Mr. Brewster.

He was without doubt a great dissembler. Upon uniting with the Plymouth Church, shortly after his arrival, "he made a large confession of faith, acknowledging former disorderly walking and being entangled with many corruptions," and that "he held not himselfe a minister till he had a new calling," and thanked the Lord for the privilege of enjoying "ye ordinances of God in puritie among his people," yet before the return of the ship that brought him over, he had laid open his revolutionary plans to the energetic but troublesome John Oldham, and with a few adherents, they secretly pursued their plot with great earnestness; "at length when ye ship was ready to goe, it was observed Lyford was long in writing & sente many letters, and could not forbear to communicate to his intimates such things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done their errand sufficiently." One of these confederates wrote at the same time, "that Mr. Oldhame & Mr. Liford intended a reformation in church and commonwealth; and, as soone as the ship was gone, they intended to joyne together, and have the sacraments" administered by Lyford's former Episcopal calling. The suspicions of Gov. Bradford became aroused, and "knowing how matters stood in England" with the adventurers, "and what hurt these things might doe, he tooke a shalop and wente out with the ship a league or two to sea," and intercepted and opened upwards of twenty of Lyford and Oldham's letters, "full of slanders and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but to their ruin and utter subversion." This singular visit of the Governor caused this covert faction some uneasiness at first, but as

*References.—Town Rec. Felt's, Salem, Gen. Reg. 2, 329 & 333. Mass. His. Col. 37, 250-60, and 38, 306. Hutchinson, Hubbard, and Prince.

he kept the information thus obtained to himself, after a few weeks they became "as briske as ever," thinking nothing had been discovered, and Lyford deeming his party now strong enough, openly "without, [says Bradford,] ever speaking one word either to ye Governor, Church or Elder, withdrew themselves and set up a publick meeting aparte on ye Lord's day, with sundry other "insolent cariages" to the disturbance of both Church and State. "It was now thought high time (to prevent further mischeefe.) to calle them to accounte; so ye Governor called a Courte, and summoned the whole company to appeare, and then charged Lyford and Oldham with such things as they were guilty of." Which resulted in their condemnation and expulsion from the Colony; "Oldham presently," but Lyford was allowed six months grace, and Oldham's family had liberty to remain during the coming winter. This took place probably early in the summer of 1624. They fled to Nantasket and were voluntarily followed by Roger Conant and a few others of the Church party, with their families, as before related.

Both Lyford and Oldham afterward became in part reconciled with the Plymouth people, and occasionally returned to the Colony. It was probably in the early part of the next year, while still living at Nantasket, that they were invited with Conant to remove to Cape Anne.

The Rev. Mr. White and the Dorchester Merchants were deceived in Lyford, and perhaps imposed upon, and Conant who was without reproach, and eminently a peace-maker, may through love of the established church and sympathy for Lyford's family, have been unbelieving and blinded to his faults and instability of character, until his eyes were opened at the time of his heartless desertion at Naumkeag, and endeavor to break up the Colony.

Nothing but his unscrupulous zeal for Episcopacy was alleged against his conduct while in this country, and we have reason to believe that his followers and adherents were in

the main attached to him and his family; he appears to have been a person of agreeable manners and address, and as a preacher of moderate but not brilliant abilities, and both at Cape Anne and Naumkeag, he undoubtedly continued his ministrations with acceptance, conducting a church after his prior ordination and in accordance with the usages and requirements of the Episcopal Church.*

He was Conant's preacher about three years; and as we believe for the last eight or ten months of the time, and perhaps longer, at Naumkeag, that is through the winter of 1625-6, to near the end of the summer of 1627.

On the banks of the North River, full two years before the establishment of the First Church, so called, at Salem, or the ordination of Higginson and Skelton,—the rights and ordinances of the Gospel were administered to the "Old Planters" in an appropriate place of worship, and their voices in united prayer ascended to Heaven in the sublime words of the English Litany: "We beseech Thee to hear us Good Lord," "That it may please thee to succor, help and comfort all who are in danger, necessity and tribulation." And over the waters echoed their anthems of praise: "For the Lord is a Great God and a Great King above all Gods. In his hands are all the corners of the earth, and the strength of the hills is His also."

We think it highly probable that the "loving invitation" given Lyford, to settle in Virginia, was made by Mr. Fells and his party, who, with many servants, and a large quantity of "plantation commodities," while on a voyage to Virginia, were wrecked near Cape Cod, early in the beginning of the winter of 1626. This party remained at Plymouth the next summer, and planted corn and raised a few swine, and by mutual trade were of some

* As Roger Conant's son Roger, born in 1626, was not baptized at the First Church, after his father united with it, as all his brothers and sisters were, it is presumptive proof that he was baptized previously, that is by Lyford.

advantage to the Colony, they tarried in expectation of releasing their vessel from the sand, or otherwise waited for some chance opportunity of conveyance to Virginia. Mr. Fells visited Cape Anne, and "ye Bay of ye Massachusetts," which we suppose to mean Naumkeag, for this purpose, and returned unsuccessful to Plymouth. They finally succeeded in obtaining passage thither in a "couple of barks at ye latter end of sumer" of 1627, which vessels had brought corn to the Plymouth people, and probably Lyford and a few of Conant's company departed with them. All that we know of Lyford further, is, that "he shortly after dyed" in Virginia.

Lyford had a large family; and this was one of the objections that Winslow, the Company's agent, than in London, had to his being sent over, viz: "his great charge of children." When he was expelled from Plymouth, he had a "wife, and children four or five," their names are unknown to us.* His wife is represented as "being a grave matron, and of good carriage all ye while she was here." After her husband's death, she "returned againe to this country." Of his descendants we know nothing. A family bearing this surname resides in Newburyport, and the name is occasionally met with in New Hampshire. It is however, comparatively rare in New England.

For a further account of Lyford, see Bradford's History of Plymouth, Mass. His. Coll. vol. 43. Also Young's Chron. of Mass., Prince's Annals, Felt's, Salem, Hubbard, &c.

A full account of John Oldham, is given in Bradford's Hist. of Plymouth, and Bond's Hist. of Watertown,

JOHN WOODBURY,

Came from Somersetshire, was made a freeman May 18, 1631. Both he and his wife Agnes are among the original members of the First Church. With Palfrey, he was one of

the deputies of the General Court, in 1635, and again 1638. One of the five farms, being one-fifth of the great one thousand acre lot, at the head of Bass River, was granted him January 4, 1635; these farms were surveyed by himself and John Balch.

It is stated in an article by Robert Rantoul, Esq., in Mass. His. Coll., and also by Rev. Mr. Stone, in his History of Beverly, that John Woodbury and his brother William, removed over to the Cape Anne side, afterward Beverly, about 1630, to a spot near that which is now called Woodbury's Point. It is supposed that all the Woodburys in New England are descendants of these two brothers.

To Mr. Stone, also, we are indebted for the following tradition:

After the farms at Bass River were occupied, the only way of communication with them from Woodbury's Point, was by water, or along the sea-shore and margin of the river. A heifer was driven along this winding way from the point to the head of the river, where it was to remain at pasture: but judge of the surprise of her owner, who, upon retracing his steps, found that the animal, not liking its abode, had reached home before him: its tracks were accordingly traced out, and a more direct path through the woods thereby discovered, which subsequently became a road of communication between the two places, and although upwards of two hundred years have since elapsed, yet so far as direction is concerned, neither science nor skill have done much to improve what instinct first projected.

Mr Woodbury, after a life of energy, and faithfulness to the interests of the Colony died in 1641; we do not know his age, but probably not much above sixty years.

He was called "Father" Woodbury, however, as early as 1635, which may have been a title due him as one on whom many leaned for counsel and advice; we regard him as standing next to Conant in intelligence and usefulness to the Colony.

His descendants are numerous, many still live around the spot that witnessed his trials

* As this family of six or seven persons removed so early from the Colony, they were not added in the computation of its numerical strength, in a former page.

and suffering, and the ancient homestead with no other deed than the original grant, still remains in the family.

Among his descendants have been many worthy and influential men, and some have occupied high places in the land.

The Hon. Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy, under President Jackson, was the son of Peter Woodbury, who was born in Beverly, as all his ancestors were.

He descended from Peter, the son of the primitive John, through Josiah, then Peter, to the third Peter, who was his father. Mr. Cranch, in the 1st vol. of Gen. Reg., represents Peter incorrectly as the son of Humphrey; Peter was Humphrey's brother, and both sons of the original John. Humphrey had a son Peter, who was killed in 1675, at the early age of twenty-two, while serving under Captain Lathrop, who commanded the "Flower of Essex," as his company has been called, at the famous Indian battle at Muddybrook, September 18th, after that year.

Beside Humphrey, who came over with his father on his return in 1628, having then just arrived at seniority, being born in 1607; we have the names of such children as are recorded among the baptisms of the First Church, but whether there were others between these and Humphrey we know not.

Hannah, bap. 25 of 10, 1636.

Abigail, bap. 12 of 9, 1637.

Peter, bap. 19 of 7, 1640.

Humphrey had sundry grants of land from the town of Salem. In 1637, forty acres. He married Elizabeth ———, and had sons and daughters; he was a member of the First Church in Salem, and afterward deacon of the First Church in Beverly at its organization. He lived to be upwards of three score and ten years of age. His widow died in Beverly about 1689.

Peter, son of John, was made a freeman 1668—representative to General Court 1689—was also a deacon of the Beverly church, mar-

ried and had children—he died July 5, 1704, aged 64 years.*

WILLIAM WOODBURY.

Brother of John, had grants of land in Salem; he died the latter part of 1676; his will, dated 1, 4 mo., 1663, was probated 26, 4 mo. 1677; he left his dwelling house, household goods, and most of his lands to his wife Elizabeth; his children were Nicholas, the eldest son, and William, Andrew, Hugh, Isaac, and a daughter Hannah Hascall. Nicholas and Hugh had lands granted them in Salem also. William was one of the five witnesses to the signing of the Indian deed of the territory of Salem, when transferred to the Town, Oct. 11, 1686, by the grand children of Sagamore George and others.

JOHN BALCH,

Belonged to a very ancient family of Somersetshire, who had a seat at St. Andries, near Bridgewater, but now believed to be extinct there. He is thought to have been a son of George Balch, who was born in 1536, and who had sons George and John. George, the eldest by two years, is supposed to have been the ancestor of the St. Andries family. John, born about 1579, came to New England with Captain Robert Gorges, in September, 1623. The spot on which he settled in Salem, being in the field called very early, the "old planters' marsh." His homestead was no doubt on five acres of upland and meadow there, which we think could now be approximately pointed out. It was situated north of the Skerry lot of two acres, which Francis Skerry† bought of Peter Palfrey, in 1653, which said five acres Benjamin Balch, son of John, bought his brother's right therein in 1658. This also designates

*Young 28. Gen. Reg. 1, 84 and 8, 168. Felt's Salem. Stone's Beverly Town Rec. Church Rec. Mass. His. Coll. [Hubbard,] 25, 107, and 37, 352-4.

†The Skerry family own or very recently owned land upon or near the same spot.

Palfrey's lot as on the south (or southwest) and further up the peninsula.

John Balch had two wives, Margaret and Agnes; in his will the latter is called Annis. Her own inventory is recorded 9 mo., 1657, as that of Agnes Balch. John, with his first wife, Margaret, were among the original members of the First Church. He was made a freeman May 18, 1631, had a grant of one of the five farms of two hundred acres each, at the head of Bass River, January 25, 1635-6, to which he removed three years afterward, and where he lived till his death, in June 1648, aged about 69 years.

This farm was situated near the present residence of Mr. John Bell, which is designated upon the new map of Essex County: some of his descendants still live upon or near the same spot. Mr. Balch sustained various trusts from the town, as selectman, surveyor, &c. "He appears to have possessed the qualifications of resolution, perseverance, integrity and intelligence necessary to the founding and guiding of a new community." He died about May, 1648, when his corn was in its tender leaf. He left three sons, Benjamin, John, and Freeborn. His will, dated May 15, 1648, was witnessed by Peter Palfrey, Nicholas Patch, and Jeffry Massey. Palfrey and Massey proved the same in Court a fortnight after, viz: 28 of 4 mo., 1648. Wife Annis and son Benjamin, Executors, and John Proctor and William Woodbury, overseers. Inventory returned valued £220, 13s, 4d., consisting chiefly of tillage and meadow land, and cattle.

Among his cattle he mentions two cows by name, "Reddie" and "Cherrie," and another that he had bred up expressly for his son Freeborn. He mentions his great fruit trees, and also his young apple trees, and his corn that is growing upon the ground. His widow Agnes died about 1657, after "long weakness and sickness."

Benjamin, the eldest son, was born in 1629, the next year after the arrival of Governor Endicott, and three years after his father's settlement at Naumkeag, and it has been erro-

neously maintained* that he was the first white child born in Salem. He inherited the larger portion of his father's property. He had children, Samuel, John, Joseph, and Freeborn. This Joseph was slain in 1675, at the fatal Indian battle at Muddy Brook.

John's son John married Mary, the daughter of Roger Conant; he was drowned when crossing the ferry near the Old Planters' homes, then called Ipswich ferry, in a small skiff, during a violent storm, June 16, 1662; his widow afterwards married William Dodge, who was the ancestor of all the Dodges, and settled in the neighborhood of the five Bass River farms. The neighboring towns of Wenham and Hamilton contain many of his descendants, and this surname is by far the most common name in those towns.

Freeborn, who is believed to have been born the year his father was made freeman, in 1631, and was probably so named in allusion to that fact. He inherited one quarter of his father's property. He lived near Wenham Lake. It is supposed he went to England and never returned. He probably died about 1658, as his name then disappears from our records.

The present Balch family at Salem, have descended to our time through John's son,

*Roger Conant, Jr., born in 1626, was, without doubt, the first white child born in Salem, and in 1639, when he was but a youth of 13 years of age, and still trotted on his parent's knees, he received a grant of land from the town, in token of that precedence. There need be no confusion regarding the unauthorized claims either of Balch or Massey, to that circumstance of fortune. Benjamin Balch, as shown above, was born three years after Conant. In 1686, forty-six years after the above public recognition, when both Conants were dead, John Massey, in order to strengthen his petition for the Ferry, stated that he was the *oldest* town born child *then living* there. Eighteen years later, in 1704, and sixty-four years after the award to Conant, the First Church through careless tradition or other misconception, voted Massey, who was then aged, an old Bible, "he being considered the first town born child." See a similar explanation by Mr. Felt, with references in Gen. Reg. vol. 10, 170.

Benjamin. The Rev. William Balch, of Bradford, a grandson of Benjamin, was one of the subscribers to Prince's Chronology, and his copy with some of his writing therein, is still preserved in the family. Our venerable townsman, Benjamin Balch, is William's grandson.*

To be Continued.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE INGERSOLL FAMILY.

For an account of Richard Ingersoll and his children, see Number 1, page 12. George, son of Richard had a wife named Elizabeth.

2D GENERATION.

Children of George, son of Richard. 1st son name unknown, killed by Indians: George d 1730 : Samuel ; John d 1716 ; Joseph, Mary & Elizabeth.

Children of John Ingersoll and Judith Felton. John b 12th 7th mth 1644 ; Nath'l b 10th 2d mth 1647 ; Ruth b 20th 4th mth 1649 ; Richard b 1st 7th mth 1651 ; Sarah b 28th 6th mth 1655 ; Samuel b 6th 8th mth 1658 ; Joseph b 9th 10th mth 1661, d 1661 ; Hannah b 11th 1st mth 1663, d 1663.

Children of Alice Ingersoll and Jonathan Wolcott, unknown.

Children of Bathsheba I and John Knight Jr., of Newbury, were 8, as appears by Deacon Nathaniel Ingersoll's will. Among them were John and Joseph.

Children of Joana or Jane Ingersoll and Richard Pettengill : Matthew, Samuel, Mary and Nathaniel

Children of Sarah Ingersoll (1st husband, Wm. Haynes, bro to Lt. Gov'r Haynes) and Joseph Houlton : Joseph, James, John, Elizabeth and Sarah Houlton.

3D GENERATION.

George, son of George, md Nicholson :— Child, David.

Samuel, son of George, md Elizabeth Wakefield, 1702. Children : Mary b Aug. 6, 1704 :

*Book of Grants. Young Chron. of Mass., 26.— Mr. Balch in Gen. Reg. 9, 234. Mass. His. Coll. "Rantoul" 37, 254, and Hubbard.

Samuel b Aug. 14, 1706 ; Mary b Aug. 18, 1708. (I suspect this is erroneous, and that it should come one generation later)

John, son of George, b 1645. d 1715, md Deborah —. Children: Elisha, Nath'l, John, Ephraim, Deborah b 1668, md Ben'n Larabee ; Mary md Low ; Rachel md John Chapman ; Abigail md Blacey : another dau name unknown md Brown, and died before her father.

Joseph, son of George, married daughter of Matthew Coe of Portland. Child : Benjamin. Mary, dau of George.

Elizabeth, dau of George.

John, son of John and Judith Felton, bapt. 7th 12th mth 1644, married Mary Cooms Meh 17, 1670. Children, Mary b 10th 7th mth 1761, md George Cox ; John bapt Sept. 1, 1678 ; Sarah and Elizabeth bapt Meh 15th, 1702, adults ; Ruth b 2d 12th mth 1673, md Zach Fowler.

Samuel, son of John and Judith Felton died about 1695, b 6th Oct. 1658, md Sarah — b Dec. 11th, 1665. Children, Sarah b Oct. 12, 1687 ; Margaret b April 8, 1690 ; Susannah b Dec. 4, 1692 ; Samuel and Sarah md 28th April, 1684. Sarah was md wife to Philip English. Susanna probably died young, as she is not mentioned in the acct of guardianship rendered by her mother.

Nathaniel, son of John and Judith, b 2d 10th mth, 1647, married Mary Preston. 8th 8th mth 1670, d Sept. 28, 1684. Children : Elizabeth b 11th 12th mth, 1672 ; John b 7th 8th mth, 1674, Nathaniel b died 1704.

Ruth, daughter of John and Judith, b 20th 4th mth, 1649, married Richard Ropes 7th 4th mth, 1670. Children : Richard b April 20th, 1674 ; John — b Aug. 16, 1678.

Richard, son of John and Judith, bapt 1st 7th mth, 1651, married Sarah —, died Nov. 27, 1683.

Child : Richard.

Sarah, daughter of John and Judith, bapt 28th 6th mth, 1655, married David Ropes July 26th, 1676. Children : Jonathan ; Sarah b Jan. 9th, 1680 ; William b March 5, 1685 ;

George b August 12, 1688 ; Joseph b Jan'y 11, 1692 ; John b Jan'y 25, 1694.

Joseph, son of John and Judith, bapt 10th mth 9th, 1661, and died the same year.

Hannah, daughter of John and Judith, bapt 10th 1st mth, 1663, died the same year.

4TH GENERATION.

Ruth Ingersoll, daughter of John and Mary Cooms, married Zachariah Fowler. Children, Mary, Ruth, Elizabeth and Zechariah.

Samuel, son of John and Mary Cooms, married July 29, 1702, Sarah, daughter of Capt. Stephen Haskett. Children, Nathaniel, md Bethiah Gardner, Sept. 1. 1737 ; John, md Elizabeth Bray, May 9, 1741.

Mary, daughter of John and Mary Cooms b 10th 7th mth, 1671, married George Cox.

John, son of John and Mary Cooms, died young.

John 3d, son of Nathaniel and Mary Preston, b 7th 8th mth, 1674.

Children, Elizabeth, md Lawrence Knight, Nov. 2d, 1696. Issue: Nathaniel, b March 29th, 1698 ; Elizabeth, b August 5, 1700 ; John, b May 20th, 1703.

Richard, son of Richard & Sarah, and grandson of John and Judith, md Ruth Dodge of Beverly, April 28th, 1699.

5TH GENERATION.

John, son of Samuel and Sarah Haskett, md Elizabeth, dau of Capt. Daniel Bray, May 9th, 1741, by Rev. James Diman. Elizabeth his wife d aged 56. Children. John and Samuel.

Nathaniel, son of Samuel and Sarah Haskett, md Bethiah Gardner, Sept. 1, 1737.—Child : Nathaniel died unmarried.

David, Jonathan, John, Samuel, daughter Hannah md John Pickering, son of Wm. and Eunice ; one of the name (Hannah) was baptized at Episcopal Church, June 29th, 1744.

Jonathan, son of Nathaniel & Sarah Haskett, married 1st, Mary Hodges, sister of Jonathan ; 2d, Polly Pool, sister of Ward and Fitch ; and 3d, Sarah Blythe, widow of Samuel, whose maiden name was Sarah Purbeck.

John, son of Nathaniel & Sarah Haskett, md 1st, Hannah Bowditch, & 3d, Elizabeth, widow of Nicholas Crosby, (living June, 1859) over 90 years of age.

Samuel, son of John & Elizabeth Bray, married at Hampton to Susannah Hathorne, Oct., 1772. Samuel d 15th July, 1804, aged 60.

NEXT GENERATION.

Children of Jonathan, all by his first wife, Mary Hodges—Nathaniel, George, Mary, md Dr. Bowditch.

Children of John & Hannah Bowditch : John, married Mary Hunt, and died without issue. She afterwards md John Burley.

Nath'l married Margaret Foote, whose mother was a Crowninshield.

Children of Samuel Ingersoll & Susannah Hathorne : Ebenezer b 1781, died July 2d, 1804, no issue ; Susannah died 13th July, 1858, never married.

NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY.—No. 1.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

The history of the copper coins, which found a circulation in the Colonies, for the first hundred years after their settlements, is involved in great obscurity. I have carefully searched the records and histories of that period, with but little success. Even tradition has failed to hand down to us any correct account of them.

The government of Great Britain, from which the Colonies would have probably received most of their supplies, appear to have very reluctantly adopted a copper coinage.

A very few pieces only were struck during the reign of Elizabeth* and her immediate successors, but no general coinage of sufficient

*The first copper coins, struck by Great Britain, were for Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1601. She ordered "certayne pieces of small monies of meere copper, of Pence, Half-pence and Farthings, for the poorer sort, to be stamped, with her highnes armes crowned, and inscription, of her usual

amount to have found their way here in large quantities, until the reign of George the First

The coinage of copper was viewed by the people of that period as an experiment, of which the projectors themselves were uncertain of its usefulness. The large issues of small silver coins, such as twopennies, pennies, and even farthings, from the British Mint, furnished a sufficient medium to transact all the small operations of trade. They however did not reach this country in sufficient quantities for business, and our ancestors were obliged to use in their stead, various substitutes, such as shells, beads, and even bullets, as appears from the Massachusetts Colony records of March 4th, 1635. It was ordered that "muskett bullets of a full boare shall passe currantly for a farthing a peece provided that noe man be compelled to take above 12d att a tyme of them." In 1652, Massachusetts established a Mint to coin silver shillings and sixpences. Small change being very scarce, the General Court in 1662, ordered the Mint

style, on the one side, and on the other, with crowned harp, being the arms of this her kingdome of Ireland, with the inscription *Posui Deum Adjutorem Meum*." Only the pennies are now known, one of which is in my collection; it is of the size of a half cent, and of the greatest rarity. James I, by proclamation, made current May 19, 1613, a copper farthing, Obv. *Jaco. D. G. Mag. Brit.* two sceptres crossing under a diadem. Rev. *Fra. Et. Hib. Rex.* crowned harp. 1635. Charles I also issued copper farthings, like those of his father, (only *Caro.* instead of *Jaco.* and sometimes a rose instead of a harp.) It is probable that the last found a currency here to some extent, as I have in my collection a copper farthing of Charles I, of the size of a three cent piece, found by Hardy Phippen, Esq., on his lot on the extreme eastern end of Hardy Street, on the harbour, where he also found four or five pieces of the N. E. Pine Tree pieces, numerous indian arrow-heads, a pipe, and also what appeared to be the ruins of a house, though no one can remember of having heard of any house ever being erected there. This coin was presented to me by George D. Phippen, Esq., in 1849. During the period of the Commonwealth of Oliver Cromwell and Richard, only pattern pieces of copper money were issued.

master to coin twopenny pieces, and according to Ruding, pennies, none of which are now known.

About this time (1662,) Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, coined silver and also copper for the use of that colony. Only one of the copper coins is now known to be in existence, the last possessor of it was Dimsdale, the banker, at whose sale it realized nine guineas. It is now in the British Museum. It had on its obverse, *Cæcilius Dux Terræ Mariæ, &c.* Bust of Lord Baltimore to the right, as on his silver coin, mint mark on both sides a cross patee. Reverse, *Denarium Terræ Mariæ*, two flags issuing out of a ducal coronet, the crest of Lord Baltimore.

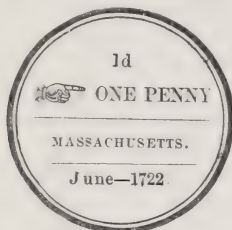
There is in the British Museum a half penny, Obv. an elephant, Rev. *God preserve Carolina and the Lords Proprietors*, 1694. This is commonly called the Carolina half penny, but the intention of it is not known. There is another, Obv. like the above. Rev. *God preserve New England*, 1694.

On the 5th of July, 1700, the Board of Trade took into consideration the state of the coins in the plantation. Mr. John Fysack read a memorial proposing the erection of a Mint, on the Continent, as a means to remedy many inconveniences in the trade of the past. After full consideration of the matter, their lordships did not think fit that any Mint should be erected there. Such was the scarcity of change in Massachusetts, that many individuals stamped pieces of brass and tin and passed them for a penny each. March 3d, 1701, a Committee of General Court report in favor of having Province pence made of copper. It was negatived by the Council.

March 26th, 1703, a proposition is laid before the General Court, that William Chalkhill, who had been an officer in her Majesty's Mint, but then a resident of Boston, be contracted with to import from England £5000 worth of copper pence. This project must have also failed, as no pence were coined by the British Government till 1722, and then only for America.

February 5th, 1716, a plan was started for the coinage of base money here, one third copper, and the rest silver, to pass in New England; but the Ministry in England would allow no such thing to be done.

1722, defeated in all their attempts to procure a currency in copper, small coins being exceedingly scarce, General Court ordered an emission of £500 worth of penny, twopenny and threepenny bills. The form of the first of these bills was round, of the second square, and of the third, angular. They were printed on parchment, in the old English letter. I have the one penny, it is of the size of a dollar, its edge is ornamented with flowers, the printing is enclosed in a ring, making the place of the printing the size of a half dollar, thus:—



The square bill of twopenny, is in the collection of W. W. Greenough, Esq., of Boston. The threepenny bill I have never seen they are all extremely rare. These bills are noticed in the Rev. Joseph B. Felt's very valuable work upon the Massachusetts Currency.

THE ENDICOTT HOUSE, IN SALEM.

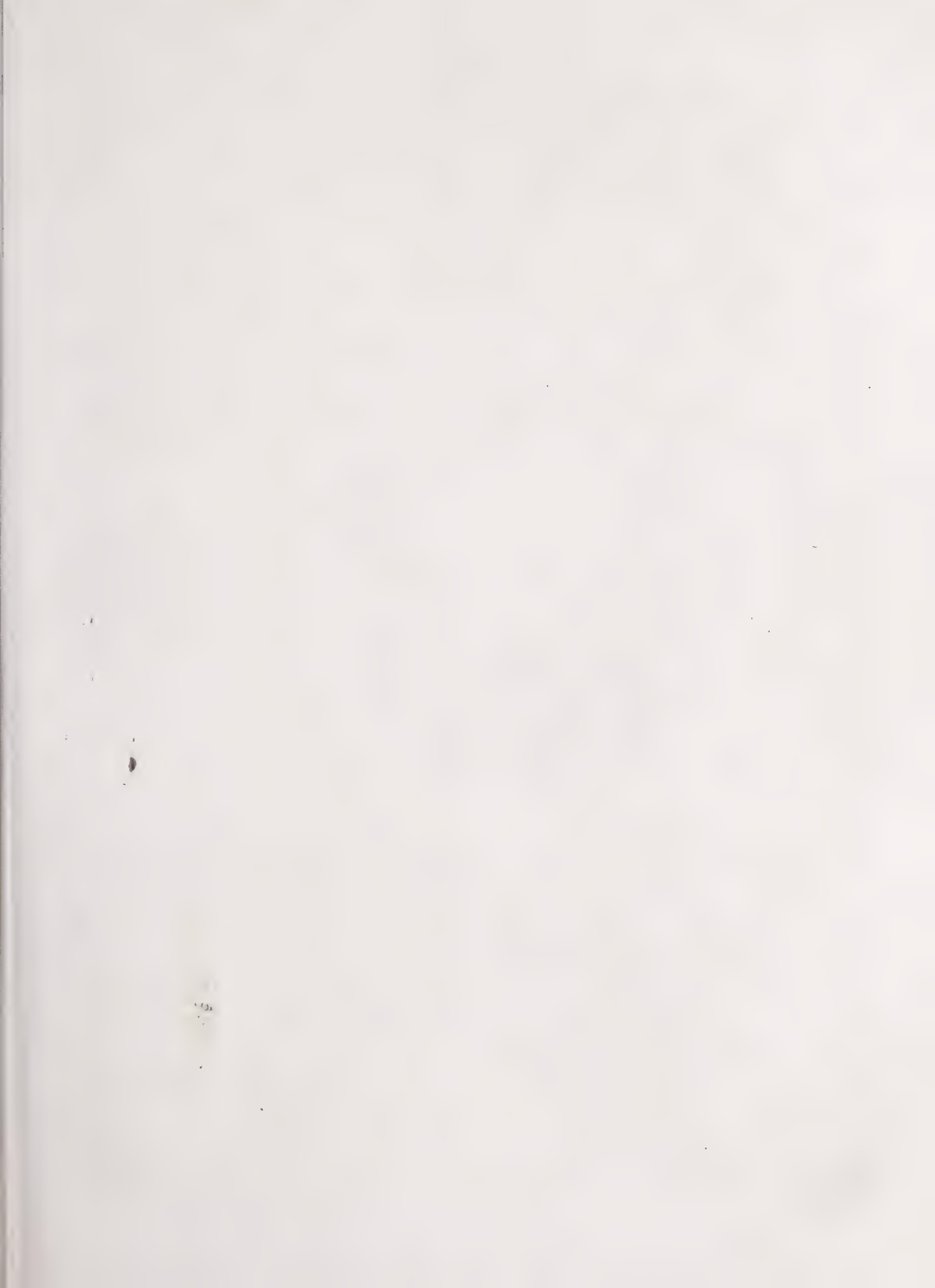
Messrs Editors:—Francis Higginson landed at Salem on the 30th of June, 1629. In a letter to friends in England, the July following, he says,—"When we came first to Naimickeke, (now called Salem), we found about half a score houses built, and a sayre house newly built for the governor." Mr. Felt, in his "Annals of Salem," p. 122, informs us that "according to the deposition of Richard Brackenbury, the mansion here spoken of was made from materials of another, first erected at Cape Ann, under the Dorchester Associates, which probably served for the residence of Roger Conant, while Governor of that plantation." "Part of its timber," he adds, "is said to be contained in the dwelling, formerly a tavern,

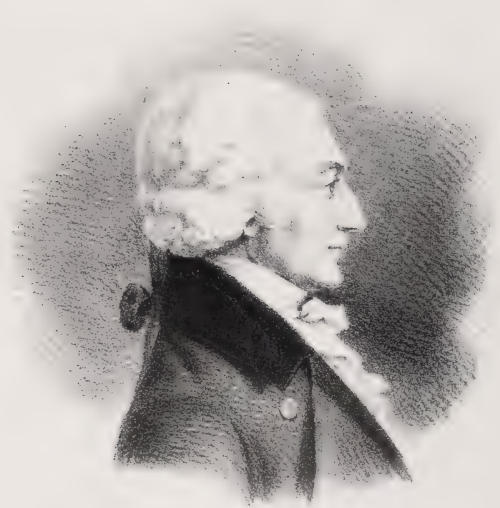
on the corner of Court (now Washington) and Church streets."

Having recently had occasion to make a copy of the deposition above named from the record in the Essex Registry of Deeds, I send it to you for insertion in your columns, believing that its perusal will be as interesting to some of your readers as it has been to myself, and feeling quite certain that all of them will agree with me in the opinion that there is little in the present appearance of this ancient mansion to indicate that it was once "a tasteful edifice of two stories high, of the order of architecture called the Elizabethan, which was but a slight remove from the Gothic."

Richard Brackenbury of Beuerly in the County of Essex, in New England aged eighty years, Testifieth, that he the said Richard came to New England, with John Endecott Esqr, late Gouenor in New England, deceased and that wee came ashore at the place now called Salem the 6th of September in the yeare of our Lord, 1628: fifty two years agoe: at Salem wee found liueing, old Goodman Norman, & his sonn: William Allen and Walter Knight, & others, those owned that they came ouer upon the acct of a company in England, called by us by the name of Dorchester Company or Dorchester Marchants, they had sundry houses built at Salem, as alsoe John Woodberye, Mr Conant, Peeter Palfrey, John Balch & others, & they declared that they had an house built at Cape Ann for the dorchester Company: and I haueing waited upon Mr Endecott, when he attended the company of the Massachusetts Patentees, when they kept their court in Cornwell streete in London: I understood that this company of London haueing bought out the right of the of the Dorchester marchants in New England, that Mr Endecott had power to take possession of their right in New England, which Mr Endecott did, & in pteuler of an house built at Cape Ann, which Walter Knight and the rest said they built for Dorchester men: & soe I was sent with them to Cape ann, to pull downe the said house for Mr. Endecott's use, the which wee did, and the same yeare wee came ouer according to my best remembrance, it was that wee tooke a further possession, on the north side of Salem ferrye, comonly called Cape an side, by cutting thach for our houses, & soone after laid out lotts for tillage land on the said Cape an side, & quickly after sundrye houses were built, on the said Cape an side & I myselfe haue liued there, now for about 40 yeares, & I with sundry others haue bene subduing the wildernes & improving the fields and comons there, as a part of Salem, while wee belonged to it & since as inhabitants of Beuerly for these fifty yeares & never yt I heard of disturbed in our possession, either by the Indians or others saue in our late unhappy warr, with the heathen, neether haue I leard by myselfe or any other inhabitants, nither for the space of these fifty yeares, that Mr Mason or any by from or under him did take any possession or lay any claime to any lands heere saue now in his last claime within this yeare or two:

Richard Brackenbury made oath to the truth of the above written this 20th daye of January 1680-1 before me Bartholomew Godney assistant in the Collony of Massachusetts.





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A SKETCH OF PHILIP ENGLISH — A MERCHANT IN SALEM FROM ABOUT 1670 TO ABOUT 1733-4.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

(Continued from Page 143.)

The history of a man who for fifty years or more occupied a somewhat prominent position among the ancient *Merchants of Salem, may not, in this connection, be uninteresting or unprofitable. At this distance of time, the materials for it are not as ample as could be desired; yet, by combining the scattered fragments which are found in Felt's Annals, Public Records of Salem, Bentley's History, Upham's Witchcraft, Massachusetts Historical Collections, Histories of Massachusetts, and ancient family papers and traditions, something like a

*Among the Salem Merchants, who appear to have been prominent when Philip English flourished, judging by papers in the English Family, were Col. Turner, Benj. Marston, James Lindall, Timothy Lindall, Thomas Plaisted, John Higginson, Stephen Sewall, Benj. and Wm. Pickman, Thos. Ellis, John Pickman, Wm. Bowditch, Wm. Pickering, Benjamin, William, John, and Samuel Browne. There also appear a few papers bearing the name of Richard Derby, most probably the grandson of the merchant Roger Derby of 1671.

Among the Salem Merchants from about 1640 to 1670, certainly, Capt. Geo. Corwin (Curwin) stands prominent, and one of his Account Books, kept with great neatness, is still extant, and in the possession of a descendant.

rounded sketch can be made. As a small contribution to the Commercial History of Salem—a work which needs to be written—it may prove not unserviceable.

Philip English was a native of the Isle of Jersey—the descendant of French Huguenots, who sought a refuge in that island. Such at least is the tradition in his family. His true name was not Philip English, but *Philippe L'Anglois*, which, however, suffering “a sea change” by transportation to New England, became Philip English, by which name he is known, and which he himself finally adopted. His baptismal certificate, which has been preserved, reads thus:—

†“*Extrait du Livre des Baptessme de*

[TRANSLATION.]

†“Extract from the Baptismal Register of the Church of Trinity Parish, in the Isle of Jersey.”

“Phillipe Son of Jean L'Anglois, was baptized the 30th day of June, in the Year One Thousand Six Hundred and Fifty One—presented for Holy Baptism by Sir Phillipe De Carteret, Chevalier, Lord of St. Ouan [Ovan] and Madame his wife—given by copy [or duplicate] by me.

J. DOREY, Sec'y.”

This Sir Philip Carteret sprang from the Carterets of the Seignory of Carteret in Normandy, who forfeited their estates there in Henry 2d's reign, by adherence to the Crown of England, and were therefore granted lands and offices in the Island of Jersey, and were distinguished for their services by land and sea to the Crown and Country. The Sir Phillipe De Carteret, mentioned above, was grand-

L'Eglise de la Paroisse De La Trinite En L'isle de Jersey,

"*Phillipe fils de Jean L'Anglois, fut Baptize Le 30e Jour de Juin En L'an Mille six Cents Cinquante un—presente au Se Baptessme par Messire Philippe de Carteret, Chevalier, Seigneur de St Ouan & Madame Sa Femme—donne par Copie par moy.*

J. DOREY, SECTR."

There is a tradition in one branch of the family, that he was the only son of a Huguenot Chevalier—that he came to New England

father to the Sir Phillipe De C., who in 1651, was Gov. of Mt. Orgueil Castle in the Isle of Jersey, and then defended it against the Parliamentary forces. His father, Sir George Carteret, who married a daughter of the Sir Philip in the certificate, is often mentioned by Pepys in his Diary, as being a high officer in the Navy Department of England. His son Sir Philip, named above, married the daughter of the Earl of Sandwich, Vice Admiral of England, and both the Earl and his son-in-law were blown up in the Royal James in the great naval engagement off Solebay, May 28, 1672. Some of the Carteret family came to N. England temporarily, after 1700, as would appear by certain letters directed by them to the English and Touzel families, and found among their papers.

The Isle of Jersey (anciently called *Cæsarea*) is one of the Channel Islands, belonging to G. Britain, lying thirteen miles off the French Coast, being only 12 miles in length and 3 in width. It is very fertile, and trades freely with the Spanish, and French Coasts, and Holland. It is a peculiar Isle—still retaining some of its ancient Feudal Customs—and though so near the French Coast, has always repelled the French when coming as invaders.

It may not be amiss here to state that not a few of our early Salem families (the men at least) most probably came from the Isle of Jersey. The Valpys, Lefavors, Beadles, Cabots, among others, seem to have come from this beautiful and valiant little Norman isle; and a correspondence was long kept up (in the English and Touzel and most probably other families) with their Jersey relatives. Numbers of old family letters in French are yet extant to prove this, and also letters in English, the latter gradually supplanting the French language in that island.

[ran away] to seek his fortune, and was disinherited for marrying the lady of his love, the only surviving daughter of William Hollingworth, a merchant of Salem. This rumor may have arisen from the fact, that the Chevalier De Carteret presented him for baptism. There are no family papers that throw any light upon this rumor, which is perhaps only a rumor, and therefore unreliable.

Philip English came to Salem before 1670 in all probability, since he resided in the family of William Hollingworth before marriage, and in 1675 married his daughter. There is a tradition that he landed in Salem, a mere boy, twelve years of age, having run away from Jersey to follow the sea, (his parents being unwilling to permit him to go) without a cent in his pockets, and going by Mistress Hollingworth's house, was welcomed in by that lady, who took compassion on his friendlessness, and gave him a drink of beer in a silver mug. He made Wm. Hollingworth's house his home while in Salem, and in 1675 married his daughter Mary.

The tradition runs, that Wm. Hollingworth, who in 1675 was in Virginia, trading, wrote home to his wife that he had secured a very good husband for his daughter Mary, viz. one of his Virginia friends. To which Mrs. Hollingworth promptly replied, that he need give himself no trouble on that score, since she had already given her daughter to Philip English! Shortly afterwards Wm. Hollingworth was killed by the Indians there.

Susanna (should be Mary) Hollingworth (according to Dr. Bentley of Salem, in a letter which he wrote to Timothy Alden Jr. who was preparing a sketch of Rev. Joshua Moody, one of the Portsmouth ministers, and which is found in the Mass. Hist. Coll. of 1809, vol. 10 pages 64-5-6 First series,) was the "only *daughter" "of Mr. Hollingworth, a rich in-

*Mary Hollingworth was the daughter of Wm. and Elinor Hollingworth. He was a merchant in Salem, trading with Virginia, where a branch of the Hollingworth family, we are told, is still to be found.

habitant of Salem," and "had received a better education than is common even at this day (1809.) as proofs I hold, sufficiently discover." The tradition in the family is, that she had been the pupil of a Madame Piedmonte, who was a celebrated instructress of that day in

William, himself, was the son of *Richard*, who came to Salem from England in 1635, with his family, and who was a shipbuilder. He was a man of means, and built in 1640, on the "Neck, a ship of 300 tons. He left two sons,—William, who married Elinor Storey, about 1655, and Richard, who was married to Elizabeth Powell by Gov. Endecott, in 1659. The former was the merchant. The latter obtained a grant from Gen'l Court in 1673-4, of 500 acres of land, but he and a part of his family soon emigrated to Virginia. The name soon afterwards disappears from this State, so far as we can find. Dr. Bentley says that the family was a wealthy one. Some few of their papers yet remain in the English family. Philip English married this Mary, the only daughter, surviving, of the above-named William and Elinor Hollingworth, and the name on that side became extinct with William, (son of William the merchant,) who died unmarried, in 1688. Richard's family migrated, as has been said, to Virginia. The name became extinct in Salem about 1690.

The Hollingworths were from England, and very likely of *Hollingworth*, in the county of Chester, since *Burke*, in his *General Armory*, has the following:

"Hollingworth, Hollinsworth, or Hollingsworth, (Hollingworth, Co. Chester; traceable to the year 1022. From this ancient house descends the present Robert Hollingworth, of Hollingworth Hall, Esq., Magistrate for the Counties of Chester and Lancaster.) Az. on a bend, ar. three holly leaves vert. The family name was formerly spelt *Hollyworthe*, and is evidently derived from the Holly Tree, called in Cheshire, "*Holly Tree*," with which the estate abounded. Crest. A stag ppr. Motto—*Disce Ferenda Pati*."

It is almost a trite assertion now, but may bear repeating, that the early settlers of New England were oftentimes the representatives of that liberty-loving, staunch, and substantial commonalty of old England, which, however loyal it might be, could not stoop to tyranny or flattery; but with a self-respect based upon its own merits, avoided its native land, and sadly, rather than seek to overthrow the monarchy by violence. Many of this stamp came to Salem, which was indeed considered, and for a while, as the refuge for such.

Boston. Dr. B. further states, and also on the authority of Madam Susanna Harthorne, a great granddaughter (should be granddaughter) of Philip English, that Philip E. "came young to America from the Isle of Jersey, lived in the family of Mr. Hollingworth," and married his daughter as before stated. In the marriage record he (P. E.) is styled *merchant*. This is in 1675—when he could not have been more than 24 or 25 years of age, and therefore his business life probably commenced a few years before—say about 1670, or perhaps a year or two later.

Shortly after his marriage he is at the Isle of Jersey (1676) commanding the ketch *Speedwell*, from Maryland, and agrees to go to the Isle of May to load with salt for New England, and return next year to some port in Biscaye, or Bordeaux, Rochelle or Nantz. The old papers concerning this agreement, being in ancient French chirography, are very hard to decipher. It is very probable that he loaded finally with French merchandize for New England; there being then a comparatively free trade in our Massachusetts colony with all nations. In looking over his old papers, there appear sundry agreements relating to bound servants, which may not be uninteresting. He appears to have taken quite a number of girls from the Isle of Jersey as apprentices in his family, and quite a number of *men* from the same Island to serve "*by sea employ*." The girls serve as apprentices for *seven* years, but the men (probably *young* men) serve only *four* years. Judging by the old papers, these men were *let out* at sea service, and their wages taken by their master. We have before us the testimony of one *Nicholas Chevallier*, who in 1682-3 was bound to Philip English "*for ye terme of foure years*," and "*to Sea Employ*," When he arrived in New England, he liked land service better, and by the consent of his master, was bound to Mr. Joseph Lee of Manchester. He testifies that Mr. Philip English has treated him well, and he acquits him of the original indenture, &c. Now such servants as these, when in "*Sea Employ*" were

hired out or let out as sailors! We have the *order of *Thomas Ellis*, an old Salem merchant, on *Col. Samuel Brown*. another old Salem merchant, requesting him to pay Philip English the wages ("service") of one Wm. Mackelroy, "*his man*" on "*a voige*" in 1716-17 to Barbadoes and Saltitudes in "*the ship Hope-well*." This hiring out "*to service*" was not much better than the slavery apprentice system. It was the way probably in which these bounden servants by "*sea employ*" paid their masters for their transportation to this country from Jersey, France or England—a system long since exploded. It is a tradition in the family that Philip E. had no less than fifteen bounden servants (male and female) in his own family: and considering the extent of his business, and the profit of such service, it is by no means unlikely. There are quite a number of such indentures still to be found among his papers.

In 1683 Philip E. had so flourished in business, that he put up a stylish mansion in Salem—the frame of which is reported to have been brought from England. It was one of those ancient Mansion Houses for which Salem was once noted—a venerable, many gabled, solid structure, with projecting stories and porches, if we remember aright. Down to 1753 it was known as "*English's great house*." It stood until 1833, when, long since tenantless and deserted, it had become dangerous to the very tread of man or boy, who had the curiosity to explore it. It had been built on the lot which belonged to a Captain Robert Starr, (who mar-

ried one of old Richard Hollingworth's daughters) and on the eastern corner of Essex street and English Lane, now English street. When torn down, there was found a secret room in the garret, supposed to have been built after the Witchcraft furor, as a place of temporary concealment in case of a second "*outcry*." In 1692 this house, as well as his store house, was thoroughly *sacked by the mob, when Mr. and Mrs. English were arrested for witchcraft, and various old family portraits, as well as the furniture, destroyed or carried away—When Mrs. English returned from New York,

*According to the petition of Philip English to the Committee of the Gen'l Court, (Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, No. 2, page 57,) he lost "a considerable quantity of household goods and other things," while flying from persecution. This corroborates the tradition in the family. Dr. Bentley (Hist. of Salem) says,—“As soon as Mr. English was apprehended, his house was opened, and everything moveable became free plunder to the multitude.” The Family Tradition says that his store houses were robbed to the amount of £1500. Philip English puts the loss by seizure at his Wharf House, at Point of Rocks, £1183-2s. For the loss of his estate, the only satisfaction he ever got, was from the Administrator of George Curwin, Sheriff, to the amount of £60. In his petition, Philip English charges that the Sheriff and his under officers took away the chief of this amount £1183-2s though he (P. E.) had given a £4000 bond with surety at Boston.

Philip English was bitterly incensed against Curwin, who however was only an instrument in this affair, but obtained no adequate compensation for his losses. "The [General] Court (says Dr. Bentley,) made some allowance to Mr. English, but he refused it, as not being in a just degree adequate to his losses from his houses, stores, and other buildings. After his death, his heirs accepted £200, which they obtained through the family of Sewall." The Sewalls had been intimately connected with the English family in commercial matters, and a few papers yet remain to attest it.

Philip English appears to have owned a wharf and ware house at the Point of Rocks, and his wife owned in her own right a wharf and ware-house just to the eastward of the bottom of English Lane (now street,) an inheritance from her mother, Elinor Hollingsworth,

*The following copy of a similar "order" may not be out of place here:

"Capt. Jno. Browne.

Sr.—Pleas to pay Mr. Philip English the Sum of thirty three pounds Eighteen shillings, Being Due to him for his seru'ts [servants] wages in ye Ship friendship. [Friendship] und'r [under] ye Comand of Capt. Eleaz'r Lyndsey & Sam'l Crow, in her Last voyage ffor [for] Bilboa, ye Isle of May, Barbados, & home, & charge ye same to sd [said] ship's account.
Yr Humble Seru't,

£33 18s

WM. BOWDITCH."

Salem, Jan'y 1, 1717-8.

whither she had fled to save her life, she found only a servant's bed in her house out of all the furniture which it once contained.

From the years 1676 to 1692 Philip English appears to have traded to Bilboa, Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, Jersey, Isle of May, as well as several French ports. That trade was very probably based on catching fish on the banks—the coast of Nova Scotia—in the bays of Newfoundland, and very likely in our own immediate* bays also, and sending them to Spain, Europe and Barbadoes, and thence taking salt, dry goods, or West India produce back to New England. There appear to have been two classes of vessels then employed in our commerce—the regular fishing craft—and the foreign traders—both being about the same size. Though the foreign traders seem sometimes to have gone up to †Newfoundland after their fish cargo—there being probably depots there of prepared fish, yet Winter Island, (Salem) was a large depot for cured fish, and almost, if not quite, monopolized that business

* Fish were very plentiful on our own coasts and in our own bays in the early days of Massachusetts—and the early fishermen availed themselves of the fact. Among other fish, cod and mackerel seem to have been very plentiful near home. Both these fish were largely exported. It is most probable that our Salem fishermen made good use of the "design" of catching mackerel by nets—which was first discovered by some few fishermen of Hull,—(and as being successful on light as well as dark nights)—a few years before 1671, and which being freely communicated to the Plymouth colonists became very profitable to that colony. Our own people were not likely to be far behind their neighbors in availing themselves of the "design," and sharing the profits.—See Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol 6—1st Series—pp 127—8—Prince and Bosworth's Petition.

† It is most probable that there were large Depots of Fish at the English Settlement or Settlements in Newfoundland at that time. The English fishing fleet at N. E. was a large one, and their fish were probably cured on the coasts. That was the early fashion at least. As early as 1615 the English had 175 vessels fishing at New Foundland, and the French, Spanish, and Portuguese had altogether 300 more.

in Salem Vessels appeared to get their cargoes of fish mainly from there.

We find quite a number of old commercial papers referring to Mr. English's business from 1676 to about 1682 say, but only one or two from that date to 1692. The former are mostly in the French language—very difficult to decipher—as being in the ancient French writing—but proving that his earliest commerce was largely to France, Spain and adjacent countries. It is very likely that when his house and store were sacked in 1692, many papers at and just prior to 1692 were scattered or destroyed. Two papers remain of the date of 1687 and 8, which show him to have been trading to St. Christopher's (W. I.) in connection with Daniel King and Hilliard Williams, sending thither the ketch *Repair*,—King being then a resident merchant at St. C., and signing the accounts. Sugar, rum and molasses constitute the return cargo. No papers referring to the outward cargo remain. It is certain that his voyages from 1675-6 to 1692 were in the main profitable, since at the latter period, he was wealthy, and had probably quit going to sea himself some few years before 1692.

In 1692, Philip English was at the height of his prosperity. He owned fourteen buildings in town—twenty-one sail of vessels, besides a wharf and ware house on the Point of Rocks (Neck). His wife, before the witchcraft "outcry," had been considered *aristocratic*, so says Dr. Bentley; and Philip English himself, though wealthy, had held no office in town, and had besides been engaged in some unsuccessful suits with the town in regard to lands which he claimed of it. These things may have contributed to render *him* unpopular also. At all events both he and his wife were "cried out" against for witchcraft, and according to Dr. Bentley (Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 10 first series pp. 64-5) he was the only person in Salem Village "distinguished for property and known in the commercial world" who was so accused. Whether in the hour of their prosperity, pride got the better of wisdom in

the counsels of the English family, we know not; but whatever may have been the sins of Philip or his wife, there can be but little doubt that ignorant malice and mischief formed one ingredient in the persecution, as Dr. B. says some prejudices were at the bottom of the matter. Philip E. (so runs the tradition in the family,) had moreover made himself also obnoxious by asserting in public and fearlessly, that the charter of the Colony had been violated, and in various ways, by the Colonial government—that there was no religious toleration to be had under it as construed by the authorities. He was himself an Episcopalian, and desired toleration for that creed, and felt that he could not obtain it. He adhered to his religious creed with great pertinacity, and even as late as 1725, was imprisoned in our Salem jail (according to Felt) for refusing to pay church taxes to the East Parish Congregational Church—though he was then in his 75th year, and though for more than 50 years he had been a well-known merchant in Salem. It was not until 1732 that the law was passed releasing Episcopalians from paying taxes for the support of Congregational churches. The Quakers, even, were released from similar burdens in 1728, four years before! This seems to indicate that the Colonial authorities were more indulgent to the latter than the former.

Now as the religious history of Massachusetts is the history of the State, certainly down to 1692, and even later—as is proved by such and similar laws,—we can readily see that Episcopalians were practically a proscribed sect. Thrust out from civil government, in the Colony, in 1631, by the law of freemanship, they were not practically restored to their rights, even after the royal restoration. The religious sentiments, hopes, faiths and fears of the Colonists were against them. To tolerate them was to tolerate the tyranny of that church which had driven the Puritans and Pilgrims over the sea, and was only waiting and biding its time for spiritual dominion again over them. It was most probably no recommendation to Philip English, in the days of 1692,

that he was an adherent to the church of England; and it may be that this fact cost him influence, power and respect in the community during his long business life. Salem, to be sure, was at first considered, and for a while, as the shelter of the moderate Episcopalian, but congregationalism soon triumphed, and did not relax its rule until 1732. In 1734 St. Peter's Church began to rise as a monument of a hard-won toleration. Before that, some Episcopal missionary, like *Pigot*, might collect (perhaps privately) the adherents of the Episcopal Church here together for worship, and baptize their children according to its rites and forms, but Episcopacy was an outlaw and an alien in the sight of our New England Congregationalism.

Philip English must, we think, have shared to a greater or lesser extent the odium attaching to the English Church; and his bold advocacy for its toleration could only have recoiled upon himself in the day of trouble and calamity. The causes of the witchcraft persecutions of 1692 were various and multifarious. The principal cause was doubtless a belief in the guilt of the accused, as a general rule, but there is too much reason to fear that the morbid condition and anger of the public mind at that day, resulting from a peculiarly distressing combination of civil evils in the Colony, were also eager and prepared to seek victims for their own unjust sufferings, and that there were also working with them for mischief the elements of personal prejudice, perhaps personal malice and uncharitableness.—That storm had been long brewing, and contained as many ingredients as the cauldron of the Macbeth witches,—all terrible, and all deadly. It is hard to tell which was the more fatal ingredient,—though if any was, it was the bigotry, that, clothed in the name of Religion, was burning with every unholy fire—an awful fanaticism, under the guise and with the seeming inspiration of a true enthusiasm.

That storm burst mainly on the humblest ones of the community, many of whom, however, proved that they were really the lofty

ones of the earth in heroic courage, in true virtue, in a rare enduring and meek patience, and Christian submission to an unjust and peculiarly ignominious doom. It is impossible to read the letter, as an instance, which Mary Easty, of Topsfield, wrote after condemnation to the Judges of the Court in Salem, (see Upham's *Witchcraft*) without seeing and feeling that some who perished in that terrible persecution were really the salt of the earth, and met their fate with a Christian meekness so touching that it will bring tears into the eyes of the readers through all the generations. Mary English herself, though she escaped a public execution by flight to New York, was really a martyr to this persecution, for she died, says Dr. Bentley, (in the before quoted article of his,) "in consequence of the ungenerous treatment she received," and the tradition in the family is, that owing to her exposure in our Salem jail, in which she was confined, (Dr. Bentley says six weeks,) she contracted a consumption, lingering, however, until 1694. She lived to see the witchcraft madness pass away, and to die of its effects, freely forgiving, however, those who had injured her.

On the 21st April, 1692, and "from some prejudices," says Dr. B., Mrs. English "was accused of witchcraft,* examined, and committed to prison in Salem. Her firmness is memorable. Six weeks she was confined; but being visited by a fond husband, her husband was also accused and confined in the same prison. By the intercession of friends, and by a plea that the prison was crowded, they were removed to Arnold's jail in Boston till the

time of trial." Dr. Bentley says, in his *History of Salem*, that the officer who arrested Mrs. English, came in the evening and read his warrant in her bed chamber, whither he had been admitted by the servants, but she refused to rise. Guards were placed around the house, and in the morning she attended the devotions of her family, kissed her children with great composure, proposed her plan for their education, took leave of them, and then told the officer "she was ready to die." So says Dr. B. She was evidently so persuaded from the first that accusation of witchcraft was equivalent to condemnation, that she only expected death, and prepared herself for it.

Mrs. English was (according to Dr. Bentley) examined and committed by indulgence to custody in a public house, at which her husband visited her. There is a tradition in the family, that, before her own examination, she was placed in a room directly over the examining Judges, and heard through the thin partition the examinations of some of the accused—and that she took some notes of these examinations—particularly of the questions asked by the magistrates, and when her own turn came, she asked them if such things were right and lawful, and told them she would know of the higher Courts whether such things were law and justice, and that their decisions should be reviewed by the Superior Judges. Her husband, according to tradition, was absent from Salem when she was examined, but soon returned. The family tradition is, that she was confined in the second story of a tavern, which stood just above Market Square, on the northern side of Essex St., and which Felt, in his *Annals of Salem*, calls the "*Cat and Wheel*." Here her husband frequently visited her, which soon brought him into trouble, as on the 30th April, (according to Felt) a warrant was issued for the arrest of Philip English for witchcraft, but he avoided being taken. Two warrants seem to have been issued against him. The tradition in the family is, that he kept himself out of the way for a while, being in Boston, en-

*Any one desirous of reading a vivid life-like description of an examination of one accused of witchcraft, will find it in Jonathan Cary's letter, page 71 of Upham's *Lectures on Witchcraft*. The parties there were of Charlestown, and the examination appears to have taken place in the First Church in Salem. The philosophy of witchcraft is well exposed in this graphic and touching letter, as well as the inhumanity resulting from the judicial prejudice against it.

deavoring to obtain the removal of his wife thither, and to obtain the interest of the authorities in her behalf, and that then he voluntarily surrendered himself, more particularly as he found his own absence was being used to the prejudice of his wife. He appears to have been examined in Salem, and was then committed to prison, and with his wife.

Dr. Bentley gives as one of the causes of the accusation against Mrs. English, that she had been considered aristocratic and haughty in her bearing towards the poor—that “some prejudices” were at the bottom of it. The family tradition says nothing as to the causes of her arrest, but that her servants were overwhelmed with grief when she was arrested, and wished to resist the officers, which she would not permit.

She seems to have been a woman of religious sensibilities, for as early as 1681 she was admitted a Congregational church member, and has left behind her the following religious Acrostic, which was put into our hands by a lady of Boston, one of her descendants:—

“M ay I with many chues ye better part
A nd serue ye lord with all my heart
R escue his word most Joyfully
Y iue to him eternally.

E uerliuing god I pray
N euer leue me for to stray
G iue me grace the to obey
L ord grant that I may hapy be
I n Jesus Christ eternille
S aue me deer lord by thy rich grace
H eaven then shall be my dwelling place.”

This acrostic certainly breathes a very different spirit from that which she is charged with possessing in 1692. The acrostic is not dated, but was evidently written after marriage, and perhaps after she had been admitted to the church in 1681. At that time, certainly, she seems to have been humble in mind and heart.

Mr. and Mrs. English were finally removed from our Salem jail to Boston, (the stone jail there,) together and on the same day with Giles Cory, Geo. Jacobs, senior, Allice Parker, Ann Pudeater and Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver. Of these, all perished except them-

selves. Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, was the first victim to the witchcraft madness of 1692. Giles Cory was pressed to death for refusing to plead to his indictment, and Alice Parker and Geo. Jacobs, senior, were hung. It is his trial, as painted by some American artist, and presented by the Messrs. Ropes, which decorates the entry of Plummer Hall. Philip English and wife only escaped death by flight from jail to New York.

It is a tradition in the family that several of the Boston clergy espoused the cause of Mr. and Mrs. English when confined in jail there; that Cotton Mather, who was a great friend of Mrs. E., said, that though she was accused, “he did not believe her to be guilty; that her accusers evidently believed her to be so, but that Satan was most probably deceiving them into that belief”—a very ingenious defence in fact against all accusations of the kind. The tradition further runs, that their friends repeatedly urged Mr. and Mrs. E. to flee to New York, and that some New York merchants, who knew Mr. English, sent on a carriage for himself and wife to escape in. This Mr. English was unwilling at first to do, saying “that he did not believe they (the courts) would shed innocent blood.” He, however, had soon reason to believe the opposite, and fled. The tradition in the family is, that the State authorities were cognizant of the plot for the escape and aided in it.

Dr. Bentley in his letter to Alden (Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 10 First series pp 65-6) thus details the circumstances in regard to the escape of Mr. and Mrs. English from Boston.—Before referring to it, we will state that the Rev. Joshua Moody (mentioned as being concerned therein) was indeed a rare man for that age. About the year 1658 he began to preach in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. “His independent and faithful manner of preaching, and the strictness of his church discipline” brought down on his head in 1684 the wrath of Lieut. Gov. Cranfield of that Province, who indicted and imprisoned him under the Uniformity act, and dismissed him after thirteen weeks impris-

onment with a charge to preach no more on penalty of further imprisonment. This drove him to Boston, where he preached until 1692. At that time he boldly espoused the cause of Mr. and Mrs. English—openly justified Mr. E, and in defiance of the popular prejudices denounced the prevailing Witchcraft persecution. This brought down upon him the wrath of not a few influential persons in his own society, and he was obliged to leave Boston in consequence. He was gladly welcomed back to Portsmouth, and by a parish by whom he was greatly beloved, and thence remained with them. In 1684 he was offered the Presidency of Harvard College, which he modestly declined. Dunton, who was in Boston in 1686, speaks of Mr. Moody as assistant to Mr. Allen, and “well known by his practical writings.” Cotton Mather preached his funeral sermon and called him “*that man of God!*”—It is evident that he was a bold, fearless, able man, seeing clearly through the delusions of his age; while his treatment of his personal enemies proves him to have been as magnanimous and noble, as he was brave and able.—Mr. Alden in his *Account of the Religious Societies in Portsmouth, New Hampshire*, (Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 10 First series pp. 37 to 72) does justice to Mr. Moody, and Dr. Bentley adds further proof, in the account he gives of Mr. Moody’s services to Mr. English, as obtained from a grand-daughter of Mr. E., and which we now quote in connection with the escape.

Says Dr. Bentley, writing to Mr. Alden, and concerning Mr. Moody, “In Boston, upon giving bail, they (Mr. and Mrs. English) had the liberty of the town, only lodging in prison. Upon their arrival Messrs. Willard and Moody visited them and discovered every disposition to console them in their distress. On the day before they were to return to Salem for trial, Mr. Moody waited upon them in the prison, and invited them to the publick worship. On the occasion he chose for the text,
IF THEY PERSECUTE YOU IN ONE CITY, FLEE TO

ANOTHER. In the discourse, with a manly freedom, he justified every attempt to escape from the forms of justice, when justice was violated in them. After service Mr. Moody visited the prisoners in the gaol, and asked Mr. English whether he took notice of his discourse? Mr. English said he did not know whether he had applied it as he ought, and wished some conversation on the subject. Mr. Moody then frankly told him that his life was in danger, and he ought by all means to provide for an escape. Many, said he, have suffered. Mr. English then replied, God will not suffer them to hurt me. Upon this reply Mrs. English said to her husband, do you not think that they, who have suffered already, are innocent? He said yes. Why, then, may not we suffer also? Take Mr. Moody’s advice. Mr. Moody then told Mr. English that if he would not carry his wife away, he would. He then informed him that he had persuaded several worthy persons in Boston to make provision for their conveyance out of the colony, and that a conveyance had been obtained, encouraged by the Governour, gaoler, &c., which would come at midnight, and that proper recommendations had been obtained to Gov. Fletcher of New York, so that he might give himself no concern about any one circumstance of the journey; that all things were amply provided. The Governour also gave letters to Gov. Fletcher, and at the time appointed, Mr. English, his wife, and daughter were taken and conveyed to New York. He found before his arrival that Mr. Moody had despatched letters, and the Governour, with many private gentlemen, came out to meet him; and the Governour entertained him at his own house, and paid him every attention while he remained in the city. On the next year he returned” (to Salem).

“In all this business Mr. Moody openly justified Mr. English, and, in defiance of all the prejudices which prevailed, expressed his abhorrence of the measures, which had obliged a useful citizen to flee from the executioners.—Mr. Moody was commended by all discerning men, but he felt the angry resentment of the

deluded multitude of his own times, among whom some of high rank were included. He soon after left Boston, and returned to Portsmouth."

"Mrs. English died in 1694, at 42 years of age, in consequence of the ungenerous treatment she had received. Her husband died at 84 [86] years of age, in 1734 [1736]."

"This is the substance of the communication made to me at different times from Madam Susanna Harthorne, his great-granddaughter [granddaughter] who died in Salem 28 August, 1802, at the age of 80 years, who received the account from the descendants of Mr. English, who dwelt upon his obligations to Mr. Moody with great pleasure."

Such is the version which Dr. Bentley gives of this affair, told by a granddaughter of Mr. E., and which we doubt not is a correct one—though the tradition in another branch of the family varies from this in stating that Philip E. and his wife escaped from the Church in a *coach after service, some of his friends aiding, and assisting him by crowding back the officers as if accidentally, and locking them in the church, until the fugitives were well out of reach. Both Dr. B.'s version and the tradition agree that the Governor and high State officers were privy to, and encouraged the escape, and Thos. Brattle in his letter of Oct. 8, 1692 (Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 5 & 6th, First series) indirectly confirms the truth of this, when he wonders why no requisition had ever been made for Mr. and Mrs. E., at the hands of the

New York authorities, though it was well known that the fugitives had gone thither.—Brattle uses this strange neglect as a proof that the authorities in Massachusetts could not believe witchcraft to be a crime equal to that of murder (then the general belief) or Mr. and Mrs. E., would have been demanded of Gov. Fletcher. Brattle ably opposed witchcraft, but did not then of course see that the escape of these parties was a premeditated thing on the part of the authorities—who for once were certainly inconsistent as to law—but then consistent—thoroughly so with justice and mercy—the true consistency.

Mr. Moody had to leave Boston in consequence of his share in this transaction—but only to return to the arms of a congregation who had never willingly given him up. He died universally lamented, and with a rare modesty appears not to have left a line among his papers which refers in any way to his connection in this matter. It is thus by the traditions of the English family, as preserved by Dr. Bentley, that we get an insight into the manliness and worth of this man, who equally dared to face the wrath of the New Hampshire Government or Massachusetts people in the cause of right and justice, and who, standing far above his age, saw from the mountain top the clear sunlight of truth, when all was mist and darkness in the valley below.

The winter of 1692-3 and the succeeding spring, were days of terrible suffering for Salem, particularly that winter. Mr. English, anticipating somewhat of this misery, sent on from New York during the winter one hundred barrels of flour for the poor, who, he was afraid, "would suffer in his absence." The town was then indeed in a terrible state. The witchcraft madness and terror—the executions—the numerous arrests—the accusations on all sides—the flight of the inhabitants, over a quarter part of whom fled—the general gloom, and the utter prostration of business, had all depressed Salem beyond imagination. In 1693 the storm was over, and people were themselves

*Dr. Benjamin F. Browne, of Salem—who is well versed in our local traditions and antiquities—informs us that the tradition in his younger days was, that Philip E. escaped from Boston on horseback, having first reversed the shoes on his horse's feet, so as to appear to be entering, instead of departing from the city. Dr. Bentley does not give the particulars of his escape—the means employed—and the two traditions have seeming discrepancies, which, however, could be reconciled, were it worth the time to attempt it. The escape from prison was easy indeed. The only danger lay in arrest by ignorant officers, or an excited people.

again. Mr. E. then returned to Salem, and was welcomed back by Rev. Mr. Noyes, who was very attentive to him ever after. The Town expressed its joy at his return by bon-fires and a general rejoicing. Mrs. E., however, returned home an invalid, only to die. Mr. E. found moreover, that his house had been sacked by the multitude, and goods attached and taken from his stores by Sheriff Curwen to the amount of £1,183. He sued Curwen, laying his damages at £1,500, but never recovered.—It is very probable that Curwen sheltered himself under the law of confiscation against those escaping from prison when accused of capital crimes. Philip English thought his case a hard one, for he had given £4000 bail in Boston for his appearance, and was, perhaps, then legally liable for that amount, in addition to the sum Curwen attached. His wife's health was ruined—his goods gone—his business for the time broken up, and he after all an innocent man! The only pecuniary satisfaction he ever got was £60 paid him by the administrator of the estate of George Curwen, the late Sheriff. This whole affair was a terrible trial to Mr. E., and perhaps was one cause of the disease, (clouding of the mind) under which he labored the last two years of his life. The loss of his wife, and under the circumstances, was a severe blow—a wife, too, whom he tenderly loved—and in addition to this came the loss of property to no small amount, and most unjustly. He petitioned the General Court with others for pecuniary satisfaction in this matter, but refused the amount tendered him, being entirely inadequate.

Mr. English set about repairing his fortunes, having children to bring forward, and seems to have entered into business again with fresh spirit and energy, though not with the good fortune, perhaps, he had met with prior to 1692. From 1689 to 1711 Salem merchants suffered severely at the northward, from the *French and Indians. In 1697 Salem had lost

some 54 out of its 60 fishing ketches, and as the fishing business was the *staple* interest, the town became so poor, with continued losses up to 1711, that it could not repair its fortifications as ordered by the Governor that year.—Its fishing ketches were captured by French fleets in the Bays of Newfoundland, off the coast of "Acadie," and near Cape Sable. The Indians, instigated probably by the French, shot down the crews from ambush, when ashore, and French privateers, and even *pirates* preyed on these ketches. In 1689 Government had to send a vessel of war to scour our bay and coast for pirates, and in 1704 Major Sewall of Salem, captures some of these outlaws who have been taking fishing shallops at the Isle of Shoals. Our Salem fishermen persevered as well as they could. In 1699 they sent out a fleet of fourteen vessels, but were almost discouraged in 1711 by their repeated losses.—Philip English was engaged in this business, and sent out his ketches, and suffered, doubtless, in common with his neighbors. He, however, was engaged in other trades—sent his ketches, sloops, brigantines to ‡Burbadoes and other British West Indias—†Surinam in Dutch

er seems to have refused her quota of men and means either by land or sea, in any of the wars of the Colony. (See Felt's *Annals passim*.) As one proof of this, we find that in March, 1674, Edward Rawson, our colonial Secretary, informs the Governor and Council of Connecticut that the Ketch Swallow of Salem, 60 tons, 12 guns, and 60 men, Capt. Richard Sprague, and the Ketch Salisbury, of nearly the same tonnage, 8 guns and 40 men, Capt. Sam'l Mosely, were ready to sail, and cruise up and down the Sound "on the service of the Colonies." Felt mentions this of Salem, the "service" being perhaps to watch the Dutch—then dreaded.

The Privateer history of Salem dates perhaps from this old French war, and as a precedent was not forgotten, it is likely, in the days of the Revolution, a century later.

†The following letters of instruction of Philip English to two of his captains—one his son, William English, the other, John Touzell, a son-in law—may be of some interest, both as connected with this mer

*Salem fitted out privateers in this old French war, which did some damage to the enemy, and nev-

Guiana—Maryland—Virginia—Rhode Island—
chant, and as illustrating the commercial history of
the times.

SALEM IN NEW ENGLAND, }
ye 9th day of June, 1712. }

Wm. English.—You being master of the Slope [sloop] Mary, & having Laden yo'r vessell, you are to attend ye Laws and Customes of this place Relating to Clearing of said vessell and Goods, you are to take ye first opportunity of wind and weather, and sett saile, Directing yo'r Course for Seyrinam, [Surinam, Dutch Guiana,] where you are now bound, and when it shall please god to bring you safe there, you are to attend ye Laws and Customes of that place in Respect to Entering yo'r vessell and goods, and then you are to deliver yo'r goods according to bills of lading, and receive yo'r freight (money) and what goods you have of ours consigned to your selfe, you are to make sale of for Malasses so to Lode your vessel home here for New England, and it in case cur Effects, both of goods and freight, doth not produce a full loading for said vessell, Then take what freight you can for Salem or Boston, and if you have more of our Effects as aforesaid then will Lade your vessel with Mallasses, we leave it with you to Lay out in such things as you shall think most Benefittiall for ye owner of sd vessell, and for to Lode in ye same for ye owner's profit. Be sure make no debts, and so, having Laden yo'r vessell in Seyrinam, and done yo'r Consernames, you are to cleare yo'r vessel and goods so that no Damage may accrue to your owners and Employ'rs. So having no more at present, but wishing you a good and prosperous voyage, and a safe returne to Salem in New England, Again We Rest yo'r Loueing Owners,

PHILIP ENGLISH.

SECOND LETTER.

SALEM, May ye 2d, 1722.

Mr. John Touzel.—S'r, you being appointed master of my sloop Sarah, now Riding in ye Harbour of Salem, and Ready to saile, my Order is to you that you take ye first opportunity of wind and weather to saile and make ye Best of yr way for Barbadoes or Leew'd Island, and there Enter and Clear yr vessel and Deliver yr Cargo According to Orders and Bill of Lading, and make Saile of my twelve Hogsh'd of fish to my Best advantage, and make Returne in yr vessel or any other for Salem, In such Goods as you shall see best, and if you see Cause to take a freight to any part or hire her, I leue it with your Best Conduct, Managem't or care, for my best advantage. So please God to give you a prosperous voyage, I Remain yr Friend and Owner,

PHILIP ENGLISH.

Endorsed "My sailing orders to Barbadoes."

In connection with the Barbadoes trade, it may not be out of place here to append the following letter from Samuel Sewall, which, with other evidence in our possession, proves that in our early Commerce, some of our Salem or Massachusetts men went to the British West Indies and acted as commission merchants there. Barbadoes seems to have been one of

*New Hampshire — *Connecticut—Ireland—

the principal markets so sought. At a later day the same practice obtained in the East Indies, when our Salem commerce was diverted thither. This Samuel Sewall charges in his subsequent account, commissions 5 per cent., storage and portage $2\frac{1}{2}$ —the current rates probably of that day.

LETTER.

To Mr. Wm. English, merchant in Salem, New England.

BARBADOES, Feb'y 4, 1712.

Mr. William English. Sir.—These wait on you by Matthew Estis via Saltertuda [sometimes spelt Saltitudos,] with enclosed account Sales for yo'r Eight hds fish which came to a miserable market, Tho I think I sold to ye height of ye market. Im heartily sorry I can give you no better Encouragem't. I shall observe yo'r orders in ye returns, and make all reasonable dispatch—pleas to acquaint yo'r father I have rec'd his Thousand of staves per Woodbridge, but have not yet sold them, they are very low, and sold at 50s pr M. I cannot enlarge, but am

Sr yo'r ready and Obe't Ser't,

SAM'L SEWALL.

Saltertuda or Saltitudos we have discovered to be only a corruption of Salt Tortuga, an island near the Spanish Main.

*According to the 2d Book (B.) of the old Colonial Custom House in Salem, which book is now in the possession of Benj. Browne Esq., who inherited it from his ancestor Gerrish, the Collector, Philip English was trading in 1695 to New Hampshire, in 1696 to Virginia, in 1698 to Medara [Madeira] and Barbadoes. According to the same vol., Surinam, Virginia and Barbadoes were favorite places of trade for various Salem merchants, from 1700 to 1715 say, or later. The first vol. of these Custom House Records (A.) is unfortunately lost.

By New Hampshire, as mentioned in this old Colonial Custom House Book, Portsmouth, N. H., is perhaps intended, for P. was largely visited by vessels. In 1681 (according to Cooper—Naval Hist. U. S.) no less than 47 vessels entered that port.

Philip E. also traded to Rhode Island and Connecticut, certainly after 1700, as is evident from his son William's letters and accounts. According to Trumbull, Connecticut maintained a very humble marine of her own even as late as 1713. In 1680 she had 24 vessels, with a total of 1050 tons, trading between that Colony and Boston, New Foundland, the West Indies &c., and in 1713, 2 Brigs, 20 Sloops, and a number of smaller craft, No. of seamen 120! Mass. had then some 20,000 tons of shipping, and some 3000 seamen. Newport, in Rhode Island, was

Isle of Jersey—England, and perhaps Holland. It is most probable that P. E. was engaged in trade with some of these places prior to 1692; but many of his earlier commercial papers were most probably scattered, if not destroyed, when his house and warehouse were sacked that year. A few papers are found of commercial interest, running from 1694 to 1720. From these and various commercial items we find in other quarters, the subsequent remarks are based.

When P. E. began business in Salem, say in 1670* or thereabouts, the town was already recovering probably from the "smite on all employments," that Hull mentions in 1665. In 1664, Josselyn said there were some rich merchants in Salem. It is not to be wondered at that our old town should have flourished.—Admirably situated for the fishing trade, and the foreign trade then connected with it, and the shipping needed for both trades—enjoying a comparative free trade with the world, unhampered by the Plantation Act, without even a Custom House Office established by Parliament, Salem might have been the envy of some of the British seaports which had at home to conform to rules, from which Salem, in common with our Massachusetts sea ports,

then, doubtless, the great Southern New England Port, as in 1737 she owned 100 sail of different sizes. So says Cooper.

In the 1st vol. Booke of Records for masters, page 85, Aug. 23, 1710, Phillip English and Eleazer Lyndsey, of Salem, let their Brigantine Neptune to Leonard Abbott, of Kingstowne, Jamaica, (but then resident in Salem,) for a voyage to Jamaica, and thence (transporting Abbott also) to Bay of Campeache (Campeachy) to load with logwood for Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the owners to have as freight every twelve tons out of twenty shipped—the balance for Abbott. It appears from a subsequent protest, that the vessel did not sail at the time appointed, but may have afterwards.

* The population of Salem from 1670 to 1740 may be set down as varying from say 1500 in 1670 to 4500 or 5000 in 1740. This period embraces the whole business period of the life of Philip English, as well as various other Salem merchants of that day.

escaped. Having enjoyed so much commercial liberty under both Charles the First, and Cromwell, particularly the latter, and feeling a growing consciousness of strength, both through that long liberty and its attendant success, Salem, in 1670, occupied a high position in commerce. She was also one of the principal ports in the Colony for shipbuilding. From 1670 to '76 Salem seems to have flourished greatly. After that the havoc made by the French and Indians among her fishing fleet forced her to retrograde for a while. Between these years we find *Wayborne, Randolph*, and the *London merchants*, all endeavoring to restrict our trade, (in common with that of the Colony) stating that our [Massachusetts] commerce is irregular, that we do not conform to the acts of trade, that we do not make England the magazine* of trade, but go and come and buy and sell where, and as, and when we please. This proves our commercial freedom. The light burdens, moreover, laid on commerce by the Colony were not seriously felt, if we except, perhaps, the duty on grain. Even *De Ruyter*, in 1665, spared us, though he "did great spoil" in Newfoundland, and again in 1667 the Dutch, though ravaging the coast of Virginia, and capturing some of our

* We have in our possession one of the Plantation certificates, dated 1730, and in furtherance of the design to make England the magazine of colonial produce. By this, security is given to the chief officers of the customs in London, that if the *Endeavor*, a ship or vessel built in New England, of sixty tons burthen, and belonging to Salem, shall load any sugar, tobacco, cotton wooll, indigo, ginger, fustick, or other aying wood; as also rice, melasses, tar, pitch, turpentine, hemp, masts, yards, bowsprits, copper ore, beaver skins, or other furs of the growth, production or manufacture of any British plantations in America, Asia, or Africa, the same commodities shall be by the said ship or vessel brought to some port of Great Britain, and be unloaden and put on shore, the danger of the seas only excepted. Such arbitrary attempts to turn the natural current of trade, and aggrandize the mother country at the expense of the Colonies, proved to be one of the most serious causes of the *Revolution* in later years.

vessels and men, yet spared us a visit in New England. In 1673 piracy is said to be prevalent, but Salem is not recorded as a direct sufferer. In 1676 all duties on exports, except 6d. on horses, are taken off, and not until the indefatigable mischievous *Randolph* returns from England as Inspector of Customs, does there seem to be serious trouble in prospect. The intervening years up to *1692 were, how-

* The staple commodities of Massachusetts, about 1680, were fish, mackerel, peltry, horses, provisions, cider, boards, timber and pipe staves. These our traders sent to the West Indies and the Colonial possessions, and obtained sugar, rum, indigo, cotton wool, tobacco, which were transmitted usually in their own vessels to England. Some of their pipe staves, fish, mackerel, &c., were sent to Madeira, and western islands, and wines taken thence to New England. No great quantity of tar and pitch was then made here. Some £40,000 or £50,000 of English goods of all sorts were imported yearly. Massachusetts seems to have been poorer in 1680 than in '70. See Governor Bradstreet's answers to Lords of the Privy Council. Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series, vol. 8, pp. 335-6. Boston, Charlestown and Salem are there called the principal places of trade. *idem*.

No export duty upon the produce of Massachusetts was imposed in or about 1680, but one penny a pound upon goods imported. This was the general tax (it seems) upon houses, land, cattle, and other estates of the country, yearly. The poll money was 20d per head. A small tax was put upon rum, cider, beer, &c. The whole revenue of Massachusetts from these sources was only about £1500 per annum, out of which the government had to be supported, officers' salaries paid, fortifications maintained, &c. In the times of the Indian wars, ten or fifteen general rates were obliged to be levied upon all men's estates in a year,—a severe burden to the Colony. In the years 1664-5, according to *Rawson*, the total income of Massachusetts was about £1200.

Besides the troubles occasioned by the Algerine pirates to our commerce—the troubles with the French at Nova Scotia [Acadia], who interrupted our fishing, and the tyrannical demands of Sir Edmund Andros upon our fishermen to pay for the privilege of fishing—there were the usual accidents of trade to meet, and a double custom to be paid by the merchants of Massachusetts who imported sugar, indigo, cotton wool, &c., into the Colony, and thence

ever, gloomy ones. The loss of the charter*—the dreaded loss by the Puritans of their Protestant privileges—of even the titles to their very lands and houses as a consequent on the loss of the charter—the wars and rumors of wars which had gathered or were fast gathering—the public dread of James, as the secret ally of France and the Indians as against the Colonies—the public and private calamities, which were numerous—the belief in witchcraft, and the growing belief throughout New England that Satan was let loose to do his will, especially in these colonies—these, all these causes contributed to render the public nerves morbid—the evil imaginations of men acute—until as they drank off the successive draughts of these evils, temporal and spiritual, they themselves went finally mad in all the intoxication of calamity. Thus came upon the Colony the madness of 1692.

During these times Philip English flourished or suffered with his compeers. In 1694 he is shipping on the ketch "*Prosperous*" "*Benj. Stone, Master*," bound to Barbados, certain goods consigned to Major John Pil-

carried them to England—the full duty being demanded there. Gov. Bradstreet, therefore, asks of the King the privilege of free trade, (at least for some few ships for some time,) to build up the Colony. Massachusetts was built up commercially by an unrestricted trade. See Bradstreet's answer to the Lords of the Council, in 1680. Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series, vol. 8, pp. 332 to 340.

Bradstreet's views of the commerce of Massachusetts in 1680, were rather gloomy. Salem, as one of the three principal places of trade in Massachusetts, must have suffered severely.

* In the Judgment to vacate the Colonial Charter in 1684, among the sins of the Colony are especially enumerated the establishment of customs, the coining of money and the levying a poll tax. This Judgment (a copy) can be found in the Mass. Hist. Coll. It is easy to see by this, that Massachusetts was regarded in England as having then asserted, practically, her independence of the mother country. Her spirit, moreover, on various civil occasions, both before and after this, proved to be of the indomitable order.

gram (Pilgrim ?) in B. She carries fish and empty hogsheds, and is to return with Dry Goods, viz: "Nails, blew lining. (Blue linen) Osmbrigs, Holland Duck and Jordage if cheap there." He mentioned also receiving Rum and "Malosses" (Molasses) from the Major at the hands of Mr. Benjamin Pitman. This letter of advice is very well written as a speci-

* This letter of 1694-5 may have some interest, and we therefore will give it entire. The Majr John Pilgram named was a merchant in Barbadoes, it would appear—most probably a Commission Merchant, and perhaps a native of Massachusetts.

Salem, Jan'y the 28th, 1694-5.

Majr John Pilgram,

Sr. Yours Received p [per] Mr. Benjamin Pittman with one Envoice and bill of Lading Enclosed of four hhd of Rum and four hhd of Malosses. The Rum was in good condition, But the Malosses was above one-fourth part Leaked, or taken out. Mr. Pitman gives me to understand that it was so before it came on Board; Therefore I had not any satisfaction of him; the Casks were good and tie. Sr. these doe likewise signifye that I have Inclosed herein a bill of Lading of eight hhd. of fish for my acco't, and Resque which I have Shipped on board the Ketch the Prosperous Benjamin Stone Master and consigned to you. If it should please God that the said Ketch arrive safe at Barbados I In-treat you to Receive the said fish and dispose of the same for me, and Returne the Produce by the same Ketch in Barbados goods if to be had (if not) in dry Goods (viz) nails blew lining osmbrigs Holland duck Corage if it be cheap there. Knowing not what is best I leave it to your discretion to make Returns in the sd ketch should not Returne hither directly Pray send the Effects by the first that is bound for Salem if Barbados Good. If English Goods by any bound for Salem or Boston; fish is very scarce here is none to be Expected till the Spring Sr I have not anything else to trouble you with at pr'sent only my Humble Service to you & your good Lady unknowne I Remaine Sr. your

Most Humble Servant at Command

PHILLIP ENGLISH.

Salem 28 day of January, 1694-5.

Invoice of 8 hhd of fish shipped on board the ketch Prosperous Benja. Stone Master upon the Proper Acco't & Resque of me Phillip Englis of Salem in New England & Goeth Consigned to Majr John Pilgram in Barbados marked & numbered as pr Margent with the Contence of each hhd as foll (vizt)

		£.	s.	d.
No. 1.	To 1 hhd Con't 8½ Quintles att 15s per Quintle is	6	07	06
No. 2.	To 1 hhd Cont. 7½ Quintles att 15s per Quintle is	5	12	06

men of Chirography, and instructs the Con-signe, "If it shall please God that the said Ketch arrives safe at Barbados," to receive her Cargo, &c. A higher power than the winds and the waves and the fallible efforts of man is indeed recognized in all the old Salem letters of advice now extant, not of P. E. alone, but of the Brownes, and others. Nor were such men indeed the less manly or generous for such a belief and acknowledgment, as the noble legacies for instance, of the Brownes to Salem, abundantly prove.

From 1694 to 1720 Mr. E. sends ketches to New Foundland, Cape Sable or Acadie to catch fish, sends these fish to Barbadoes, or other English West Indies, Surinam, perhaps Spain or the Streights. If to the West Indies or Surinam, he sends also lumber, shingles, oil (fish and whale?) and staves,* barrels, and

No. 3.	To 6 hdds Cont. 6½ Quintles att			
to 8.	15s 6d per Quintle is 39 qtls	30	04	06
	To 8 Empty hdds at 5s per piece,	2	00	00

Errors Excepted by me 44 04 06
PHILIPPE ENGLISH.

* The following memorandum found among the English papers, besides giving the names of a few wharves in Salem, in 1695, shews the kind of business done at them.

1695.

Aug. 15th—Account of goods taken aboard ye Slupe prudent Mary.

15th—taken from Mr. Turner's worfe 18 hund Red Oke hh. Staves.

16th—taken from Capt. Sewel's worfe 5600 of Shingel.

19 day—Loaded on bord from Mr. Brown's worfe 15 hund of hh. staves, and of Mr. Hurst from Winter Island: 6 hh. of fish G. H. 1 to 6.

20 day—taken on bord 4 hh of fish S B 1 to 4.

2. day—taken on bord from Mr. hurst 8 hh of fish G. H. No 7 8 and D. H. and 12 hundard of etaves from Mr. Breen's worfe.

23 day—4 hh of fish from Marvelhed for Capt. Allen BS A 1. 2 BC A 3. 4.

24 day—13 hundard staves from Mr. Browne's worfe

25 day—2 hh fish and 3 bar oyle from Marvelhed S. B. No. 5. 6.

27 day—2 hh of fish of Mr. Hurst.

28 day—4 hh of fish from Mr. Engels of Sam'll Browns S. B.

29 day—to 6 hundard of staves at Mr. Brown's worfe.

hogsheads. In return he takes Sugar, Molasses,

1st September—3 hund of staves from Mr. Brown's worle—and 4000 of shingels.

8 day—2 hb of fish from Mr. Engol's W H No 1 2 for Mr. Hurst, and 1 hh & 1 bar I G No 1 2 for Mr. Kitchen."

NOTE. The above memorandum seems to imply that Turner's, Sewall's, and Brown's wharves were devoted to the stave, shingle and lumber business, while the fishing trade was confined to Winter Island. This agrees well with the history and traditions in respect to Winter Island being the great depot of the fishing trade even from the settlement of the town.

According to the first "Booke of Recordes for Masters, &c.," in the Essex County Court office, Winter Island had some settled "customs" of its own. In the first of these books, pp. 24-5, Oct. 1700, there appear certain depositions of various parties in regard to the delivery of fish there. Some of the crew of the ship *Leonora*, Capt. Alexander Bowdidge, refused to take a boat load of fish from thence, unless the men delivering it for Capt. Benjn Marston carried it down to Fish St., (which was probably close to the water) whereupon Nath'l Wallis, aged about 70, and Mathew Barton, aged about 58, testify to their certain knowledge that it hath ever been the custom of Winter Island for the masters of vessels to receive the fish at the end of their flakes at every part of the Island. The Island was then well covered with fish flakes most probably.

Winter Harbor was the long Cove which runs into the westward of the island, (now Cat Cove) and was well adapted for the ketches, sloops and larger shallops then in use. Probably not many even of our *schooners* up to 1740 ranged over 45 tons burthen. We judge so from a cursory perusal of the two Bookes of Recordes for Masters.

On the shores of Winter Island or the adjacent shores were granted in 1636-7 "half-acre lots"—"for fishing trade and to build upon," and among other very early merchants settling there was Paseo Foot—who was a very enterprising merchant, and died in 1670.

Right opposite Winter Island Harbor to the westward was Water-town, a fishing village on the Point of Rocks (the farm lately occupied by Mr. Eben Hathorne) which latter settlement, however, appears to have been on private land. A large population dwelt formerly on Winter Island and adjacent shores, including Water-town. The Neck at one time is

ses, Rum and Cotton Wool. He then sends from Salem to Maryland or Virginia,* Sugar,

said to have furnished 100 men capable of bearing arms—doubtless a sturdy and hardy set.

Turner's wharf was at the foot of Turner's street, we believe. Sewall's wharf we are at a loss to locate. Brown's wharf may be that wharf which a Capt. Brown, in 1681, desired to build, and for that purpose got the town's interest "*in the cove down against his father's house.*" See page 141 of vol. 1 Salem Records. Which of the Browns or Brownes it was, does not, however, appear.

* The following copy of an old printed Bill of Lading of 1707, with contents may not be out of place here:



Shipped by the Grace of God, in good order and well conditioned, by Sam'l Browne, Phillip English, Capt. Wm. Bowditch, Wm. Pickering & Sam'l Wakefield in and upon the Good sloop called the may flower whereof is Master under God for this present voyage Jno Swasey, and now riding at Anchor in the harbour of Salem, and by God's Grace bound for Virginia or Merriland—To say, twenty hogshats of Saltt one quarter part on the Acct & Resque of Sam'l Browne—one quarter on the Acctt & Resque of Philip English—one quarter part on the Acctt & Resque of Captt. Wm. Bowditch and Wm. Pickering—one quarter part on the Acctt & Resque of Sam'l Wakefield—Being Marked and Numbered as in the Margent, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Virginia or Merriland (the danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Mr. Sam'l Wakefield or to his Assigns, he or they Paying Freight for the said Goods * * * with Primage and Avarage accustomed.

In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Sloop hath affirmed to Two Bills of Lading, all of this Tenour and Date, One of which two Bills being Accomplished the other one to stand Void. And so God send the Good Sloop to her desired Port in safety. A M E N. Dated in Salem Dec. 24, 1707.

JOHN SWASEY.

On this Bill of Lading is endorsed:

"Rec'd. the Contents of the within menshened Bill of Layden—per Sam'l Wakefield.

Marelvnd, May the 31, 1708.

By another Bill of Lading, not separated, from this, and of the same date, Sam'l Browne, Wm. Bowditch and Wm. Pickering being the shippers, it seems the same sloop took the following additional items:

"To Virginia or Merriland"—"Five tearres of Massasses, two hogshats Rum, twelve barrills Racktt Sider, forty Eightt Sider pulls, two barrills and one firkin Shugar, forty Eightt Shugar boxes, twenty four gallonds & two gallond Runlits, twelve three gallond and twelve four gallond Runlits, Sixtiene new

Rum and Molasses, (the result of his West India voyages) and in addition, Salt, Cider, Wooden Ware, Casks, Barrels, Kegs and Cans. He takes from thence to Salem, Wheat, Indian Corn, Hides, Peltry, Tobacco, Old Iron, Pewter, Copper, perhaps also some Dry goods imported from England into these countries. If there be much Tobacco purchased, it is to be sent to London, by some English vessel, and sold on P. E.'s account, and the money paid to his Banker there. If he sends his fish to Spain, the return cargo is Salt from St. Ubes or Isle of May, with Wine, we should judge, from Fayal or the Wine Islands. We can trace one of his voyages to Rhode Island and Connecticut, to load with *Staves* for Ireland; and find some papers, and items in Felts annals, which make it very probable that he traded with England and Holland.

His vessels were most probably of the size then common in the Colonies, and probably all built in Salem. Such were then called "*Plantation built*." They consisted of *Sloops*, which were from 20 to 36 tons burthen, carrying five or six men, *Ketches*, which were from 25 to 45 tons, carrying five or six men, and *Briganteens*, from 60 to 70 tons and carrying from six to eight men. In 1698-9, there was a *Ship* in Salem of 200 tons built here—

half barrils twelve pecks (?) on the proper Acett & Resque &c."

This Bill of Lading has also Sam'l Wakefield's receipt as of the same place, and date with the other. Both Bills show some of our Salem exports to Virginia and Maryland at that time.

The following Receipt shows some of the articles then brought from Maryland to Salem and the rates of their freight.

Mary Land. "RECEIVED on board the Sloop Mary Bound for Salem in New England on accompt of Mr. Phillip English Merchant there to say one thousand and fifty pounds of Hides, Three hundred Eighty & Eight pounds of Iron, Thirteen & $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of Brass, Eight pounds of puter (pewter) and Two hundred fifty five $\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat, w^{ch} I promise to deliver to s^d Mr. Phillip English or assigns (danger of ye Seas Excepted) he or they paying freight for ye same, forty shillings for ye Hides, Brass & puter and Iron—for ye Wheat Eighteen pence per bushel: having signed to Two receipts of ye same tenor and date the one to be accomplished ye other to stand void. I say rec^d

per Wm English."

St Mariot ffeby 27th 1711-12.

another then here of *eighty* tons. The most of the Salem Shipping then averaged from 20 to 40 tons. Some of his vessels were named from various members of his family, such for instance, as the sloop *Mary*, and the briganteen *William* and *Susannah*. The cargoes carried to Virginia and Maryland seem to be worth when sold there, about *£140. It seems that Wm. Hollingworth, his father in law, had been before him engaged in this trade, and also Capt. John Brown, son of Elder John of Salem. When the Dutch ravaged Virginia, about 1667, both these merchants suffered severely, Wm. H. being captured by the Dutch. As an item in regard to these Maryland & Virginia voyages, the Captain gets a commission of 5 per cent. on sales. Kent Island, Maryland, appears to have been a favorite market, to judge by old accounts.

The Salem trade with Virginia and Maryland flourished (comparatively speaking) between 1690 and 1720, though it was important between 1660 and '70. It appears to have been a somewhat peculiar trade, owing to the peculiar condition of those countries. New England had been settled by parties gathering into towns, but the former States by planters, who scattered themselves over the country. Consequently while New England had towns, with mechanics, traders, artisans, &c.,—all concentrated and co-workers,—the more southern colonies had a sparse population and no towns, markets, or indeed, capital. Tobacco was the principal crop of those colonies—was in fact their currency to a good degree—and only occupied the planters as a crop during the summer, and left them often idle and lazy the remainder of the year. They also raised wheat, Indian corn, oats, barley, pease, and many sorts of pulse in great plenty, and supplied Barbadoes and the other Leeward Islands, and also New England with such produce. At the date of 1696, and for some years before, the New England colonies

*This sum is probably only a quarter part of the true value of such voyages.

had not been able to raise much wheat or Indian corn, owing to the early frosts, and had to seek their supplies of grain from Virginia and adjacent coasts. The sloops and Ketches from Massachusetts, which ran to these Southern shores, had to gather their cargoes from wide and scattered plantations, and at great loss of time. It was no uncommon thing (says a writer in 1696 to 1698, giving an account of Virginia—Mass. Hist. Coll., 5th vol., 1st series, pages 126 to 129,) for ships to be three or four months in Virginia waiting for a cargo of tobacco, which might, under other circumstances, be dispatched in a fortnight's time, and which delay doubled the price of freights. It probably took our Massachusetts craft a long time to dispose of their cargoes under such circumstances, as well as get their return cargoes, and it is very probable that they pushed their little sloops and ketches far into the creeks and bays of Virginia and Maryland, traded off their cargoes over a wide space, and collected their return

cargoes with the same difficulty and delay.—The writer, who has left us these facts in regard to the condition of trade in Virginia at that date, regrets that that State had not originally laid out towns as the New Englanders did—with home lots for gardens and orchards, outlots for cornfields, and meadows and country lots for plantations, with overseers and gangs of hands to cultivate them. He says this opportunity was lost by the Southerners, who seated themselves, without rule or order, in country plantations, and that the general Assemblies of Virginia, seeing the inconveniences of this dispersed way of living, had made several attempts to bring the people into towns, which had all proved ineffectual. Such a state of things of course affected trade unfavorably.

It is difficult, therefore, to tell the length of these Southern voyages of our fathers, who were delayed not alone in those days by imperfect means of navigation, but a want also of business facilities. Their voyages to England, Europe or the West Indies, were undoubtedly much longer than those now. *Dunton*, who sailed as passenger from England to Boston, in 1685, was over four months in making the passage—which appears, however, to have been of an extra length, as the provisions gave out—and they were on the point of starving, on arrival at Boston. As an evidence of the insecurity felt at that late day, from Corsairs, and even in the English Channel, *Dunton* says they were all alarmed there by the appearance of a vessel, which they took to be a *Salleeman* (a pirate from *Sallee*, a fortified maritime town in Morocco,) and prepared for defence, but found themselves mistaken. If from a third to a half of the length of modern voyages was added to the voyages

*The following note from John English to John Touzell, (his brother-in-law) may serve to show somewhat of the nature of the Maryland trade at that date. Both were in Maryland at the time, collecting a cargo separately or together, and probably for Philip English. It would appear as if *barter* entered essentially into the character of this trade:

NOTE.

"To Capt. John Touzell at Wickicorne Creek:

KATHORINE CREEK, Desemb'r 28, 1722.

Brother Touzell.—This is to let you [know] of our welfare hear, and I hope is so with you and the rest of you. hear is Capt. Gansby and Capt'n Solter hear, and they have got abundance of dry and wet (wet?) goods, and Capt. Solter Traids for pork and Tar and corn, and he sells Rum for 6 shillings per gallon in pork [paid in pork.] William Paired is with Capt'n Gansby. Capt. Enslly is bin hear twis (twice) and he says Nothing about Molasses Nor Suger. I haue 3 barrells of pork and 3 of corn—the Spineys owe me Corn and pork. I haue bin to John Ward's, and he says he will bring it Down to me. I haue resuiued your Leatter. Father Burkett and his wife giues [their love] and I Remain
Yr Louing Brother, JOHN ENGLISH."

It is very likely that the various Captains named in this note were all Salem men, as they are named familiarly, and not as of any other place.

*In the orders given to Capt. Wm. English by his father, Nov. 25, 1709, on a voyage to Maryland, Capt. E. is ordered to make all the dispatch he can there, so as to be back to Salem early in the spring. A Maryland voyage, made with all dispatch at that date, would seem then to have taken the better part of four or five months.

themselves, they would not probably exceed the true length of the old voyages as compared with the modern.

One of the favorite craft of our fathers (and Phillip English appears to have owned several such) was the **Ketch*—the name and rig of which, however, have disappeared from modern commerce,—at least in our State and neighborhood. The last went out of date about 1800. Elias Haskett Derby had one in 1799, called the *John*. An old sea captain now living, says that the Ketch was two-masted, with square sails on the foremast, which was a stout tall mast stepped far forward, and a mainsail on the mainmast, which was a shorter mast than the foremast. The Ketch sailed very fast before the wind. The rig of the Brigantine does not appear. The sloop rig was perhaps similar to our own. The Schooner seems to have gradually supplanted the Ketch. It first appears in our Salem marine about 1720. We find among the English papers an old receipt of 1727, wherein one

Wm. Browne, Jr. receives "*on board ye *Schooner Kingfisher, Captain John Pitman, master,*" certain fish, &c. The schooner is said to have originated at Gloucester in 1714. P. E. owned several †Sloops, and perhaps one Schooner, and retained perhaps a Sloop or two in business to employ himself as late as 1733-4.

About the year 1715, Philip English lost his son William, with whom he had been connected in business, and which must have been a severe blow to him, as this son was more after the pattern of his father, than perhaps any other of the sons. At the age of 19 he was commanding the sloop Arke, belonging to his father, bound for Virginia, and his accounts with, and letters to, his father and other business men, at various times, prove him to have been able and competent as a business man. He died at the early age of 25, and probably when his father was beginning to believe he would succeed him in his commerce. Philip English, however, still continued in business, and, from appearances, did not retire entirely from trade until about 1733-4.

In 1725 (according to Felt,) he is put into our Salem jail for refusing as an Episcopalian to pay taxes for the support of the East Church (Congregational.) How long he staid is uncertain; but probably not long. In 1732 the law by which he was imprisoned was repealed. In 1734 he appears, together

*In the Essex Institute, in a volume called *Elements and Practice of Rigging, London 1794,*" between pages 220 and 221 can be seen engravings of an European Ketch, and some pinnaces, and between pages 238 and 9, an engraving of a French Shallop.

There appears to be no material difference between the rig of the ancient and modern Sloops of New-England, to judge by drawings of the former on a map of Boston with its Harbour made by Capt. Bonner in 1722. As no Schooners seem to appear on this map, we cannot state what, if any, difference there may be between their ancient and modern rig. It would seem by this as if the Schooner at that date was very rarely met with.

It is to be hoped that those who may have drawings, paintings, or engravings of our early New-England vessels, will preserve them as mementos of our early commerce, and place them where they may be of avail to the commercial historian. Our New-England vessels from the commencement, we have reason to believe, were somewhat different from those of the old Country—and these peculiarities are worth knowing and preserving; especially as they were sometimes improvements.

*In an old account of a fishing voyage made up in 1733, and in our possession, the vessel is described on the outside as the "*Shooner John,*" and on the inside as "*ye Schooner John.*" John Webber was master.

†In 1733-4, Philip English is paying Benj. Beadle money on account of Capt. Wm. Smith, which seems like a commercial transaction. In 1732 he gives a Sloop to one of his children, which shows him to have been engaged in commerce up to that time: He was then over 80 years of age—81 or 2. As an item of the value of a sloop in 1712 we find in the *Book of Records for Masters* the recorded sale by Eben'r Lambert, Shipwright of Salem, of ye good Sloop Betty, lately built, of about 80 tons burthen, to Mr. Benj'n Marston of Salem for £240, that is £3 per ton.

with his family, as the donors of land for a site for St. Peter's Church in Salem. In 1735 he is put under guardianship as being clouded in mind, and in 1736 dies, aged about 86 years, and is buried in the Episcopal Church yard.

He seems not to have confined himself alone to commerce, but to have bought largely into real estate. When the division of the Commons took place in Salem—that is, the land which was held in common by its inhabitants, he held twenty-five shares or rights, being the largest single proprietor. In 1692 he owned some fourteen houses in Salem. Before his death, however, he seems to have given to his children or grandchildren, some of his real estate, and perhaps other portions of his property, since his inventory shows no personal estate of any consequence, nor anything like the amount of real estate he had once owned. He seems to have been treated with great respect by his children, who always call him "*Honored Father English*" in their accounts with him, and sometimes in their mention of him.

After the witchcraft madness had blown over, Philip English seems to have been for a time popular in Salem, since he was then chosen a Selectman, and a Deputy to the General Court. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of people, and by the most distinguished then among us.

He lost his first wife, Mary, in 1694, and in 1698 married Sarah Ingersoll, a widow. By his first wife he had seven children, of whom only three survived him, viz: Philip, who married Mary Ellis, Mary, who married William Browne, and Susannah, who married John Touzell. Philip inherited the *Blue Anchor Tavern*, which his grandmother, Elinor Hollingworth, kept when poor, and in her widowhood, and he appears to have run out the whole before 1750, in spite of the efforts of Richard *Derby to help him. Susannah died

not long after her father, and soon after her husband, who was also a native of Jersey, a very well educated sea captain, and who was employed both by Philip English and William and Samuel Browne, as captain and agent, and who left about as large a fortune as Mr. English himself. By his second wife, Philip English appears to have had a son John English, whose fate is uncertain. The direct male line is perhaps extinct, but his descendants in the female line are still in existence.

His life appears to have been an adventurous, enterprising one, with some extraordinary trials also, like that of the Witchcraft furor and misfortunes; and it is not to be wondered at, that, when over eighty years of age, a mind which had been so tried as his, should have set amid clouds and darkness. So set the mortality of his nature, but not its immortality, we trust.

There is no portrait extant of Philip English, as is the case also with the Brownes (Benjamin and William) who were his contemporaries, and who so nobly remembered our Salem schools. Philip English, is represented by tradition to have been of middle stature, and strong physically. In character, Philip English had some marked points, was high-spirited: not ungenerous, impulsive withal, and at times choleric, perhaps. He is represented to have been kind to the poor, yet not over conciliatory to his peers. He may have felt sore on the subject of Episcopacy, and the denial of toleration, and was not likely, in that respect, certainly, to have conciliated the powerful Congregationalists. At times he appears to have been popular, and it is evident by his papers that he was often on terms of business intimacy with the then prominent merchants of Salem; and the elder Benjamin Browne seems to have been somewhat nearer than a business friend, to judge by one or two old papers. Some of the papers of the Brownes are still mingled among his own. His own

Philip Jr., and gave him permission to use the same for his natural life, Philip Jr. then being embarrassed in business.

*Richard Derby most probably out of friendship to the father, Philip English, bought the estate of

immediate neighbors seem to have liked him, and in 1732 heartily repelled the charge, then made against him by the Selectmen, of being unsound in mind, and triumphed in their opposition. In 1735, however, it would appear that the authorities triumphed in turn, but Mr. English was then already on the brink of the grave, and was soon released from all human supervision and control. A naturally buoyant spirit, joined with a higher trust and stay, had borne him through and over the cares and struggles and sorrows of a long life, and some sad and peculiar troubles, and whatever may have been his failings or shortcomings, he was honored in death, and attended to his grave by a large concourse of the people, who were evidently gathered together, not out of respect to his wealth, which was not then so great, but to those qualities which are really independent of mere wealth or distinction. He must have been looked upon, we think, as having been somewhat enterprising and useful in his day and generation, and as a man really superior to his frailties, whatever they may have been.

When Philip English came to Salem, he must have found the town already a commercial place—decidedly so in its character—and possessing also rich and influential merchants. From some circumstantial items, almost amounting to evidence, it is not at all unlikely that Philip English came hither, allured by stories he had heard as a boy from Jersey traders or merchants who had preceded him.—In 1661 there was in Salem a Mr. John Browne who is described as of Jersey, and who enters into an agreement with William Stevens of Gloucester to build a ship of about 110 tons at £3 per ton, for himself, and two partners, Messrs. Nicholas and John Balhack then in Jersey. This Mr. John Browne agrees to pay Stevens in goods, in part, at Mr. Corwin's, Mr. Price's, or his own store, we should judge. The trade between the Isle of Jersey and Salem was then already established [in 1661] and Browne appears to have been a resident partner and merchant here. The Jersey trade

then with Salem was very probably the importation of hosiery and shoes from Jersey itself, and wines, brandies and fruits from France, Spain or Portugal, and linens from France or Holland as a return for New England fish (staves?) and lumber. This trade with Jersey, and the neighboring countries of Europe, may have begun before 1660, and continued, we should judge by old papers, (in the English and Touzel families) up to the American Revolution, if not later.

It is very probable that this Mr. John Browne, of Jersey, permanently settled in Salem, as in January, 1673, a person of that name, who does not appear to be John Brown, the ruling Elder, gets a grant of 50 acres of the town of Salem, (Vol. 1. Grants, page 117) on the Lyna boundary line, and a hill in our Great Pastures still retains the name of *Belly-hac*, which may be *Ballhac*, and named so by this Mr. Browne as near his own estate, and in compliment to one or both of his partners, the Ballhacs, in Jersey. A William Browne, the son of a Mr. John Browne, married the eldest daughter of Philip English, and it is not unlikely that he was the son or grandson of the Jersey merchant, with whom, or his children, Philip English would (as coming from the same little Island) doubtless be well acquainted. This seems to be the more probable, as there cannot be traced as yet any connection between this Browne, and any other Salem family of that name then resident at S.—though there may be. At all events there came over here as early as 1660, a Jersey merchant by the name of Browne, who appears to have had a trading house here in 1661, and when Philip English comes here, he finds that the Jersey trade with Salem is already begun, and very probably flourishing. There came here also, after Philip English, quite a number of Jersey people, whose descendants are still among us.

We have said that Philip English found Salem about 1670 a decidedly commercial place—that is, Salem proper—the body of the town—and whoever looks into the history of Salem,

will see the causes of this, which it may not be unprofitable here to glance at, and briefly review, for they are peculiar. When Salem was first colonized by the Home Company, its trade was doubtless limited to and with that company to a great degree, if not entirely — This state of things may have lasted from 1628 to 1634-5. When the company relaxed its hold on the Colony, Salem was left to the commercial liberty of the charter, and took, most probably, more even than was granted by it. Before 1636 she began doubtless to build small vessels—shallops, pinnaces, and perhaps ketches, for fishing and trade with the adjacent colonies. The scarcity of grain, with which our people were afflicted in 1631, compelled them to send a pinnace down to Cape Cod for corn, and such voyages were not perhaps unfrequent for years afterward. It is very probable that traders at Salem searched the adjacent coasts for furs and fish in small vessels up to 1640, and for years afterwards. About 1634-5 say, we may safely conclude that our Salem commerce begins to bestir itself, in a very humble way, however. At that time there was most probably a settlement on the Neck, (see Dr. Bentley's History of Salem) which would naturally be the nucleus of the marine trade of the town. As early as 1636, eight individuals were granted half acre lots at Winter Harbor (on the Neck,) for fishing trade, and to build upon. Shallop Cove (now Collins's) was early used by the fishermen for light shallops, (as tradition has it) and who lived themselves in a village on its shores.— Though Salem was settled on the North River at first, yet the marine business of the town—its fishing, boat-building, &c.,—seems to have centred at the lower part, on and near the Neck, and perhaps on the harbor proper.

The authorities of Salem were not at first zealous for trade, to judge by what Hutchinson says. That policy, however, did not last long, for in 1635 (Dr. Bentley says,) a plan for the fisheries was adopted and pursued, and it greatly assisted the prosperity of the town. Salem began to flourish, he says, in 1634.

The Home Company must then have had little or no control here. Now comes (in 1635) the peculiar policy adopted in Salem, which placed her on a firm commercial basis, the fruits of which were so obvious in 1640, and which helped to carry her so rapidly forward to commercial success. Those, who at this date, petitioned for farms, obtained them (says Dr. B.,) on the condition *that they should sell their houses in town to accommodate more easily all who came for trade, and unless they sold their houses in town, they were only to hold their land by lease—the term not to exceed three years.*— Dr. B. further adds, that, as Salem held much common land, it could offer such inducements as could draw new and rich settlers, and that such men as found the best lands pre-occupied in other towns, could obtain great advantages in Salem, and to judge by a cursory review of the 1st volume of the Records of Salem, we ourselves are convinced that the town at that day considered that it held the reverter of the fee in almost, if not all, cases where certain conditions were not complied with—those conditions being based upon the industry and usefulness of the grantee to the town in some way or other, and sometimes specified in the grant itself. *Colonization of the right kind* was the object of the town, which evidently considered the original fee of the soil in Salem to be in itself, as is proved by the early grants which were sometimes made by the committee of thirteen for the town, and sometimes by the town in town meeting assembled. It is proved also by the nature of the grants made to those who founded the large fishing village on Winter Island, and built wharves, storehouses, and even dwelling-houses there. None of these got a fee from the town, but only a use. To obtain a *fee even in the body of the town,

*The fee of all lands in Salem, not specifically granted by the town, seems to have been considered anciently as belonging to the town, and to be used *Pro Bono Publico*. Those who wished to build wharves even went to the town for permission, and this was the custom down to a comparatively modern pe-

the conditions (express or implied) must be performed by the grantee. This at least seems to have been the general rule; and the policy Dr. B. speaks of as having been applied to the early commercial settlers of Salem, is in harmony with the records so far as we have been able to examine them. It was a singular policy, but an effective one, and based on a community of industrial and useful interests, and is of great importance also as determining the ancient landed rights of the town. It would certainly appear as if Salem still held, according to her old laws and practice, the fee in all lands, by sea and shore, not yet specifically granted by the town since its settlement. This may be an anomaly in the town histories of our ancient Commonwealth, but so it seems to be by our records. Salem appears to have been almost a Commonwealth in itself.

This policy, mentioned by Dr. B., was a great stimulus to commerce, as it enabled commercial men to choose good commercial sites in the town, and was not prejudicial to the farmers, who got in exchange for town lands, the meadows and rich land in the rear, and on the outskirts of the town. Joined to this policy was a comparative freedom of trade under the charter, and under the English Commonwealth. Dr. Bentley states that not only was a ship of 300 tons built here in 1640, but that another of 200 tons was built in 1642, and that 80 per cent profit was made this year—in trade. Though Marblehead was then superior to Salem in the fisheries, and though Gloucester, Manchester, and the whole Eastern shore of Massachusetts was then also engaged in the fishery, yet Salem doubtless flourished, and enjoyed her share of the general prosperity which prevailed over the Colony in 1645. The agricultural rivalry of Ipswich at this period may have checked Salem as a farming

town—though it probably only directed her attention the more keenly to her commercial interests. In 1641 and in 1643, Salem must have been largely engaged in shipbuilding, we should judge, by the several orders of the General Courts in these years referring to shipbuilding; and in 1642 Salem pays the next highest sum of the Colony tax—£75—Boston £120—which shows Salem to have been well grounded in its prosperity at that time. She may have been somewhat checked in 1642, but not seriously, so far as we can find.

In 1646 Salem has a viewer of Pipe staves ordered for it by General Court, as defective, worm-eaten staves had been sent abroad to our prejudice. The General Court order viewers for some other ports also. This however shows that Salem was then one of the principal exporters of such articles, and doubtless made a profit thereon. Salem may be in 1651 one of the places aimed at by the Commonwealth in England as furnishing Virginia and Barbadoes with gunpowder (those colonies being then Royalist,) and so stood in jeopardy of losing her free trade privileges; but this storm blew over, and from thence to 1660—and '70 it is evident she must have flourished with the colony. In 1664 she had her rich merchants, and in 1670 was well grounded in the European, West Indian, and Colonial trade—and the wise policy of the town—commencing in the day of small things—in 1635—had invited capital, skill, and industry to her harbor and shores, and in less than forty years, Salem was a commercial town favorably known in Europe—trading with all nations—and comparatively wealthy. Such doubtless was the town, as it met the eyes of Philip English, when he came here between 1660 and '70, and such the causes and effects of its prosperity. The wise policy of encouragement—the wealth of its resources, viz, its fisheries, lumber, and furs—and the general freedom of its commerce—all combined to place it in this short period on a substantial prosperity.

Phillip English found the town a prominent commercial place when he entered it, and lived

riod. The history of the ancient common rights of Salem, and of the grants made by her, prove that Salem considered the fee of her land to be in herself, and she the great grantor.

to see it more than double in population, and most probably in means. In 1680 (about 10 years after he came here) Massachusetts had about 120 ships, sloops, ketches and other craft. In 1686 *Dunton* (who was then here) writes of Salem as "being reported next to Boston in trade." Between 1714 and '18 (according to Custom House Returns) Massachusetts had 492 vessels of 25,406 tons and 3,492 Seamen, and in 1731, 38000 tons of shipping, about one half of which was in the European trade. Salem, as next in commercial importance to Boston, must be credited with her share of this shipping and attendant wealth. For the 50 years or more, which Phillip English occupied in commercial pursuits, there must have been a great advance in the commercial importance of the town, spite of commercial losses and drawbacks to its prosperity.—He also grew up with—or was a contemporary with a body of merchants, whose lives, characters, papers, acts, and histories, prove them to have been solid, reliable, useful enterprising men—and not a few of them generous and public spirited. Some of them were the immediate descendants of the old Puritan leaders of the Colony. The Corwins, the Sewalls, the Higginsons, the Browns were really distinguished merchants—were wise men—not merely to acquire wealth, but in that higher wisdom—the skill to use it for noble ends and purposes, and as a *trust*, to which grave responsibilities attached. They were educated men also. The society of Salem, moreover, as ruled over by such men, was sensibly affected by their example, and it struck *Dunton* when here in 1686 forcibly, reminding him of the generous hospitality, the genuine ease, the sterling worth, the wise stability, and intellectual culture which characterized the really good society in England. *Dunton* came near forgetting old England, and even his home and wife. he tells us in his own amusing way while in Salem—being tempted to remain here permanently.

Salem at that day (1686) doubtless was the most agreeable residence in New England, to

judge by *Dunton's* account. Boston was more cosmopolitan, but Salem more homelike—more stable, more really social. It was a quiet town as compared with Boston—wealthy enough however for liberality and hospitality—somewhat reserved—retaining many of the sober restraints of Puritanism, and not a few of its primitive virtues. The venerable Higginson then presided over its morals and religion, assisted by the polished and agreeable, but not so solid Noyes. The eminent Epes over its learning—the wise, generous and hospitable Sewall over its laws; and around them were gathered a group of men, and merchants whose characters were unstained—whose minds were liberal and polished by books, travels, and knowledge of mankind—men who believed in religion, were brought up under its influence, and who revered its example,—men in whom the old and austere Puritanism of the Colony had become mellowed and softened—who had been blessed with abundance, and used it wisely. The society of the town was hospitable, refined, enlightened. Its merchants were men of their word, its people true to their engagements. *Dunton*, who came to Salem to dispose of part of his adventure of books, which he brought to Boston from England, disposed of a part here, and has not a word to say about the "Grecian faith," which a seller needed, who then traded with the Boston people. He was hospitably and kindly treated in S., well encouraged, and promptly paid, and therefore gives us a character written in letters of gold and silver.

He describes the town as then being about a mile long, with many fine houses in it. It is evident that he then found Salem a comparatively wealthy, refined, intelligent, stable town. And such Salem then was. It had, evidently, a society in which the elements of a wise conservatism were apparent. It was sober, yet given to hospitality—reserved, but generous and virtuous—free from show and pretence—of solid sterling worth, There were here too those habits, and ways and modes of thought and life which characterized good so

ciety in England, and somewhat too perhaps of the distinctions and grades of society there found—modified, however, by the more popular and peculiar views of New England.—Quality and quantity were terms understood and practised upon in our early N. E. Society as elsewhere, but modified somewhat by our more popular ideas. Our society was not then quite English, though resembling it, but rather new English—an improvement on the original, and admitting of indefinite improvement also. It may have looked to England somewhat for its models, but it also looked to its own origin and progress also, and the laws of reason and wisdom. There was a loyalty in it, which externally and superficially was directed to the royalty and aristocracy of England, but which in the hour of trial was really devoted to God and liberty. The men and women of New England were loyal to God and not the King, in any great emergency—God being to them the King even of Kings—and though this loyalty might sleep for a time, it never died. It was the deep inspiration—the calm belief—the motive power of their religion, their thoughts, their manners, and their laws—the key to their history—the secret of their triumphs. The idea of liberty in church—in State—in morals, manners, customs and laws, is the great idea, from whose seed has sprung New England as she is, religiously, intellectually, politically, commercially, and socially. It is the germ of our existence, our growth, our flower, and our fruit. It is a developement of that idea outwardly, and irresistibly. From that idea we sprang as a people, and any and all attempts to make ourselves foreign to this are unnatural, absurd, unwise. We are not, and cannot be, of foreign growth or complexion. We may be made to so appear, we may even attempt to make ourselves appear so: but we must return finally to ourselves—a people whose seed is freedom—and whose law of developement, and growth, and flower, and fruitage, must simply come from—liberty—the liberty, moreover, which is of itself restraint, reason, wisdom,

morality, order, religion—which abhors license in all its forms and ways, and is as far removed from it as the heavens are above the earth.

[The prosecution of Philip English and his wife for *witchcraft*, with the direct and collateral documentary evidence pertaining thereto, will be given as a Second Part of this Sketch in the coming volume of the Historical Collections.]

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c.,
ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF
COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

John Norton, April, 1663.

Copy of will of John Norton, of Boston, will dated 14th Jan., 1661, mentions brother Wm. Norton of Ipswich; gives him land he bought of Matthew Whipple, deceased, now in the occupation of Goodman Annable; gives him also the 100 pounds due unto him for his house in Ipswich which Mr. Cobbett now dwelleth in.

his ever endeared and honored mother thirty pounds in current money of England, to be paid to her use in London, at his Brother Thomas Norton's house.

his two sisters, Mrs. Martha Wood and Mrs. Mary Young, £20 between them, to be paid at Thomas's house in London. brother Thomas and Elizabeth, his wife.

gives ten pounds to the poor of the church of which he is an unworthy officer.

wife, Mrs. Mary Norton, and app'ts her sole ext'x, and app'ts Mr. Rawson secretary, and Elder Pen overseers. Proved June 12, 1663.

Mary Smith, May, 1663,

Will of Mary Smith, wife unto the late James Smith, of Marblehead, dated 28 Mar. 1663, daughter Catherine Eborne, & daughter Mary Rowland, grand children Samuel & Joseph Rowland, Mary Eborne, daughter Mary Rowland's five children, daughter Cathren Eborne, children Mary, Rebecca, Moses, Hannah, James & Sarah, Samuel, son James Smith,

John Bennett, 4th mo., 1663.

Inventory of the estate of widow Bennet of Marblehead, amounting to £76 02s 0d, returned and allowed 30th 4th mo., 1663.

Thos. Flint, 4th mo., 1663.

Will of Thomas Flint, dated Apr. 1, 1663.

To his wife 50 acres of improved, and his meadow and housing. To his son Thomas 30 acres of upland on his farm next to Mr. Gardner's, which was bought of Mr. Higginson and Goodman Goodell, as he sees fit, not encroaching on his mother's meadow or brother's land, as also ten pounds in corn or cattle, all of which he is to enjoy at age.

Sons George, John, Joseph, daughter Eliz'h, app'ts his wife sole ext'x, and Mr. Wm. Brown sr., Goodman Moulton and Jos. Swinnerton, Jr., to be overseers.

proved 2d 5th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate taken Apr. 14, 1663, by Robt. Moulton, Sam'l Verey, and Henry Phelps, amounting to £330 16s 0d, debts, £65, 13s, 4d, returned 2d 5th mo., and allowed.

Robt. Sallows, 4th mo., 1663.

Inventory of Robert Sallows, taken by Thos. Lowthropp, John Thorndike, Richard Brackenburgh and John Patch, amounting to £143 9s 6d, returned 1st 5th mo., 1663.

Thos. Sallows, 4th mo., 1663.

Inventory of Thomas Sallows, taken 4th June, 1663, by Elias Stileman and Thos. Rootes, amounting to £105 11s 03d, returned 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Geo. Smith, 4th mo., 1663.

Inventory of estate of George Smith of Salem, taken 9th May, 1663, by Jeffrey Massey and Thos. Rootes, amounting to £9, returned and adm'n granted to the widow.

Henry Muddle, 4th mo., 1663.

Inventory of estate of Henry Muddle of Gloucester, amounting to £16 8s 10d; debts

and charges £2 19s 9d, returned by Peter Duncan, and is allowed 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Wm. Cantlebury, 4th mo., 1663.

Will of Wm. Cantlebury of Salem, dated 2d April, 1661. wife Beatrice, son John, daughter Ruth, daughter Rebecca, and her children; mentions the farm he bought of Mr. George Corwinne, app'ts Beatrice his wife sole ext'x, and Mr. John Croade overseer.—Witnesses—John Porter, sr., and Nath'l Felton.

Proved 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate, taken 25th June, 1663, by Thos. Gardner, sen'r, and Nath'l Felton, amounting to £470 8s 0d. List of debts £45 15s 8d, returned 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Thomas Antram, 4th mo., 1663.

Will of Thos. Antram of Salem, dated 24th 11th mo., 1662, mentions Isaac Burnape, the son of his daughter Hannah Burnape, under age, son Obadiah Antram, Thomas Spooner, Hilyard Veren.

app'ts Edmund Batter ex'or, and Thomas Spooner and Hiliard Veren my overseers.—Witnesses—Thomas Spooner and Wm. Woodcocke. Will signed but a few days before death.

Proved 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate, taken Feb. 17, 1662, by Elias Stileman and John Ruche, amounting to £258 0s 0d, returned by Edmond Batter 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Robt. Roberts, Sept., 1663.

Inventory of estate of Robt. Roberts of Ipswich, taken July 20, 1663, by Thos. Clarke and Ringdell Foster, Jr., amounting to £177 11s 8d, returned 29 Sept., 1663.

Thos. Scott, Sept., 1663.

Receipt of Ric'd Kimball and Edmund Bridges, for £24, Sarah Scott's portion of her father's estate, paid by Ezekiel Rogers, May 10, 1661.

Receipt of Mary Scott for £25, her portion or her father Thomas Scott's estate, paid by Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, Apr. 23, 1663.

Receipt of Hannah Boswort, of £5, his wife Abigail's share of her father Thomas Scott's estate, Oct. 1, 1663.

John Comings, 9th mo., 1663.

Inventory of estate of John Comings, in possession of John Ormes, Salem, taken 26th November, 1663, by Edmond Batter and Walter Price, amounting to £47 14s 6d, returned 14th 9th mo, 1663, and John Gardner and John Ormes were app't adm'rs.

John Pickworth, 9th mo., 1663.

Will of John Pickworth, dated 27th 4th mo., 1663, wife Ann Pickworth, eldest son, John, 3 sons, Samuel, Joseph and Benjamin, daughters Ruth Macpherson and Varan Collem, youngest dau Abigail, app'ts his wife, John and Sam'l, Thomas Jones and Wm. Bennet, overseers. proved 25th 9th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate taken 25th Aug't, 1663, by Wm. Allen and Robert Leach, amounting to £168 4s 0d, returned by Ann Pickworth 25th 9th mo., 1663.

Ric'h'd Rootens, 9th mo., 1663.

Will of Ric'h'd Rootens, dated June 12, 1663, mentions his wife, his kinsman, Edmond Rooten, Jonathan Hartshorne; gives his pastor, Mr. Whitney, forty shillings. Witness—Henry Rhodes, Robert Driver, and Francis Burrill, his wife to be ex'tx, Henry Rhodes and George Taylor, overseers. proved 25th 9th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate taken Sept. 20, 1663, by Nath'l Handforth and Francis Burrill, £280 6s 2d: list of debts, £9 9s 0d, returned 25th 9th mo., 1663.

Elias Stileman, 9th mo., 1663.

Inventory of Elias Stileman, taken 7th 9th month, 1662, by Edmond Batter and Hilliard Veren, amounting to £176 12s 6d. List of

debts £279 12s 4d, returned 26th 9th mo., 1663.

Gershom Lambert, Mar., 1664.

Will of Gershom Lambert of Rowley, 16th Mar., 1664, mentions Aunt Rogers. (Brothers.) Thos. Lambert, John Lambert, John Spofford sr, Charles Brewer, Richard Lighton, cousin Mary Brewer, cousin Eliz'h Platt, sister Ann, wife of Thos. Nelson: Thos. Nelson, ex'or. proved 29th Mar., 1664.

Thos. Barnes, 4th mo., 1664.

Inventory of estate of Thos. Barnes of Salem, taken 12th 11th mo., 1663, by Walter Price, Elias Stileman, amounting to £337, 18s 9d; list of debts, amounting to £120 13s 0d, allowed 24th 4th mo., 1664.

Henry Harwood, 4th mo., 1664.

Inventory of estate of Henry Harwood of Salem, taken 10th 1st mo., 1663-4, by Joseph Grafton, Geo. Gardner, John Gardner and Henry Bartholomew, amounting to £163 14s 6d, allowed 27th 4th mo., 1664.

Testimony (dated 29th 4th mo., 1664,) of Messrs. John Higginson and Henry Bartholomew as to the minde of said Harwood, in the disposing of his estate to his wife as long as she lives, and after her death to be equally divided between his kinswoman and his wife's daughter, Elizabeth Nixon, except a legacy of four pounds to the poor of the church in bearing the charge of the Lord's Supper.

Copy of the order of Court held at Salem 29th 4th mo., 1664, app'ting the widow ad'mx and after her decease, Jane Flinders, wife of Ric'h Flinders, to have all the land, and Eliz'h, wife of Matthew Nixon, to have the balance.

Sam'l Beadle, 4th mo., 1664.

Will of Sam'l Beadle of Salem, dated Mar. 12, 1663, son Nath'l Beadle, dau Dorothy, three smallest children, "now at home with me," Samuel, Thomas and Eliz'h, app'ts Walter Price ex'or and John Croad and Hilliard Veren overseers. approved 30th 4th mo., '64.

NATHAN REED.

Hon. Nathan Reed, whose lithograph is inserted in this number, was born in Warren, Mass., July 2, 1759. He was son of Reuben and Tamerson Reed, of Warren; Reuben was son of Nathaniel and Phebe Reed; Nathaniel, son of Thomas Reed of Sudbury, and his wife Abigail; migrated in early life from Sudbury to Warren. Thomas was son of Thomas and Mary Reed, of Sudbury; the elder Thomas was son of Elias, who was son of William, of Maidstone, in the County of Kent, England, Professor of Divinity, and his wife Lucy. The earliest notice of the name in America, is in Woburn, Mass., and thence moved to Sudbury. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1781 and was familiarly known among his classmates, as Nothumb instead of Nathan, having some deficiency in one thumb. He was for some years Tutor in the College, and afterwards studied Medicine with Dr. E. A. Holyoke, of Salem. He then kept an Apothecary Shop, in Salem, and was known as Dr. Reed. He married Oct. 20, 1790, Elizabeth Jeffrey, of Salem, whose father, William, was Clerk of the Courts, of Essex County. He was the inventor of a patent for the manufacture of nails, which originated the building of the Danvers Iron Works, so called. He was also the actual inventor of the first Steamboat with paddle wheels in American waters. The trial trip of this boat which took place in 1789, was from Danvers Iron Works to Beverly. On board were the Governor of the Commonwealth, the Hon. Nathan Dane, Dr. E. A. Holyoke, Rev. Dr. Prince, and other distinguished men.

His country residence was near the Iron Works, in Danvers, the same that has lately been known as Capt. Porter's; his town dwelling was on the site where Plummer Hall now stands, and was removed to give place for the present building.*

* This site was owned about a century since by Joseph Bowditch—he bequeathed it to his daughter

He represented Essex South District in the Congress of the United States, in 1798-9. In 1807, he removed to Maine, and was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, for the State of Maine, till nearly the time of his death, which took place at Belfast, January 20, 1849, in his 90th year.

A more minute account of him is given by *J. W. Reed. Esq.*, of Groveland, Mass., in his *HISTORY OF THE REEDS OR READS*, now in press. This work gives an account of the origin and definition of the name, the wars, conquests and migrations of the clans of Reed in the old world, and notices of every one of the name in the United States.

Mrs. Elizabeth Jeffry, from whom it descended to her daughter, the wife of Nathan Reed, the subject of our notice. In 1799 it was sold to Capt. Joseph Peabody, and remained in the possession of that family until 1855, when it was conveyed to the Proprietors of the Salem Athenæum to erect thereon, *PLUMMER HALL*, from funds bequeathed by the late Miss Caroline Plummer, of Salem. The dwelling, thus removed, was built by Mr. Reed, in 1793.—Col. Perley Putnam, the present superintendent of streets, yet a hale and hearty octogenarian, worked on this building when an apprentice. The following letter from him may not be inappropriately inserted in this connection.

SALEM, Feb. 11, 1859.

Dear Sir,—In compliance with your request of last evening, in reference to the time when Dr. Reed's (late Capt. Joseph Peabody's) house was built, I would inform you that the carpenters commenced working on the frame of said house early in the month of October, 1793. The house was framed in the garden back of where it was erected. The frame was raised, boarded, shingled, &c., before the old Bowditch house was demolished—which stood a little to the eastward of the centre of the lot, and projected out over the present line of the street, about half the width of the present sidewalk. When the house was first raised it had the appearance of being set up very high from the ground. But, at that time, that part of Essex street was quite low, and was soon after raised, graded, and paved, after which the house had a very different appearance, at the time it was removed. Samuel Mackintire was the Architect, and Joseph Mackintire and others were the carpenters, &c.

At the time said house was erected, there was not a tree or a shrub on the lot, with the exception of a few black currant bushes, which stood by the side of an old stone wall, which ran along on the south of Brown street, where the brick wall now stands.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

PERLEY PUTNAM.

DR. HENRY WHEATLAND.

THE "OLD PLANTERS" OF SALEM, WHO WERE
SETTLED HERE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF
GOVERNOR ENDICOTT, IN 1628.

BY GEORGE D. PHIPPEN.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, March 25, 1868.

Continued from Page 153.

PETER PALFRAY

Was among the first one hundred and sixteen men who took the freeman's oath at the first General Court for that purpose, May 18, 1631, as were several others also, of the first planters, viz: Mr. Roger Conant, John Woodbury, John Balch, Mr. William Jeffrey, and William Allen. May 9th, 1632, Palfray and Conant were the two persons chosen for Salem, according to an order of General Court, to confer with the Governor and Assistants, about raising a public stock.

On the 7th of November, of the same year, he was appointed with Messrs. Turner and Conant a Committee of the General Court, to set off a tract of land to John Humphrey, the Deputy Governor, in Saugus. He was often on the land Committee, and Board of Selectmen in Salem.

In 1635, was a Deputy at the second General Court; this year he received his grant of two hundred acres at the head of Bass River. It is supposed by some that he never lived upon this farm, which we regard as uncertain.*

He removed to Reading about 1652. At town meeting there, March 1, of that year, he was chosen one of the Prudential Committee of five. "The power that the Towne doth give to the five men before mentioned is to order all the prudential affairs of the town excepting giving of land and timber." He was often after-

ward chosen upon this and other Committees at Reading. At town meeting, Feb 7, 1658, "There was given to Peter Palfray, three acres of meadow in the Long Hedge of meadow, that lyeth by Rockey Meadow." On the 14th of the same month, the upland at the north side of Ipswich River, was divided by lot among the inhabitants; to Peter Palfray fell, one hundred and seventy acres and forty-three poles. This land was located in what is now North Reading, not far from the present Baptist meeting-house; the meadows that bordered the River in front of this land, were formerly very valuable, but were much injured in later years by the damming of the river in the construction of mills.

On the 31st of 1st mo., 1653, Palfray sold to Francis Skerry, husbandman of Salem, two acres of marsh, lying near the ferry, in said town, and abutting upon the garden of John Luff, this no doubt was his original allotment at his first settlement with Conant in 1626. Balch owned the adjoining land northward, along the river and nearer the ferry.

In December, 1653, "Peter Palfray, planter, late of Salem," sold half an acre of land between John Horn and Capt. Hathorne, over against Mr. Downing's house.

On the 28th of 7th month, 1644, George Hawkins, of Boston, by power of attorney from George Richisson sold William Dodge, for £40, his farm of two hundred acres near the head of Bass River, late the possession of Peter Palfray. After an active and well spent life, he died at Reading, September 15, 1663. His will was dated Oct. 21, of the previous year, and commences with these words: "Whereas I, Peter Palfray have taken into consideration the *brittleness* of my life, especially being *affarr stricken in years*," &c.

It is recorded in the Middlesex Probate Records, book 2, folio 181, and has codicils dated 19 May, 1663. He had three wives. His second wife, Elizabeth, was widow of John Fairfield, of Wenham, who died in 1646. His third wife, Alice, is mentioned in his will.

Mr. Palfray and his first wife were among

* The following extract from the Court Records, evinces that our ancestors were not exempt from a certain class of social troubles. At the Quarter Court held at Salem, 27 of 4, 1637. Endicott, Conant and Hathorne, presiding magistrates.

"Jane Wheat servant unto Peter Palfray had not only wronged her neighbours in killing their poultry, but being convict of lying loitering and running away from her master, was whipped."

the original members of the First Church, where his children were baptized, viz :

Jonathan and Jehodan baptized 25th of 10th month, 1636. Jehodan married Benj. Smith, March 27, 1661. She died Nov. 5, 1662.

Remember, baptized 16th of 7th month, 1638, married Peter Aspinwall, of Muddy River, 12th of Feb. 1661, by John Endicott, Governor.

Mary, baptized 15th of 10th month, 1639, called his youngest child in June, 1662. One of his daughters married Samuel Pickman, another Matthew Johnson. No son is mentioned in his will, some have supposed he had a son older than the children whose baptisms are recorded, and who may have been in circumstances not to need further assistance from their father. His estate, consisting of land and meadow beyond the river. &c., was valued at eighty-four pounds, ten shillings. In consequence of the want of any thing definite about the continuance of his son or sons, it has thus far been impossible for the present Palfrays to trace their line farther back than to the three following men, supposed grandsons of Peter.

All that is wanted is to find a common father to Walter, of Salem, William of Boston, and John of Cambridge, probably sons of Jonathan or some other son of Peter, of which however no proof remains. These three men had each considerable families, and their descendants appear to embrace all the Palfrays of New England.

Walter is the ancestor of the Salem family, still represented, and who have been known throughout the history of the town. William is the ancestor of the Hon. John G. Palfray, late member of Congress, and one of the historians of the country. Prominent men are found in all the branches. If the lost patriarch were found, a complete genealogy could easily be made from the primitive Peter to the present time.

This family in Salem is connected among others, with the primitive stock of the Man-

nings, Derbys, Graftons, Downings, Phippens, &c.*

WALTER KNIGHT

Was among the Episcopalians at Nantasket, in 1622, and removed with Conant to Cape Anne, in 1624; he was thirty-nine years of age, when in 1626 he followed Conant to Naumkeag; was probably a carpenter, and employed by the Dorchester Merchants to assist in the construction of buildings for the New Colony. Richard Brackenbury in his extremely valuable document,† testified in 1680, that when he arrived at Salem, with Gov. Endicott, in 1628, he found Walter Knight there, and that Norman, Allen and Knight, stated that they came over for the Dorchester Merchants, and had built sundry houses at Salem, and that Walter Knight and the rest said that they had also built a house at Cape Anne, "and soe I was sent with them to Cape Anne, to pull down the said house for Mr. Endicott's use, the which wee did." It was erected immediately in Salem, where under many alterations it is supposed to be standing at the present day ‡

Brackenbury also mentions Woodbury, Conant, Palfray, Balch and others, in another

* *References.* — Hubbard, Prince, Felt, Rantoul, Young, Rec. of Mass., Probate and Deeds Rec., Court and Church Rec., Town Rec. of Salem and Reading.

† Presented from another source, on page 156.

‡ Allusion to Gov. Endicott's house has been before made with some confidence, on pages 102 and 4, and from another source on page 156, and the opinion has long prevailed that it was situated on the corner of Church and Washington streets, and this statement has occasionally appeared in print. Since the appearance of the last number of these Collections, however, extensive examination of the Essex Registry of Deeds, in relation to this estate has been made, with the disappointment, of not largely corroborating, at the same time not directly conflicting with this view. Zerubabel Endicott, son of the Governor, sold the land on which this house stands to Daniel Eppes, in 1681, and the region thereabouts was long known as Endicott's field. See memoir of Gov. Endicott, by C. M. Endicott, page 20 and note.

paragraph, and from the manner in which he speaks of the men found at Salem, classifying them as it were in two different sentences, we infer, that the relation of these two classes were essentially different. The one appearing like men who possessed a prime interest in the undertaking, while the others were without doubt men who were sent over in a subservient capacity, and there are other indications that the latter were men of less education and refinement. Norman and Allen were carpenters, and the others in the same paragraph were of occupations indispensable to a new settlement.

The adoption of this view, we think, accounts conclusively for the omission of one set of these names in the large grant of one thousand acres of land at Bass River. We intend however, under another head, to show that reasonable proof remains that they, the other party, did collectively receive a similar grant as "old planters," though in a far less quantity.

The name of Walter Knight is not found among the members of the First Church, and he may have maintained his high church opposition throughout his residence in Salem.

In 1640 and '42, he had some small causes at the Quarter Court, in Salem. In the former year he received £3 as plaintiff against Richard Cook. 2d of 1st month, 1640, he was fined £10 at the Quarter Court in Boston, for rude and contemptuous speeches; and for security made over a bill of £11. In 1653, at the age of sixty-six, he was living in Boston, when he deposed that Thomas Gray had received Nantasket by the year 1622, from Chikataubut, Sagamore of the Massachusetts Indians.

This is all we have learned of Knight or his family. Information is doubtless accessible among the Records of Suffolk County.

Cotemporary with him the next ten years after the settlement, were William and Ezekiel Knight, at Salem; William died about 1655, leaving wife Elizabeth and four children. George at Hingham, John at Watertown, John at Newbury, Richard at Weymouth,

William, minister at Topsfield, and perhaps others, who are not likely all to have been of one family. The name is common throughout the country.*

WILLIAM ALLEN

And his wife Elizabeth, were among the original members of the First Church; her maiden name we think was Bradley, as John Bradley was called Allen's brother in law, in 1642. He was admitted a freeman among the first, May 18, 1631. He had a grant of fifty acres of land on 20 of 12, 1636, at which time John Woodbury had a warrant to lay it out. On 23d of 2d, 1638, one acre of Salt Marsh was granted him adjoining his lot—probably at the Old Planter's Marsh. On the 25th of 11th month, 1642, William Allen and Robert Allen were granted ten acres apiece at the Great Pond, (Wenham Lake.) William Allen was by trade a carpenter; in 1637 he and Samuel Archer were to build the powder house, and were allowed two months to finish it in. He removed to Manchester, where many generations of the name have lived. It appears that on the 13th of May, 1640, he, with sixteen others of Salem, among whom were Robert Allen and John Norman, petitioned General Court for liberty to remove to Jeffrey's Creek, (Manchester,) and erect a village there. He may not have removed immediately for it was not until ten years later, that he sold his homestead in Salem, viz: On the 9th of 4th month, 1650, he sold his late dwelling house and one half acre of land adjoining, in Salem, and six acres in the south field, to John Bridgman, of said place. On the 20th of April, 1659, he sold Samuel Gardner, a quantity of land lying near the meeting house, between Philip Cromwell's and Richard Stillman's land.† Like most of the old planters,

* References.—Felt's Salem Mass. Rec., Court Files Gen. Reg. vol. 1, page 38, Reg. Deeds, Town Rec. &c.

†The following is subjoined for future elucidation as to locality. At Court at Boston, July 3, 1632, Rev. Mr. Skelton, among other lands was granted "ten acres on a Neck of land abutting on the South

he lived to be aged, dying in 1678 or '9. In 1664, then an old man, he deposed that it had been a resolve of the inhabitants of Salem, that when land was granted on the rivers that skirt the town, a reservation should be made for a passage between the top of the banks and the water side, and such were undoubtedly among the most primitive of our highways.

His children, baptized at the First Church, were

Deborah, baptized 23d of 2d month, 1637.

Bethiah, " 16th of 11th month, 1639

Onisiphorus, " 3d of 5th month, 1642.

William, " 31st of 3d month, 1646.

Jonathan, " 29th of 5th month, 1649.

His son Samuel, probably older than either, we do not find mentioned among the baptisms.

His will is recorded on the 72d folio of the first book of Essex Probate Records, dated 7th June, 1678, proved 26th of 4th month, 1679, wherein he styles himself "William Allen, sen, of Manchester," makes his wife Elizabeth full and sole executrix of his property, to be disposed of after her death; part of which is as follows, "to Samuel, the remainder of the twenty five acre lot of upland, and the share of the fresh meadow; to 2d son Onisiphorus, and son William Allen, my whole fifty acre lot, and an acre of saltmarsh at lower end of my orchard." It is remarked that both these sons had houses of their own, and were to have lands adjoining them. In the inventory presented, which amounted to £186, 10s, among other lands and effects, are mentioned fifteen acres of upland lying on the bounds of Beverly, joining to Wenham Great Pond, also two oxen, one cow two heifers, two sheep, and a horse.

Robert Allen, probably William's brother, was granted on the 4th of 12th month, 1638, twenty-five acres of land at Jeffrey Creek; his

River, upon the Harbour River on the North, upon William Allen's ground on the East, and upon Mrs. Higginson's ground on the west." *Query*.—Where was William Allen's land, and was Harbour River the North River, the land being bounded on the south by the South River?

children were born in 1640 and odd. From these men have descended those bearing the name in Salem, Manchester and vicinity.*

THOMAS GRAY.

A very early settler, purchased Nantasket of the Indian Sachem Chikataubut, as early as 1622, where he was living with John Gray and Walter Knight, and to his succor and hospitality the persecuted Episcopalians of Plymouth fled, and very naturally therefore he would accompany Conant to Cape Anne and Naumkeag, when the prospects were so flattering of the permanent establishment of Episcopacy.

Thomas Gray, supposed to be the same person, was located in Marbleharbor, [Marblehead,] then a part of Salem, as early as 1631; his name is met with as of that place till 1660 or later. The records of the Quarter Court at Salem, and the Court of Assistants at Boston, during that period, do not furnish any other point worthy of interest relating to him. He lived to be aged, and should have been venerable.

Another Thomas Gray was living at Plymouth in 1643, and died there Nov. 29, 1682.

Robert Gray, who was born about 1634, lived in Salem, and had children born there in 1656 to '66. He was fined in 1669, for attending Quaker meeting; his will was made in 1662; left Elizabeth, Joseph, Robert, Bethiah, Hannah and Mary. The name Robert continues to be very common in this family afterward. There were cotemporary families very early in the county, and probably of different origins †

JOHN TILLEY.

At the commencement of the Cape Anne settlement, John Tilley was appointed Overseer of the Fishing interest, while the planting

* *References*.—Mass. Rec., Town and Church Rec., Reg. of Deeds and Probate.

† *References*.—Felt's Annals, Drake's Boston, Rec. Qr. Court, Rec. of Mass. Gen. Reg., 2. 235.

department was placed in charge of Thomas Gardner.

It is generally accepted that Tilley followed Conant to Naumkeag in 1626. He took the freeman's oath March 4, 1634. He was a mariner by occupation, and identified with the fishing and commercial trading of Massachusetts till his death in 1636. His name is associated in Colonial affairs with such persons as William Peirce and Thomas Beecher, noted shipmasters* of that day; his career subsequent to the failure of fishing operations at Cape Anne, related, more particularly, to the South side of the Bay, and trade with the neighboring Colonies.

In the year 1634 he became involved in moneyed difficulties with his partners in trade, and General Court, on the 1st April of that year, appointed assignees over his property till his "debts be satisfied that he owed in ye Bay." At the Court of Assistants, held on the 1st of July following, his affairs were adjusted by mutual consent of the different parties, in the appointment of referees, viz.: "John Winthrop, sen., Esq., Mr. Wm. Peirce, Mr. Thomas Beecher and Mr. Stagg."

The difficulties, thus settled, had occurred with Mr. Marryner's Company, Mr. Henry Coggin and Mr. John Coggin, for moneys paid the ship's company, and other matters. Sep. 2, 1635, Tilley was appointed by General Court upon a committee with Mr. Thomas Dudley, Mr. Beecher, Mr. Waltham, Mr. Duncom. and Mr. Peirce, with "power to consulte, advise and take order for the setting forward and after manageing of the fisheing trade and vpon their accompt all charges of dyett, or other wayes att the tymes of their meeteing to be allowed out of the fishing stocke."

In the year 1636 Tilley was on a trading voyage as master of a bark and while coming down the Connecticut River, notwithstanding the caution he received from Capt. Gardner, at Saybrook, to be on his guard against surprise

of the Indians, he trusted to his own sagacity, and disdained the well intentioned advice, and very imprudently left his vessel, in a small canoe, with one assistant, on a fowling excursion along the banks of the river. He landed about three miles from the fort, and was stealthily watched by the Indians in ambush, until he had discharged his gun. when a large number of the savages arose from their covert and took him prisoner without chance of resistance, and at the same time killed the man left in charge of the boat. His inhuman captors tortured him by first cutting off his hands, and a while after, his feet also; notwithstanding which, it is said, he survived for three days, and won the admiration of the Indians by the manner in which he endured their cruel tortures. He is represented by Winthrop* as a "very stoutf man, and of great understanding."

This dreadful event was one among many similar aggravating experiences that our ancestors endured, in rapid succession, from the natives, and which led to the swift destruction and almost annihilation of the powerful Pequod tribe; in which war another of the Old Planters, who commanded the Essex men, Capt. Trask, of Salem, signalized himself and won the gratitude of his country.

We have learned nothing of Tilley's descendants, if any he had. A few years after his death we find a family of that name living at Plymouth and neighborhood, viz.: Thomas and William, in 1643, and John, in 1653. Others, and probably of the same family stock, were Hugh Tilley, who came to Salem in the fleet, as

* Peirce was master of the ship *Lyon*, and Beecher of the *Talbot*, in the fleet of 1630.

* Drake, in his History of Boston, expresses some doubts as to the identity of John Tilley, mentioned by Winthrop and the Mass. Records, with John Tilley of the Cape Ann Colony, but the fact of Tilley's promineny in the trading and fishing interest of Massachusetts throughout his a tive life, evincing peculiar qualifications for the superintendency of the Cape Anne fisheries, convinces us that these events, occupying in time but a few years, all relate to one and the same individual.

† Courageous.

a servant to Sir Richard Saltonstall, another John Tilley, and also Edward Tilley, with their wives and families formed part of the 101 Pilgrims who came in the Mayflower to Plymouth, in 1620, but they and their wives, with three other members of their families, died the first winter.*

THOMAS GARDNER,

Overseer of the planting interest at Cape Anne, at its beginning, was, according to Farmer, a native of Scotland. Farmer, Young, and Felt agree that he followed Conant to Salem; he was one of the original members of the first church here, was admitted freeman May 17, 1637, and was the same year member of General Court.

The following grants of land show him to have been a man who had prominent claims among his fellow Colonists. The title of *Mr.* then of no mean import, generally precedes his name in the Records.

On 20 of 12, 1636, he had a grant of 100 acres. On 24, 12, 1637, Mr. Gardner is granted an addition to his farm, not exceeding twenty acres. On 17, 2, 1639, Granted a bank of upland near his marsh, at Strong Water Brook. In 1642 3-4 of an acre near the Rayles † In 1643, a parcel of land to set a house upon, near the old mill. In 1649, a small piece of meadow next his farm. Thomas Gardner and George Gardner, brothers, were granted land on 9 of 8, 1637, who were probably sons of Thomas. In 1647, Thomas Gardner, George Gardner, and Hilliard Veren were to have four acres of meadow each. In 1654, George Gardner was to have six acres of upland at his ten acre lot. He took the freeman's oath in 1642. He is called Sargent George, and was lieutenant in 1664, under Capt. Walter Price. He married Eliza —. She was a Quakeress, and in 1658 was indicted "for adherence to the cursed sect of the Quakers."

Their children were Samuel, born May 14, 1648. Bethia —, born 1654. Hittabell, Ebenezer, born 1657, and George. He died about 1679, leaving a large family. See record of his will, Essex Probate Records, Book 1, 73. Nov. 9, 1659, John Gardner and Samuel Gardner, with Walter Price and Henry Bartholomew, had permission to erect a corn-mill on South River.

This Samuel Gardner was deputy to General Court in 1681-2 and 5. Samuel Gardner, sen. in his will dated 2 Oct 1689, gave his "sone Jonathan my fishing ketch, and her appurtenances, and my flakes and housing and wth else I have at Winter Island."

Another Samuel Gardner was deputy to General Court many years, for most of the time from 1694 to 1710.

Thomas Gardner, supposed the son of Thomas as the first, was a member of the First Church, 1639, freeman 1641. On the 18 of 5 mo 1637, he had a grant from the Town of a five-acre lot, "as a great lot." He died in the latter part of 1674. He had two wives, 1st Margeret Frier, 2d Damaris Shattock; the latter united with the Quakers, and was often fined for her heresy. He had a large family, eleven children, viz.: Seeth,* baptized 25 of 10, 1636, married John Grafton 1 of 10, 1659; Sarah, Elizabeth, Bethiah, Thomas, George, John, Samuel, Joseph, Richard, Merriam. Here are six sons and five daughters, with a fair chance for posterity. His will, dated 7, 10 mo 1668, proved 29 March, 1675; to his wife Damaris he gave up all the estate she brought him, also £8 in money. &c. To his dau. Sarah Balch, £15, dau.—Seeth Grafton, £15, to dau. Merriam Hills—to two daus. Merriam and Susan £5 each, at 18, or marriage; to his sons George and John, salt meadow west of Capt. George Corwin's meadow, to his sons Samuel and Joseph, salt meadow east of Corwin's. His housing the rest of the lands, goods and estate to be divided in seven equal parts; be.

* References—Hubbard 106; Savage's Winthrop 1, 200; Mass. Records; Drake's Boston; &c.

† In Beverly, near Wenham.

* A daughter—origin of the name to be given in a future number.

tween his six sons, Thomas, George, Richard, John, Samuel and Joseph. Thomas, the eldest, to have two shares. George and Sam, executors. Mr. Joseph Grafton and Deacon Horne, overseers. Robert Pease and Samuel Goldthrite, witnesses. Inventory dated 4 of 11, 1674, val. £274 16 s., in which were dwelling house and ten acres of land, with orchard, &c 10 acres in ye Northfield, 100 acres of upland and meadow, 20 acres "lying in ye woods," and about 2 1-4 acres of salt marsh "lying about ye mill," household stuff, &c.

Geggle's Island, in the South River, was granted to one Thomas Gardner in 1680. On the division of the Salem Military Company into two separate Companies, in 1674, Joseph Gardner took command of one, and John Curwin of the other.

In 1685, Ebenezer, son of George, left £50 to poor honest people of Salem, and in 1721, John Gardner left one-tenth of his estate for a like purpose.

This surname has been known and respected throughout the entire history of Salem, and descendants are still numerous in this the primitive abode of their ancestors.*

RICHARD NORMAN

is mentioned in Brackenbury's deposition as among those he found living at Naumkeag when he arrived in 1628, in these words, "old Goodman Norman and his sonn." Most of the old planters were young or middle-aged men; Norman was probably older than any of them. This deposition was taken fifty years afterward, and when old Norman was probably dead, and Brackenbury himself an old man; he was describing matters as they struck him on his arrival. We have other evidence that Richard Norman was called "Old Norman," viz.: in 1649, John Gedney sold Thomas Spooner a parcel of land which was given "Old Norman."

Richard Norman and John Norman had

* References—Hubbard, Felt, Young. Rec. of Mass. Probate Rec.. City Rec., &c.

each a grant of twenty acres of land on 8 of 9 mo 1637. These persons are the same referred to in the quaint line. "Old Goodman Norman and his sonn." Felt, Drake, Thornton and all other writers describe them, as we think, erroneously as Richard and Richard, Jr. John Norman, in 1628, was about 15 years old, at which time his brother Richard was but three. John removed to Jeffry Creek.* The old gentleman and his younger son, Richard, removed to Marblehead where they were both living in 1650 and '53. Richard Norman, sen. was presented at the Quarter Court at Salem 17 of 7 mo, 1650, "for defective fences on Darbyfort side," [Marblehead.] We do not know when he died.

JOHN NORMAN,

son of Richard, the "Old Goodman" had a grant of land at Jeffry Creek, 8 of 9 mo, 1637, and with sixteen others petitioned General Court 14 of 3d mo, 1640, to remove there and erect a village.

At the Quarter Court held at Salem, 3d of 8 mo, 1637, the Jury found for Richard Inker-soll, plaintiff, against John Norman, 40 shillings, in money, and 30 shillings in mackerell. He had removed to Jeffry Creek as early as 1640; in 1650 he petitioned for liberty to keep a house of entertainment there.

He probably lacked some of the graces of the man of Uz, for he was once presented at Court "for striking Nath'l Masterson with the help of an ax to ye breach of ye peace."

His wife, Arabella, was admitted to the First Church in 1637. Her children baptized there and also recorded in the Town Records, are John, born in 1637, Lydia, Hannah or Anna, Arabella and Richard. Her daughter, Arabella married John Balden in September, 1664, by Major Dennison, and had Hannah and John.*

In Thomas Williams' will, dated 2 mo 1646,

* See Essex His. Coll. 1, 35.

* In 1645, Jeffrie's Creek, by order of General Court, to be called Manchester.

John Norman is called of Jeffry Creek, but in the inventory presented the following month, he is styled of Marblehead. He was residing at the latter place in 1648. He died aged about 60, in 1672. The leader of the Jeffry Creek settlement was Rev. William Walton, of Marblehead, who expected to remove there, but continued to reside at Marblehead.

The inventory of the estate of John Norman, taken 23 of 9 mo 1672, amounted to £125, and consisted of house, upland and meadow, three cows, two yearling steers, two calves, and four small swine, household stuff, tools, &c. John's son John was a member of the Salem Troop in 1678, perhaps the same individual, in 1667, who had recently "received greate loss at sea being taken by the Dutch," as were sundry Salem vessels about that time. John administered on his mother Arabella's estate in 1680.

Arabella Norman survived her husband seven years; the inventory of property "she died possessed of 23 Nov. 1679," as administratrix of the estate of her husband, John Norman, taken 29 of 4 mo 1680, is recorded in Essex Probate Records, 1. 84, amounting to £150, 16s.: consisting of house, barn and orchard, ten acres of upland upon the neck, and two acres of salt marsh, one acre of saltmarsh at Kettle Cove, &c. Among the items is this remarkable statement: "The remaining part of 400 acres of land granted by the town of Salem to 8 men, his part appraised £50." Query, What eight men, and why this four hundred acres? Have we not here the counterpart to the 1000 acres at Bass River, which was granted to five of the most prominent among the old planters, viz.: Conant, Woodbury, Trask, Pulfry and Balch, or two hundred acres apiece,—that is, four hundred acres, or fifty acres apiece to eight other of the old planters, one of whom was John Norman? Though we find no other record of this grant, is not this conclusion almost irresistible? These eight men, with approximate accuracy can be found in list of names given on page 104.

RICHARD NORMAN, JR.,

son of Richard, and brother of John, was born in 1623, as we learn he was forty-nine years of age in 1672; he was residing with his old father, in Marblehead, in 1653. William Norman, supposed another brother, also lived there in 1648, and probably the same of the name who afterward settled at Manchester. It was both easy and natural for the Marblehead people to cross over the water from that place to Manchester in their shallops and fishing craft.

The Normans were leaders in the Jeffry Creek settlement. Richard Norman, however, remained in Marblehead, where he appears to have been a man of enterprise and consequence in his day,—possessed considerable property, was a lieutenant in the military company, and reared a large family: his wife's name was Margaret, and their children, six sons and two daughters, viz.: Rebecca, Richard, William, John, Elizabeth, Joseph, Benjamin, and Jonathan. He died in 1682. Moses Maverick and James Dennis appraised his estate Nov. 20, 1682, amount to £400. Among the items are, One acre lot at the Ferry, a lot in Mr. Humphry's farm, one acre of salt marsh at Salem, a tract of land at Dunstable, dwelling-house and orchard at Marblehead, furniture in the hall, in the old kitchen, in the new kitchen, in the great chamber, in the new chamber, in the old kitchen chamber, in the cellar, half hhd. of Claret and one bbl of Rum, in the yard two cows, two heifers, one bull, horse, mare and colt, sheep, swine, stage flakes, and yard, half a shallop, &c. His widow, Margaret, and Lieut. John Pickering administered upon his estate. His son, Richard, died at sea about 1682, leaving what little property he possessed to his cousin, Hannah Balden. In 1690 his sons, William and John, were charged with sundry goods delivered them from their father's estate by their mother, Margaret Norman, and Lieut. Pickering. His son Joseph married Mary ———, and died on 18 Nov. 1691.

On the westerly side of Gloucester harbor, not far from the present eastern bound of Manchester, the early home of the Normans, a long, rocky reef, bare at low water, stretches out from the shore, terminated seawardly, by a large rock, designated from distant times, as Norman's Woe; here, as the name implies, shipwreck and disaster befel some individual of the family whose name it bears; this is all that can now be learned about it; neither record nor tradition throws any light upon this untold calamity,—faded out from the memory of man: the sea shall perpetually surge over the place of Norman's doom, and moan in ceaseless murmurings, and the winds howl around it his dismal requiem forever, and forever fail to communicate the sad story of its despairing victim and of the anguish wrung from family and friends. "Norman's Woe"—intensely expressive in its doleful brevity,—a name never uttered by the passing mariner, without vibrating a chord in his large and sympathetic heart.

Another locality, Norman's Rocks, a crag on the western border of Salem, and Norman street, also in Salem, commemorate the name of a family long extinct here, and as far as our knowledge goes, in the vicinity also. The Boston Directory was printed in 1789 by one John Norman. We are unable to say where descendants, if any, of the family now reside. Mention of the name is occasionally seen in different parts of the country.

CAPT. WILLIAM TRASK

was, without doubt, settled in Naumkeag before the arrival of Endicott. He was born about 1587, consequently forty years of age when he came to New England. Mr. Hubbard, who was settled as minister at Ipswich several years before Mr. Trask's death, and who, no doubt, knew him, says expressly that Endicott's party "added to Captain Trask and John Woodbury, &c., they went on comfortably together to make preparation for the new Colony that were coming over."

How long he was here previous to the arrival of the Abigail is not known; certain it is that he was granted one of the five farms of 200 acres each, to the old planters, [making 1000 acres.] at Bass River, in 1635, which seems to settle the matter beyond controversy. He is among the original members of the first church, and was on the first list (Oct. 19, 1630,) of those who petitioned General Court to be made freemen, and took his oath in May following. Nov. 7, 1632, Capt. Trask and Mr. Conant, appointed, with others, by General Court, to set the bounds between Dorchester and Roxbury. In 1635, he with Conant, Woodbury, Balch and Massey, were appointed overseers of land, and associated with Mr. Humphry, Mr. Endicott and Capt. Turner to set the bounds of Newbury Patent, and Mr. Dumer's farm of 500 acres, near the falls of Newbury; and in 1637 he was on a committee to lay out Mr. Humphry's farm. In 1635 and the four following years, he was a deputy from Salem to the Great and General Court. He had several grants of land from the town beside his farm of 200 acres. At one time 100 acres, and on 9 of 8, 1637, he is allowed five acres of meadow next Mr. Johnson's farm. In 1636 he erected a water-mill for grinding corn, on the North River, at a place above what are now called Frye's Mills; before this time most of the corn used was pounded in Querns.* On 30 of 1, 1640, he had leave to set up a tide-mill upon the North River, provided he made a sufficient passage for a shallop from half tide to full sea; it thus appears to have been the original policy of the Town to keep the water courses free from obstruction. He also set up a fulling-mill not far from his corn-mill, about the same time. When, about 1636, it was proposed to build the college here, Mr. Trask gave up his farm to Thomas Scruggs, who possessed land at the designated place beyond Forest River, on what is now a beautiful

* A kind of stone pestle and mortar, for private use, a few specimens of which, are still preserved in the old families.

lain at the Marblehead farms, thus leaving the lot unencumbered.

In 1648 General Court granted Capt. Trask 250 acres of land. The same year he exchanged 250 acres of land with Gov. Endicott for 500 apple trees of three years' growth being two trees for an acre of land, then no doubt an equitable bargain. Again, 1656, he exchanged 100 acres of land, near Spring Pond, for a cow which was valued at £5. He lived in Salem village, or what is now South Danvers, and during the litigations of the Mason claim his estate was forced to pay 15 shillings rent in acknowledgment of said claim. He was an energetic man, a brave soldier, and reliable in case of an emergency. He was one of the first, if not the first military commander in Massachusetts; we can safely say of him as has been said of Capt. Mason,—what Captain Standish was to the Plymouth Colony, and Captain Mason to Connecticut, Captain Trask was to the Massachusetts Colony.

In 1634 he was on a committee of seven to superintend the fortifications. We notice he was Captain this year, as he no doubt was from the beginning of the first Massachusetts trained band; the few military commanders were ordered to train their bands once every month. He was once sent (1635) by General Court after some rogues who had stolen a boat and other things, and fled to the eastward. Capt. Trask overtook them at Piscataway, brought them back to Boston, where they paid penalty for their villainy in both fines and stripes. Captain Trask figures most conspicuously as a Captain in the famous Pequot war.

This powerful tribe of Indians, in the wilds of the Connecticut, became very aggressive and insolent; they destroyed several parties of traders and others, among whom were two noted traders, John Oldham and John Tilley. The Colonies were threatened with extermination by the Pequods and confederate tribes, and the country became effectually aroused. On 7 Dec., 1636, General Court selected officers for service in the various towns, to organize

their bands for defence against surprise by the Indians. The militia of the Jurisdiction were divided into three regiments; the East Regiment was placed under command of John Endecott, Coll., John Winthrop, Jr., lieutenant, and Capt. Trask, muster master. At the organization of the Salem company, a few weeks after, Mr. William Trask was appointed captain, Richard Davenport,* lieutenant, and Thomas Reade, ensign.

For this campaign, in 1637, Massachusetts raised 160 men, twenty-four of whom were from Salem. They were under commander-in-chief, Captain Stoughton.

The wonderful success of this expedition resulted in the overthrow, and almost the annihilation of this formidable tribe.

June 6, 1639. General Court granted 6000 acres of land to nineteen meritorious individuals, not all soldiers, among whom were Capt. Trask, who had 200 acres of land "in regard of much service," and Lieut. Davenport 150 acres. Captain Trask retained command of the company in Salem, till October, 1645, when he received his discharge from General Court "with all due acknowledgment of his faithfulness and former good service to the country," and Wm. Hathorne was appointed his successor, as it was thought Capt. Trask resided at too great a distance to be of service in case of sudden attack from the seaboard, by foreign enemies; at the same time Wm. Clarke was appointed lieutenant, and Wm. Dixie, ensign.

Oct. 19, 1658. At a Court of Assistants, he was granted 400 acres of land in the Pequot country, and in 1661, when far advanced in life, (74th year,) he presented a petition, to General Court, written by himself in a bold and still beautiful hand, rarely equalled by one who had passed the bounds of threescore and ten years. It is still preserved among the

* Lieut. Davenport was Ensign bearer when Governor Endicott cut the cross from the King's colors; he was afterwards Captain of the Castle in Boston Harbor where he was killed by lightning July 15, 1665, aged 59.

State archives. It is short and reads thus :

"To the Honorable General Court now assembled at Boston:

The humble petition of Wm. Trask, off Salem, and some others who served under him in the expedition against the Pequots, Humbly sheweth,

Whereas yr petitionrs understand that several gentlemen have lands granted and laid out at the Pequots County that was, and others are likely to put in for more, who it may bee never swet so much for it, as some off us bled on it, and for your service—

These therefore humbly pray the Court to consider of it, and in your wisdom to appoint such a portion of land and some meet men to lay it out as in your goodness shall think meet ; and your petitionrs shall ever remain

Your ever obliged W. Trask for himself
and other souldiers under him.

Consented to by the Magistrates.

Ri. Bellingham, Dept Govr.

In answer to this p'tition ye Deputies think meet to grant Capt. Trask 400 acres of land in the place desired, with reference to the consent of our honored Magistrates hereunto.

WM TORREY, Cleric."

Mr. Trask lived to the ripe age of 77 years. What an eventful period was the latter half of his life, and how much did he witness of results that his valor, industry and self-sacrifice helped, in a great measure, to produce.

He died May 16, 1666, and by order of the town was buried with military honors. His will was made only the day previous to his death, when the valiant Captain surrendered, and was but just able to sign the letter (W.) against the name of Wm. Trask Sen'r.

He left a wife, Sarah, and children, Mary, Susan, William, John and Sarah. The baptisms of his children are found in the 1st church records, viz :

Mary,	baptized	1,	11,	1636.
Susanna,	"	—,	10,	1638.
William,	"	19,	7,	1640.
John,	"	13,	7,	1642.
Eliza,	"	21,	7,	1645.

In his will he speaks of his dwelling-house and orchard. To William he gave "all the meadow that lyeth between the upper and the lower mill, and all the upper mill-pond." The location of his mill, dwelling-house, &c., can now be traced.

"The house in which he died, in 1666, was according to tradition, about 200 feet in the rear of the present one, built by his son William, probably about 1680. which has been the birth-place of his descendants for five generations. The well dug by the old pioneer two centuries ago, still remains, the water of which is in constant use. The original grist mill erected by him in 1636 was situated on the river back of his dwelling-house ; and it is said that remnants of the dam are now visible, when the water in the pond is drawn off" Edward Trask, probably a grandson, was one of Capt. Lathrop's seventy men slain at Bloody Brook, Sept. 18, 1675.

The descendants of Capt. Trask are still living in Salem, Danvers, and vicinity. One of them, Wm. B. Trask, Esq., of Dorchester, to whom I am much indebted, is collecting material for a memoir of the Captain and genealogy of his descendants.*

WILLIAM JEFFRY, or Jeffries, was settled in this neighborhood before the arrival of Gov. Endicott. It is not known when he came over. He probably lived some time at Jeffry Creek (now Manchester) which bore his name, and which lies between the two settlements of Cape Anne and Naumkeag.

He was called William Jeffries, Gentleman, in the Company's first letter of instructions, 21st April, 1629, and generally had the then comparatively rare title of *Mr.* prefixed to his name. He was an Episcopalian. It is supposed that Jeffry and Blackstone, of Boston, belonged to Robert Gorges' party, who settled at

* References—Essex Reg. 1852, 370, and 10 101, 1857, 257; Mass. Hist. Coll., 25, 109; Hubbard Farmer, Prince, Felt, Young, Town Rec., Church Rec., Mass. Rec., &c.

Wessagassett in September, 1623. They acted as the agents of John Gorges, who succeeded to his brother's patent, and were empowered by him to put John Oldham in possession of his afterward contested territory. Jeffry was admitted freeman among the first, May 18, 1631. There was a Sargent Jeffries in the Pequod war, in 1637, honorably mentioned by Capt. Mason, in his narrative, and also in Winthrop's letter to the Governor in connection with Ensign Davenport, who belonged to the Salem company, as we think Jeffry did also.

In 1638 Wm. Jeffry removed to the neighborhood of the Rhode Island plantations, and in 1641 and 2 was among the proprietors of Weymouth, where he was commissioned to join parties in marriage. On 16 Oct 1660, General Court granted him 500 acres of land "on the South side of our patent to be a final issue of all claims by virtue of any grant heretofore made by an Indian whatever."

This allusion to an Indian grant was on account of a claim of his to Jeffry's Neck, in Ipswich, on the plea of a purchase of the Indians, and having made his claims before the Court sufficiently clear, he received this grant in lieu therefor; this unsurveyed tract of land he sold to Wm. Hudson, who in 1665, petitioned General Court that Lieut. Joshua Fisher and company might be appointed to lay it out, who were accordingly directed so to do, provided it encroached not upon any other former grant.

Jeffry is thought also to have had possessions at an early date, at the Isle of Shoals, probably nothing more, however, than the erection of fish flakes there.

It has been supposed that he was an old acquaintance and intimate friend of the notorious and troublesome Morton, of Merry Mount, who in a letter to Jeffry, dated May, 1634, addresses him as "My very good gossip;" it is however, equally certain that six years before, Jeffry had contributed a sum towards defraying the expenses attendant upon the arrest

and extradition of the same individual; this may have been compulsory or in the nature of taxation or assessment. Morton, as is well known, again returned to this country, to be a further irritation to the Massachusetts authorities.

The condition of the country in regard to roads after twenty years of occupancy may be learned by the following order at Town Meeting, 26, 8, 1646:—"That William Woodbury, Richard Brackenbury, Ensign Dixie, Mr. Conant, Lieut. Lathrop and Lawrence Leach, shall forthwith lay out a way between the Ferry at Salem and the head of Jeffry's Creek, and that it be such a way as men may travel on horseback or drive cattle, and if such a way may not be found, then to take speedy course to set up a foot bridge at Mackerel Cove."

Of the descendants of Wm Jeffry, we have learned nothing, unless the following person be one of them:—"Edward Jeffries, who was drowned on the 25th day of May, 1683, as he was going from on board the ketch called the Adventure, Andrew Ellet, jr., [Elliott] being master, from Mackerel Cove to the Ferry place or thereabouts, on Beverly side." The inventory of his effects, valued £10 4 s. is recorded Essex Probate book 2: 23.

This surname is now extinct in Salem. The elderly portion of our community, however, remember a family of the name who formerly resided in Salem, as James Jeffry died in 1807, aged 74, and his brother John died in 1812 at about the same age; William, another brother, who died in 1772, is probably the same who taught the Grammar School in 1753 to 5. A sister, Margaret, married Stephen Cleveland, Oct. 28, 1772, late of Salem, whose posterity now reside among us. This family, consisting of six sons and two daughters, were the children of James Jeffry, who came from Portsmouth, N. H., to Salem, in 1722, at the age of 16 years. He was the son of James Jeffry, who was born March 10, 1676, in the Parish of St. Agnes, Cornwall, England, and who came to this country and

lived many years at Portsmouth. He was the son of Cyprian and Ann Jeffry.*

In the foregoing paper, which we have entitled *the Old Planters of Salem*, we have presented a few gleanings of the lives and doings of those whose names are known to us; but

* *References*—Young's Chron. of Mass., 171; Winthrop's His.; Rec. of Mass.; Com. of H. W. S. Cleveland.

[Appendix to page 150.]

JOHN LYFORD.

The following additional facts, in relation to the family of the Rev. John Lyford, are derived from extracts taken from book 1, folio 27, of the Suffolk Deeds, kindly furnished by J. W. Dean, of Boston, from which we learn, with considerable confidence, that Mr. Lyford had died, testate, previous to October, 1641, devising his property, consisting chiefly of tobacco, which may have been the currency in which the minister tax was collected in Virginia; and that his widow had married Edmund Hobart, of Hingham, and that two of his children, viz: Mordecai and Ruth, were then living at that place. As the extracts are short, and as so few facts remain to us relative to Lyford and his family, they are presented entire. Not many years after this we find Lyfords in Exeter, N. H. whither descendants had probably removed from Hingham:

"— 4, 1642. Be it known vnto all men by these presents, that I, Ruth Leyford of Hingham in the Bay of Massachusetts in New England, have fully acquired and discharged Edmund Hubbert, senior, my Step Father, of a legacye of 200 li. of Tobacco, given me by my Father John Leyford, by his last will and Testament, of wch gift I acknowledge myselfe fully satisfied & contented. 21 October, 1641. In wittness whereof I have herevnto sett my hand and seale, the day & yeare above written.

hand & seale

In ye presence of Tho: Nicolls & Mordicay Leyford."

"— 4, 1642. Be it known vnto all men by these presents that I Mordicay Lyford, of Hingham in the Bay of Massachusetts in New England, have fully acquired and discharged Edmund Hubbert senior my Step Father, of a legacye of 500 li. of Tobacco, and one cow and one heffer, given me by my Father Jo: Lyford, of wch gift I doe acknowledge myselfe fully satisfied & contented. 3 of June 1642. In wittness whereof I have subscribed my hand & sett to my seale the day and year above written.

In ye presence of Clement Bate, John Beale his X marke."

in drawing these remarks to a close, it is with some regret that we had not entitled it the *Old Planters of Massachusetts*; for the early history of Salem, is the history of the Colony, and of the Commonwealth for the time being, not one line of which can be spared from the history of our common country.

In our attempt at designating the spot on which they settled in Salem, we have followed Hubbard, Felt, Rantoul, and other writers, assisted by the accepted tradition, and have stated that upon the dispersion of the Cape Anne colonists, they settled upon the comparatively small peninsula lying between Naumkeag, now North River, and Shallop, or Collins' Cove,—there, no doubt, Conant and some of his followers built their first small and unsubstantial cottages. But when we consider that they were at peace with the few Indians, who frequented the neighborhood, whose lives had been spared from the distemper that had ten years before so nearly depopulated this region, we do not perceive the necessity of the first settlers hovering very closely together;—surrounded as they were by such a vast territory, waiting for occupancy and possession;—so many jutting capes and headlands, suitable for the fisheries;—so many sheltered coves and safe harbors, bordered on all sides by woods or other lands easily cleared and subdued for cultivation. These pioneers, foreseeing that the time would soon come when many other adventurers would claim a share in these unappropriated wilds, would very naturally select the best localities, and spread out their individual possessions over a larger number of acres than was compatible with the limited locality above mentioned, and consequently we believe if ever the requisite zeal be put forth among the first public grants or private conveyances of land for a more accurate localization of the first abodes of the Old Planters, it will be found that they embraced a much wider extent of surface, or were more separately and distantly located than is now generally supposed.

Five of the most prominent of them we know, soon accepted farms (of their own selection) from the new government, and which they had, no doubt, previously improved on the Cape Anne side of the stream, or, more accurately, at Bass River. Their withdrawal from the nucleus of the town, resulted in part from dissatisfaction engendered by what they regarded as too light an estimate by the new or Massachusetts company of their abilities, rights and improvements, and we believe if the old planters had had some other leader than the virtuous and peaceful Corant, they might have combined with Mr. Oldham and the Gorges, or other conflicting patent to a much greater discomfiture of the powerful and wise, but to them in the outset, somewhat inconsiderate and oppressive government.

The great highway of the first settlers, and their means of travel and conveyance, can be given in one word,—the sea,—for in place of the endless variety of vehicles we now possess, that willing beasts draw, or unwearied steam impels, they had little else than the shallop and canoe. The perils they often encountered, to which their wives and children, their teachers and magistrates were alike exposed, furnish us with melancholy proof of this their evident necessity. It was natural, therefore, for them to explore the indented coast, and locate here and there more or less permanently, as fancy or interest dictated. The inland country was an impenetrable wilderness, full of every description of peril, and its exploration but slowly attempted.

Thus Jeffrey, an active, uneasy spirit, wandered about the coast, settling now at one locality, then at another, appropriating territory to himself, or buying it of some Indian Sachem; and so Tilley and Oldham, in their fishing and trading vessels went hither and thither, as self-interest or the orders of their joint partners directed.

Norman, the elder, soon settled on the Darby fort side, or at Marblehead, and a portion of the inhabitants of that place then

part and parcel of the great territory and jurisdiction of Salem, when they had found a minister as counsellor and guide, asked the privilege of settling across the water at Jeffrey Creek, or Manchester, whose sheltered harbour and forest-clad hills skirted in pleasing outline the northern shore. There the Allens and one or more Normans, of the old planters, fixed their final abode. Thus it was, from point to point, island to island, and harbour to harbour, that the country along the coast and up the rivers became settled; here a few fish-flakes, easily constructed from the neighboring woods, and an attendant shallop or two denoted a fishing settlement, and there a few cottages clustering around a house of worship, began a more enduring plantation; thus settlements increased at varied intervals along the great margin of waters.

Upwards of two and one quarter centuries have passed away since Corant and his followers built their humble dwellings on the banks of yonder stream and dropped the first seed in the soil of Massachusetts. Their descendants have since numbered thousands. About eight generations have been born, and have either acted or are now acting their parts upon the same stage of their ancestors early trials, but how varying the scenes witnessed by each. Most of the old planters lived to be aged, and unless they were "inspired by some superior instinct,"* they could hardly have imagined such results as they were privileged to behold ere they fell asleep in the land of their adoption.

What a debt of gratitude do their descendants owe them for the enterprise, foresight and perseverance, that planned and carried through those early projects that have been crowned with such stupendous results.

Inasmuch as we are grateful for what our ancestors have done for us, let us be jealous of their honor, and when with pride we look down the long array of worthies that adorn the history of our Commonwealth, let us not

* Hubbard.

forget the old planters of Naumkeag, struggling to sustain the infant settlement through the dreary winters of 1626 and 27. We, their descendants, can form but a very imperfect idea of the impression that this rude and inhospitable country then presented.

There is, however, one aspect which must forever remain much the same, and the one which was most deeply engraven on the minds of the settlers. If we launch out upon the bosom of the Bay on some pleasant day in June, when the clear sky and sleeping waters blend in one mirror of light, and the air is redolent with the fragrance of young leaves and opening flowers; or, later, under the loftier skies of September, after the atmosphere has been winnowed by the rains of August, and all nature is in her fullness of apparel, we shall see much that greeted the eyes of Winthrop when in the *Arbella*, he led the fleet of 1630, or that Endicott beheld when he landed here, two years earlier.

How agreeable the contrast presented on these two occasions, compared with the advent of the Leyden Pilgrims at Plymouth ten or twelve years before.

The ocean, with its restless waters, still "throbs its everlasting pulse," and "reflects the eternal mechanism of the skies." The same hills touch the horizon, and similar breezes fan the shore now, as at first witnessed by the storm-tossed Puritans and Pilgrims.

On the north, reposing upon the bosom of the sea, lies Cape Anne, and far down to the south, Cape Cod stretches out her crooked arm over the waters, while between them lies the curving outline of Massachusetts with its rocky coast. Here is the very vestibule of New England,—the gateway through which entered the effective Puritan element of American institutions. Here, at the beginning of the 17th century, it was that Gosnold explored

and named the southern boundary—Cape Cod—from the abundance of that fish found in its vicinity. Here Captain Smith, in raptures with the country sailed in and out as he surveyed the coast. Here the Dorchester merchants laded their ships with codfish, beaver skins, clapboards and medicinal roots. Here, near the Southern cape, the Pilgrims of 1620, amid the blasts of winter, cast their lot in the naked wilderness; and near the northern cape at first her offspring, but afterward her rival, sprang the Colony of Massachusetts, which soon outstripped and enfolded her into one.

The forests that everywhere clothed the hill sides, arched the streams, or bordered the sea, and breathed the sweet cadencies of summer winds, or heralded the storms, for centuries—have gone forever, and in their places have arisen our cities and towns, with their temples and seminaries of learning, our factories and workshops, our comfortable abodes and cultivated fields.

The winds that waft seaward our ships to the ends of the earth, murmur with the din of industry and the rumbling of steam cars, that bear the burdens of trade, and thousands of passengers between marts of business and the homes of a happy people, instead of being laden with the war whoop of the savages and the dismal cry of the wolf and the bear.

Here it was that that seed was scattered which the "Lord sifted a nation" to find.—Here was the nursery of civil and religious freedom, which has spread its offspring far and wide over the land, "from the sea on the east, to the sea on the west." The sun that rises from between the capes of Massachusetts till it sets at the golden gate of California, shines upon the joint heritage of the Puritans. Surely then may we thank God that we are their sons, and pray that He may forever save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the union of the States.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF BIRTHS,
MARRIAGES AND DEATHS OF THE CITY OF
SALEM.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

[Continued from page 115.]

Rich'd Crannever & Elizabeth Woolland married by Major William Hathorne, 7th April, '65; son William born ye 27th December, '65; da. Elizabeth borne 13th September, 1668; son Richard, 12th July, 1671; Edward, borne 28th March, 1674.

Isaack Cooke married to Elizabeth Buxstone 3d May, '64; their daughter Elizabeth, borne 23d September, 1665; son Isaack born ye 9th 11th mo. 1666; their daughter Mary borne 12th 9th mo. 1668.

Mr Rich'd Croud, his daughter Sara borne by Frances, his wife, ye 3d 12th, '65; their son William, borne the 9th 12th mo. 1667; daughter Hanna, borne the 14th 9th mo. 1671; son John borne ye 25 12th mo. 1672.

Mr. John Corwin & Margaret Winthrop were married the — May, 1665; their son George born ye 26th February, 1666; their daughter Elizabeth borne ye 28th April, 1668; their daughter Lucy borne the 11th May, 1670; Daughter Hana born ye 4th 2d mo 1672.

Giles Coree married to Mary Britz 11th April, '64.

William Curtice, his daughter Elizabeth borne by Alis, his wife, 11th mo. 1668; daughter Hanna borne 6th mo. 1670.

John Cole and Mary Knight were married by Major Wm. Hathorne the 28th May 1667; son John bo 18 May 1668; son Thomas borne in November 1669 and dyed the same year. Mary, borne 1st 7th mo. 1671; Hanna borne 12th 10th mo. 1674.

Venus Coldfox married to Mary Daye the 20th August 1666; their daughter Elizabeth borne 14th June '67; daughter Mary borne 24th 11th mo '70; Hana borne 7th May, '72. and died 3 months after: son John borne 18th 7th mo. 1674.

George Cockes and Mary Mason were marryd 23d February '67; their son George borne the 24th 9 mo. 1668; James borne the 3d of December, 1670; Mary born 20th June, '72.

Cornelyus Concklin deceased ye 21st March, 1667-68.

Mrs. Elizabeth Corwin ye wife of Capt. George Corwin, deceased ye 15th 7th mo 1668.

Capt. George Corwin and Mrs. Elizabeth Brooks, widow, were married the 22d 7th mo. 1669; their daughter Penellopee was borne 7th 6th mo '70; daughter Susana borne 10th 10th mo 1672.

Peter Cheevers and Lidda Haly were married the 19th 2d mo 1669; their sons Peeter and Samuel, being twins, borne the 29th 10th mo. 1678.

Henry Colborne & Sara Golt were marryd 10th mo 1665; their dau. Cristian, borne 25th 10th mo. 1666, and died 1st 6 mo '67; son Henry borne the 26th January, 1667, and dyed 17th 4th mo. '69; Sara borne 2d 2d mo. 1671; Johannah borne 20th 7th mo, 1673, and died ye 24th 7th mo. '73; Mary borne the 17th 10th mo. 1674.

Michaell, the son of Michaell Combes, borne by Joane, his wife the 22d March, 1668-9; their son Joshua borne the 23d 12th mo. 1670.

Thos. Clungen, his daughter Elizabeth borne by Eliza, his wife, in August, 1670.

Mr. Phillip Cromwell and Mary Lemen, widdow, were married the 19th November, 1674. Dorithy, his former wife, dyed 28th of September, 1673.

Abraham Cole and Sara Davis were married the 11th of June, 1670; their son Samuell born 14th May, 1671, and deceased a month after; Daughter Sara borne the 29th of August, 1672; Abraham, born 6th Jan. 1674.

Francis Collins, his son William, borne by Hanna, his wife, 9th 7th mo. '69, deceased 9 months after; Abigail born in October, 1671. Benjamin born 14th May, 1674.

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Volume II.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.]

February, 1860.

No. 1.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present number commences the second volume of the Historical Collections, and the second year of its existence.

The original plan of this serial publication, was to issue numbers of thirty pages each, as circumstances should permit, without recognizing the obligation for their appearance at definite and stated periods of time. In this manner five consecutive numbers have been printed, constituting a volume of two hundred pages of local historical information, which, it is hoped, will prove a valuable addition to the history of this section of the State.

The encouragement that has been extended to our undertaking, authorizes some alteration in our plans, which, we trust, will add greatly to its value and importance as a medium of communication with the public, on all subjects consistent with the objects that may come into our possession.

The various records of the public offices of the County, together with those of the several towns, parishes and churches within its limits, are replete with valuable historic materials. These should be rendered more generally accessible, and should receive a greater degree of attention in our common school education.

To this end our efforts will be directed by the selection and arrangement for publication, of such portions and extracts from said records as will interest our readers and elucidate our local history.

Attention will also be directed to the many interesting items found among old family papers, already in possession of the Institute, or which may be loaned for the purpose. We feel confident that many important facts are locked up in such private repositories, and that publications like this may be the humble instruments of preserving them for the gratification and instruction of the curious reader, and of furnishing material for elaboration by the future historian. This County, being one of the earliest of the great historical centres of our country, must ever be a place of resort by the historian and genealogist, and by every lover of antiquarian and historic lore.

The increasing interest in relation to all matters connected with our early history, unequalled since the settlement of the country by the present generation, leads us to infer that the continuation of these Collections in a more permanent form, and issued at stated intervals, will be favorably received.

Acknowledgements are due to those friends, who, approving of the plan, have liberally aided in extending its circulation; as well as to those who have from time to time contributed to its columns interesting articles; from these, and from others in our immediate vicinity, known to be deeply interested in similar pursuits, we hope for a continuance of favors; and trust that our efforts will not be unavailing, but will receive a merited degree of public patronage.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF SALEM SCENERY

BY G. L. STREETER.

*Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, Thursday,
April 8, 1858.*

Nearly two hundred and thirty years ago, on Saturday, June 12, 1630, as the worthy Gov. John Winthrop and his companions, on board the *Arbella*—and with the noble lady *Arbella* on board—approached Salem Harbor, they stood in (so the Governor's account tells us) "and passed through the narrow strait between Baker's Isle and Little Isle [the Misery], and came to an anchor a little within the Islands." And in the afternoon, Gov. John Endicott having visited the ship, the chief gentlemen and some of the women of the company returned with him to Nahumkeag, where they "supped with good venison, pastry and good beer." Meanwhile, the common people of the company went ashore on Beverly side—then called "Cape Ann side"—where they "gathered store of fine strawberries," which were very abundant there, and very sweet. Having thus regaled themselves with the good things of the earth, and being warmly welcomed, not only by the townsfolk, but also by Masconomo, chief of the Agawams, who came aboard and spent the Sabbath with them in a friendly way, the first impressions of their new home must have been pleasing and satisfactory.

And we have evidence that these first impressions were subsequently confirmed, notwithstanding the many sad trials and hard experiences to which they were called. After a short sojourn, Gov. Winthrop wrote home to his wife, who remained in England:

"We are here in a paradise. Though we have not beef and mutton, &c., yet (God be praised) we need them not; our Indian corn answers for all. Yet here is fowl and fish in abundance."

They had had early proof of the abundance of fish, for Gov. Winthrop's journal informs us that just before the *Arbella* reached the

harbor of Salem, they caught with a few hooks, in two hours, no less than 75 codfish, "some a yard and a half long and a yard in compass."

All the accounts returned to England by the pioneer emigrants concurred in extravagant praise of the new country, and we now read their quaint and highly-colored narratives as amusing curiosities of literature. Turn for instance to Wood's *New England Prospect*, or the *New England's Plantation*, by Higginson, the worthy pastor of the Salem church. A perusal of these and other writings in a similar strain would almost persuade us that this is indeed a land "where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile." *THE HARBOR*

Mr. Higginson wrote that "the fertility of the soil is to be admired at," and "the abundant increase of corn proves this country to be a wonderment." Also that "it abounds naturally with store of roots of great variety and good to eat," and with "divers excellent pot-herbs." "The abundance of sea-fish, (he says) is almost beyond believing, and sure I should scarce have believed it, except I had seen it with mine own eyes." He had seen hundreds of bass seined at one time in our own waters, and mentions lobsters as being so abundant that even boys could catch them. But of the lobsters, he says, "as for myself I was soon cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and luscious." For wood, there was no better country in the world.

As for the trees, the author of the *N. E. Prospect* cannot contain his delight in plain prose, but launches forth in rhyme: Let us give a specimen of Wood on trees:

Trees both in hills and plaines, in plenty be,
The long liv'd Oake, and mournful Cypris tree,
Skie-towering Pines, and Chesnuts coated rough,
The lasting Cedar, with the Walnut tough;
The rosin-dropping Firre for masts in use;
The Boatmen seeke for Oares, light, neate grown
Sprewse,
The brittle Ash, the ever-trembling Aspes,
The broad-spread Elme, whose concave harbors
wasps;
The water-spongie Alder, good for naught,

"Small Elterne by th' Indian Fletchers sought,
 The knottie maple, pallid list a. Hawthornes,
 The Hornboud. to de that to be chosen seemes.
 Whitea, from the tender Vine oft takes its house,
 Who twin a imbracin' arm about his boughes.
 With n this Indian Orchard fruits be some,
 The ruddle Cherrie and the jettie Plumbu,
 Snake mus-taeing Hazell, with sweet Saxaphrage,
 Whose spurnes in beere allays hot fevers rage,
 The Diars Shumach, with more trees there be,
 That are both good to use and rare to see."

The author of N. E. Prospect, preferred the soil to that of Surrey and Middlesex in England, which, he said, without manure "would be less fertile than the meanest ground in New England." The birds and beasts extorted equal admiration from these appreciative writers. There were turkeys, geese, and ducks in abundance, besides the smaller birds in great variety. Of the useful and valuable animals, the deer, beaver, otter, and martin, were most prized, and the bears and wolves most dreaded. Both Wood and Higginson mention reports of Lions at Cape Ann, though neither had had visible evidence thereof. But Wood expresses his confident belief that certain fearful noises heard in Plymouth, were made either by "lions or devils," "there being," he says, "no other creatures which use to roar saving Beares, which have not such a terrible kind of roaring."

Even the common spring water in the country was avowed to be superior by these zealous historians, whose pens were dipped in rose water. Wood says, "it is faire different from the waters of England, being not so sharp but of a softer substance, and of a more jettie color; it is thought there can be no better water in the world, yet dare I not prefer it before good Beere, as some have done, but any man will chouse it before bad Beere, Whey, or Buttermilk." And Higginson wrote, pursuing a similar comparison, but with more grace, that "a sup of New England's aire is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale."

* * * * *

Our local pride may well assure itself that

the early colonists of Salem found it a fair and goodly place to look upon, and one in which it was pleasant to dwell. It was not merely "the good venizon, pastry, and good beer," or "the virgin milk with blushing strawberries strewn" which were the chief delights of this place. On the contrary every aspect of nature seemed to invite settlement and improvement. The harbor was capacious and easy of access. The islands at its entrance, covered with a primitive growth of trees and shrubs, presented, in combination with the densely wooded shore, a picture of beauty, such as is still preserved in the famous scenery of Casco Bay. The several rivers, the North, and South, Forest River, Bass River and the Essex Branch, divided the main land into distinct and prominent peninsulas, whose fertile slopes favored the desires of the planter. The numerous coves, formed by the indentations of the shore, offered shelter to the light shallops in rough weather, and were convenient for the prosecution of the Fisheries. The country around was everywhere clothed with an exuberant vegetation. Trees of various value in the arts crowned the surrounding hills and bordered the sea-shore. Game abounded in the woods, fish in the sea, and birds in the air. In a word, there seemed to be provision for every urgent necessity of a new and self-relying people.

THE NECK.

Of the early settlers of Salem proper, those who came with Roger Conant located at "the Planter's Marsh," on the tongue of land where Bridge street is, which, from its proximity to North river on one side and Collins' Cove—then called Shallop Cove—on the other, was convenient for the pursuit of the fisheries. Another portion, subsequent settlers, preferred the rocky and sterile Neck, where for many years the fisheries were prosecuted with considerable success. Settlements were early made and houses erected on Cat and Abbott's Coves, the former lying on the South side of the causeway to Winter Island, and the latter on the North side, toward Juripra Point. Cat

Cove was then called Winter Harbor, and the main harbor of Salem was Summer Harbor. The settlement at Cat Cove was on the point of Rocks just below the Hathorne farm, and was so considerable as to receive the distinctive name of Watertown. "The Point," says Dr. Bentley, "was covered with houses, stores, and the shops of artificers." Winter Island was also occupied. Houses were erected there, wharves constructed, vessels built, and a public way established, known as "Fish street." Last, not least, there was a licensed victualler on the Island.

But the subsequent population of the town moved westward, and occupied the peninsula between the North and South rivers, where we now are, and which has always contained the chief body of the inhabitants. This was then a low, level, sandy tract, nowhere over twenty feet above the level of the sea. "The form of the earth here," says Higginson, "in the superficies of it it is neither too flat in its plainness, or too high in hills, but partakes of both in a mediocrity, and is fit for pasture or for plow and meadow land." We may presume that its sparse vegetation was cleared off, as necessity required, with little labor and expense; while its frequent swamps were allowed to remain until the wants of the settlers suggested their removal. A few of the inhabitants took farms in North and South fields, where the soil was better, and passed to and fro in canoes scooped out of the trunks of trees. Wood writes, in 1635, "Although their land be none of the best, yet beyond these rivers is a very good soyle, where they have taken farmes and get their hay and plant their corne; there they crosse these rivers with small canowes which are made of whole pine trees 2½ ft. over and 20 ft. long; * * there be more canowes in this towne than in all the whole patent; every household having a water-horse or two."

Of all the spots of early habitation probably none preserves its ancient form and features more perfectly than our rocky and deserted

Neck. Though many interesting and not unimportant incidents have transpired there to connect it with the history of our town, it has undergone no essential changes either by the hand of man or the tooth of time. Its rough and rugged aspect seems always to have discouraged settlement and improvement, though there is good land there which would repay more labor than has ever been bestowed upon it. Frequent attempts have been made by the town authorities to induce population hither, but the desolate appearance of its granite hills, its remoteness from the general centre, and its bleak exposure, have condemned it to comparative uselessness.

Yet it is one of the pleasant portions of our territory, so far as mere sightliness of position is concerned, affording extensive and delightful views of our water and coast scenery. The broad bay, as seen from Fort Lee and Bentley Hill and other heights of land, the Beverly shore with its picturesque outline and background of deep, dense woods, the pleasant prospect towards Pine Grove and Forest River, the near view of our city and the neighboring towns, and especially the exquisite and charming river-vista towards Danvers, altogether present a scene of beauty, which, observed any where in the world, would leave a pleasing impression upon the memory.

But our poor, despised Neck contains, also, some things of *material* value and interest, after all. It is rich in the very things which make it despised. Those hard, repulsive hills contain a store of fine granite, some of which, carefully dressed, has taken a superior polish. The granites of the Neck are of various colors and densities, and some unusually handsome. Some years since, a fire-frame, highly wrought and finished from a choice block was considered as rivalling marble in its elegance. The geology of the Neck is a study for the naturalist, and its minerals are also worthy of observation. A noticeable variety of *foliated black mica* occurs here, associated with *feldspar* and *foliated hornblende*. *Crystals of hornblende* also occur.

A rare and fine blue variety of *sodalite* was found near the Almshouse, recently, by members of the Institute. There is, in fact, more of interest in this department upon the Neck and the Islands off our harbor than in all other parts of our territory.

NORTH FIELDS.

When Lyford, Conant, Endicott, Higginson, and other fathers of the town first settled here, and named the place Salem because of the heavenly peace enjoyed in it, they found but feeble remains of the Indian tribe which had improved the hunting grounds and fishing-places. The Naumkeags, once, doubtless, a considerable people, had been reduced by the recent plague to a few unhappy families. And these original Native Americans extended a glad welcome to the Puritan immigrants, who could and did protect them against the hostility of stronger tribes.

In 1614, just before the settlement, when the renowned Capt. John Smith coasted along this bay, he found, he said, "a multitude of people" at Agawam, but a less number at Naumkeag; but we are justified in inferring from his language that a large number of Indians resided at this point. And all the probabilities favor this inference. Rev. John Higginson remembered in his old age that when he came to Salem with his father, the Rev. Francis Higginson, of the First Church, in 1629, there was an old Indian woman here named Squaw Sachem, and one of her sons named Sagamore George, who also rejoiced in the triplicate names of "Winnapurkiit," "George Rumney Marsh," and "No Nose." These two were interesting personages in our history. Squaw Sachem was relict of Nanepashemet, who had been chief of the Naumkeags in their better days. It is supposed that this chief frequently resided in some part of North Salem, in accordance with the interesting testimony of Higginson, who says that "ye Indian towne of Wigwams was on ye North side of ye North River, not far from Simondes." Nanepashemet was killed about

1619, in a fort, on the summit of Castle Hill, near the Mill Pond. Two years after his death, (in 1621) Mr. Mount, a traveller from Plymouth, visited this vicinity, and mentions a fort "seated on top of an hill," and adds, "here Nanepashemet was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death." The annalist of Salem surmises that Castle Hill is here referred to, and it is not improbable. Sagamore George, son of the Naumkeag chief, succeeded to his father's position, and claimed all the land between our North River and the Mystic River. It was from his descendants that the Indian deed of our town was obtained in 1686.

We have mentioned that North Salem was probably a favorite resort of the Indians of these parts. In 1680, Wm. Dixy, of Beverly, testified that when he came to Salem, in 1629, the new settlers were "kindly entertained [by the natives.] * * * and the English and Indians had a field in common fenced in together." As we know from Wood's statement that the settlers had, at an early date, taken farms in North Salem, we may hence infer that there this pleasant instance of fraternity was exhibited. Indeed we could readily accept the supposition, even were there no evidence to confirm it, that this portion of our territory was the Indian's favorite haunt. In its wild and native aspect it doubtless presented peculiar attractions to the child of nature. Its diversified surface of hill and dale, was made picturesque by an exuberant growth of the forest. The woods were alive with game, and the rivers bounding its two sides and by their creeks and inlets cutting the territory into convenient tongues of land, furnished a bountiful supply of fish. This part of our city still preserves in a degree its old rural aspect, and there is still many a quiet woodland scene within its limits, to remind us of its ancient uses, and of the people who roamed over its surface. That the ancient "Towne of Wigwams" was located here, tradition assures us, and we see no reason to doubt that it was

here also that our fathers planted their corn in friendly co-operation with the Indian in one field, and perhaps on the same acres which in our day, under the skillful culture of Manning, Ives, Putnam, Lee, and others have yielded such choice returns of the fruits of peace and industry.

Some years since Indian remains were found near the foot of Baffan street, and Indian implements, we are told, have been found near a grove in the vicinity of Cold Spring.

Fancy prompts the suggestion that Cold Spring *must* have been a favorite Indian resort. It is to this day one of the most charming spots in our environs, and a familiar retreat for the lover of the beautiful in nature. A copious, bubbling, refreshing spring,—a winding water-course through the valley toward the remoter river—hills and fresh green groves on either side—a village in the distance—with a background of swelling hills beyond—furnish all the elements of the picturesque, and are all embraced in this fine view. An attempt is made to embody the features of the scenery in this vicinity in the following stanzas:

TO COLD SPRING IN NORTH SALEM.

O, sweet, refreshing, bubbling fount!

The tribute of this ancient hill

No human heart can hope to count

How long has flowed thy generous rill.

Perchance this aged oak o'er head,

Now bending as a sheltering friend,

Once lay an acorn in its bed,

And sought the strength thy waters lend.

These pleasant groves on either side;

This time-worn inlet of the sea;

Yon swelling hills that staid the tide;

All share their life and years with thee.

Here once the Indian loved to quaff

Thy cooling bowl, in summer's day;

To see thy wavelets dance and laugh;

And watch thy sands in mimic play.

Yet now, as then,—so long ago—

Thy tiny fountains flood the brim;

Thy singing waters seaward go;

A rill of praise, a constant hymn

Thou art a joy, a gift divine,

Thy cup o'erflows for every lip;

The timid bird, the thirsty kine,

The weary traveler, stoop to sip

Gush ever forth, thou ancient Spring!

Refresh, delight, inspire the heart,

Thou art, indeed, a lowly thing,

But faithful to thy humble part.

As we stand upon Liberty Hill, above the Spring, and look out towards the North, the eye takes in some spots of historic as well as of scenic interest. Liberty Hill, itself, has its history as the common property of the original proprietors of North Fields, descended to the present generation as a choice local reservation. On the right, to the North, is Orne's Woods, and on the opposite side, Leavitt's Woods, a patch of fine oaks surrounded by a smooth shaven lawn. Beyond Orne's Woods is Kernwood, the sightly and beautiful estate of Col. F. Peabody, occupying the neck once known as Horse Pasture Point, a name more suggestive of its practical uses than of its rural features and delightful aspects. No other situation within our limits perhaps affords as pleasing a prospect of our harbor and river scenery. Opposite to Kernwood, is Peters' Neck, originally granted to Hugh Peters, and preserving the name of that stern servant of God and the Long Parliament, who once possessed it.

Beyond Kernwood, in the distance, is the neck of land projecting into the river, which under the name of "Birchwood," or "*Wah, wa me seh oak*," as the Indians called it, was granted to Gov. Endicott by the General Court in 1632, and where he planted the famous pear tree now living. It is bounded on the South by Waters River, upon which the Danvers Iron Factory is located, and which was known in Colony times as "*Cow House River*," and by the Indians as "*See wan pe ne sett*." It is bounded on the North by Crane's River, running up to Danversport, and called by the early settlers, "*Duck River*," and by the Indians, "*Co nam abs quon cant*." Next be-

yand, to the North, we see Skelton's Neck, or Danversport, bounded northerly by still another river,—Porter's River,—or "*Po nom en neuh-cant*," in the Indian tongue.

This extensive outlook embraces also that noble elevation, Browne's Hill, in Beverly, which is a part of Salem scenery though not of its territory. Its southern base lies along Woolston's River, or Essex Branch, called by the Indians, "*Onk-hus sunt*." From the summit of the hill the visitor obtains a prospect of the surrounding country of great extent and variety, and comparable in beauty and interest with the grandest views in New England.

This hill was once the property of William Browne, of Salem, an opulent merchant, and of that family whose benefactions to our churches and schools, will cause the memory of their name to be forever cherished. On the summit of this grand eminence he erected a spacious and elegant mansion, called "Browne Hall," in commemoration of a family seat in Lancashire, England. For several years subsequent to 1750 this airy home was celebrated for the large hospitality of its owner, and at one of the entertainments offered there an ox was roasted whole and served up to the guests.

To return to Cold Spring. We may mention that its vicinity is also a favorite haunt of the floral tribes; and the botanist gathers some of his choicest specimens in the adjoining groves and meadows. In Leavitt's Woods we find the Soapwort Gentian (*Gentiana Saponaria*), the *Erigeron Philadelphicus*, and many other plants more common than these. In the meadow, near the Spring, we have the Marsh Lathyrus (*Lathyrus palustris*), and Grass Fink (*Cymbidium pulchellum*). Upon the surface of a ledge, in another locality, we find a few plants of the delicate and tender *Corydalis glauca*, erecting its fragile form and displaying its tiny brilliant flowers year after year on this one rock, though not found elsewhere within a circuit of miles. In the neighborhood of Keniwood all the flowers of spring bloom abundantly, the Hepatica, Bloodroot,

Wind Anemone, Dog's Tooth Violet, Indian Turnip, and all the floral train, with such flowering shrubs as are familiar in our landscape.

THE GREAT PASTURE.

There are certain portions of our territory which were held for a long series of years as common undivided lands, in the hands of special proprietors, and hence known as Proprietaries. North Fields were once held in this way. The only rights of this description now remaining, are a few in the Sheep pasture, and one in Osborn's pasture, near Aborn street.

The tract familiarly known as the Great Pasture, came down to the present time in this form, but recently the proprietors have organized as a corporation, under an act passed by the Legislature in 1855. The Great Pasture was anciently of large extent, as its name indicates, but various portions have been from time to time set off, so that only some 350 acres remained at the time of the incorporation, in the hands of a few proprietors.

The section of territory formerly included in the Great Pasture, we regard as one of the most interesting tracts within our domain. Its barren, rocky hills, dotted with a straggling growth of cedars, savins, and pines, its alder swamps, with an occasional clump of maples, birches, or oaks, in its low lands, make up an unique landscape, attractive from its very wildness and seeming uselessness. There is something peculiarly pleasant and attractive in its rude, untained scenery. We confess that we delight again and again to toil over its rough, swelling hills, to force the difficult way through its craggy ravines, clogged with wild vegetation, and to leap its frequent brooks. And it seems always to have been a favorite resort of our town's people, as we judge from the familiar names which have long attached to its prominent localities.

The general contour of the Great Pasture is that of a series of hill-ranges of greenstone, running from N. E. to S. W. with deep ravines and swamps between. From the higher

summits of these hills the eye takes in a far-sweeping panorama of the surrounding country. The towns of Salem, Danvers, Beverly, Marblehead, the promontory of Nahant, Milton Hills, conspicuous objects around Boston, the glistening bay from Cape Ann to the South Shore, and the high hills of the interior country in all directions, are embraced in this extensive landscape. Indeed, not only from these summits, but also from those nearer town, from Castle Hill, Prospect, and Gallows Hills, from Forest River Hill and others, delightful views of Salem and its suburbs are afforded, some of which are worthy the pencil of the artist.

The highest Pasture Hill is Lord's Hill, now private property. It obtains its name from a primitive settler who retreated to this distant spot to cultivate its unpromising acres, but of whose operations no traces now remain. Lord's Hill is situated at the intersection of the Swampscot road with the turnpike. The next highest is Monument Hill, which adjoins Lord's to the eastward, and is distinguished by a pile of stones at its summit.

Of the swamps in this section, the chief is Great Swamp, on the line of the Eastern Railroad, two miles out. Half a century ago it contained 55 acres, and was in a wild, untamed condition. During the war of 1812, when wood was high in price, it furnished a great quantity of fuel to our town's people. Its owner, Judge Samuel Putnam, permitted persons who desired to do so, to remove the submerged trunks and roots of its ancient forest, and large quantities were raised and carried away,—the ditching and drainage thus obtained being his compensation. Judge Putnam also erected a mill at its northern end, the dam and sluice-way of which may still be seen, at the foot of Pine Hill, on the line of the railroad. The water-power was insufficient for the purpose, and the mill was taken down. The swamp is now a reclaimed meadow under successful cultivation.

Long Swamp, mentioned in Bentley's De-

scription of Salem, seems to have occupied the low land westward of Great Swamp, toward the Turnpike, now the route of the Swampscot road. Its waters empty into Great Swamp, and both discharge into Forest River around Pine Hill. Half a mile nearer Salem, on the line of the Eastern Railroad, opposite the Old Hospital Burying Ground, is what was formerly known as Round Swamp, now a reclaimed meadow, whose water-course empties into the Mill Pond, by Clay Brook, through Derby's Marsh. In the border of Round Swamp, issue Cold Spring Brook, Split Rock Spring, and Flat Rock Spring, the waters of which join in Clay Brook. The latter receives also the waters of Acorn Brook, the largest run of water remaining in that direction. Acorn Brook forms in the sheep pasture, above Mills's farm, crosses the turnpike a quarter of a mile beyond the Toll-house, courses across the Great Pasture, and through Round Swamp into Clay Brook, and thus into the Mill Pond. Acorn Brook receives the springs and drainage of the swamps to the east of Lord's Hill. The waters of the pastures nearer town, discharge through Frost Fish Brook into the Mill Pond, just above the cliffs in Stearns's Pasture, opposite Castle Hill. Thus the waters of the upper part of the Pasture run into Forest River, and those of the lower part into South River; and near Pine Hill they are separated by a narrow neck of land which Dr. Bentley proposed should be channeled, so that the waters of Great Swamp and that section might be brought into Clay Brook and the Mill Pond, to increase the mill-power on the South River.

We are thus minute and particular in describing these comparatively trivial things, in order that the names anciently applied to these localities may not pass out of mind, and have been at some trouble to identify the places which few or none have cared to remember.

It has been remarked that the vegetation of Salem is remarkably foreign. This peculiarity is nowhere more noticeable than in our Great Pasture. We especially observe that the Wood

Wax (*Ginista tinctoria*), and the White Weed (*Crysanthemum*), those "wide-wasting pests" of our fields, "rage unconfined" in this region and paint the landscape with their blossoms, in the season of their flowering. Both of these strangers were perhaps introduced as desirable additions to our floral circle, but have proved, in the end, most unwelcome visitors. Tradition says that the White Weed was first cultivated by Gov. Endicott, at his seat at "Birchwood," or "Orchard," mentioned in our notice of North Salem scenery. Besides these exotics, the common Barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*), and Tree Primrose (*Oenothera biennis*), also foreigners, are abundant in this section of our territory. Our native plants, as well as exotics, are found in great variety in the moist valleys, and on the sunny sides of the Great Pastures, and the botanist obtains here an ample herbarium of our local flora. In particular, the brilliant and favorite Columbine (*Aquilegia Canadensis*) "makes the wild landscape with its beauty gay" in the pleasant days of Spring. It seems to have made these rude hills its choice dwelling-place,

"Nodding its honey-bells 'mid pliant grass

In which the bee, half hid, his time employs"

There are many warm, moist, secluded nooks in these pastures, where a wonderful variety of plants occur in their season; and other more rare flowers are found in occasional localities. In Round Swamp, the eye is delighted by the dense purple masses of the Willow Herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), and the yellow patches of the Touch-me-not, (*Impatiens noli tangere*). In Acorn Brook we find the tiny delicate Forget-me-not (*Myosotis palustris*), overhung by festoons of the feathery Virgin's Bower (*Clematis Virginiana*) and the rich verdure of the Roxbury Wax-Work (*Celastrus scandens*). In Blackberry Swamp the curious *Huttonia inflata*, and in the swamp north of Acorn Brook, the elegant and singular Sun Dew (*Drosera rotundifolia*). Near Acorn Brook, where it crosses the Turnpike, we gather the beautiful *Rhodora Canadensis*.

"Spreading its leafless blooms in a damp nook,

To please the desert and the sluggish brook.
The purple petals, fallen in the pool,
Make the black water with their beauty gay;
Here might the red-bird come his plumes to cool,
And court the flower that cheapens his array."

In Concoa-nut Hollow the Blood-root (*Sanguinaria canadensis*) blossoms in abundance. Concoa-nut Hollow, so called from a grove of concoa-nut trees there, is on the N. W. side of Great Swamp.

One of the spots most delightful to visit, in this direction, is a little round meadow of a couple of acres, at the head of Great Swamp, and a part of it, but separated by the Swamp-scut road. It is a choice locality for the botanist and the lover of fine scenery. In it and around it, upon the hills and cliffs which beautify and shelter it, we find a varied and luxuriant growth of plants which love moist and sunny places, and of the trees and shrubs which are most pleasing in our local scenery. Throughout the season of vegetation it presents a succession of our favorite native flowers. In early spring the brave and beautiful *Hepatica triloba*, the familiar harbinger of the vernal year, flecks the hill-side with the abundance of its bright blue blossoms. In mid-summer the purple *Cymbidium pulchellum* peoples the meadow with a crowd of its showy blooms. And in autumn the Fringed Gentian (*Gentiana crinata*) lingers here until the early frost, to adorn the spot with its rare beauty. A numerous company of other plants are found in their proper season. The Bulbous Arethusa (*Arethusa bulbosa*) has chosen this as one of its few haunts within our vicinity. The Veined Neottia, or Rattlesnake Plantain (*neottia pubescens*) also, with its rich dark leaves and delicate tracery of white veins; the splendid Cardinal Flower, (*Lobelia cardinalis*) the Snake Head (*Chelone glabra*); the tiny fragrant Mitchella (*repens*); the fine white Actea, the snow-white blooms of the Blood-root, and a hundred others, might be added to the catalogue of this prolific flower-garden.

The beautiful evergreens which clothe the surrounding hills, are interspersed with oaks

and maples, and various shrubs, which give interest to the place and concentrate many objects of study within a small compass. The *Lycopodium*, or running evergreen of Christmas time, spreads over the hill-side beneath the trees and shrubbery, and occasional patches of the Tree Pine, or Prince's Pine, add to the infinite variety.

If we follow up the little run of water which comes down between the hills, we enter damp and shady places with a rank growth of herbaceous things. Here are moist rocks and craggy places, mantled with mosses and lichens of a thousand forms of beauty, and thick impenetrable tangles of vines and shrubbery.

From the summits of the hills extensive views are obtained of the landscape towards Swampscot and Lynn, as well as on this side; and in the valleys and over the hills to the east, towards the Turnpike, we have one of the wildest, ruggedest and most romantic regions yet remaining uncleared in this part of the county. This is the district formerly known as the Timber Hills. And if any one is desirous of a wild, lonely walk, which will enlist all his strength and energy, let us commend to him a ramble over this region, from Great Swamp to the floating Bridge. But neither dense thickets, nor treacherous swamps, nor craggy hills, must deter or alarm the adventurer.

THE FOREST RIVER SECTION.

Attention was early directed to the rich land beyond Forest River, now included within the limits of Marblehead, and known as Marblehead Farms. In 1635, when the energy of Hugh Peters had given such an impulse to Salem's prosperity that hopes were entertained that this town might become the capitol, a lot of land was selected on this plain and proposed as the site of a College. But the ambitious purposes of our townsmen were not realized, and Boston became the capitol, and Cambridge the seat of the College. Overlooking this plain is Legg's Hill, too familiarly known to permit description. On its western side are

Coy and Deep Ponds, and eastward, a little pond or pool, sometimes called Silver Hole. Coy and Deep Ponds were sold in 1638 to Emanuel Downing, for Duck ponds, he having brought over from England "at great charges, all things fitting for taking wild fowl by way of Duck Coy," and who accordingly obtained leave from the General Court to set his traps in these ponds. It was ordained that no man "should shoote in any gunn within a half mile of the ponds, nor use any other means for the disturbance of the Fowle there."

Mr. Downing was a prominent man in Salem in his day. He represented the town in the General Court for several years. He was related to Gov. Winthrop by marriage of his sister, and his daughter was second wife of Gov. Bradstreet—the last governor which Salem ever furnished. He was father of the celebrated Sir George Downing, who served as ambassador to Holland under both Cromwell and Charles 2d. He resided on the premises where the old Pickering house now is, in Broad street.

The Coy and Deep ponds are in the direction of that narrow strip of Salem territory, wedge-shaped, which, separating the towns of Swampscot and Marblehead, runs down to *Phillips's Beach*. Through this gore of land, and by way of Coy and Deep Ponds, it was proposed by Gen. Glover and others, soon after the Revolution, to cut a canal, in order to avoid doubling Marblehead Point in stormy weather! This project was seriously urged even later than this, and was favorably regarded by Dr. Bentley.

Eastward of Legg's Hill, on the Marblehead side of Forest River, occur those curious hollows in the surface of the earth, popularly known as "Dungeons," and by the Geologist termed Diluvial Depressions. There are a dozen or more of them on the river border of that great diluvial plain of sand and gravel. The largest is about 300 feet in diameter, and 40 or 50 feet in depth. Seen from the river, this curious tract has the appearance of being

rounded up into steep hills, unusually smooth and regular in outline. From the plain they appear as great circular cavities scooped out as if by a giant's hand. There are also several of these depressions to the westward and southward of Legg's Hill. Deep Pond occupies one of them, being of small circumference, but 28 feet in depth.

Why the cavities were called "Dungeons" we cannot imagine, unless it was from the circumstance that they sometimes imprison small pools of water which collect at the bottom from the drainage of their grass-grown sides. The geologist considers them to be Diluvial Depressions, caused by the action of running water, perhaps in combination with the movement of vast blocks of ice. Similar depressions and corresponding elevations are common in various parts of the State. They are found in Barnstable, Plymouth, Hampshire, Franklin, Worcester, and Middlesex counties. In the town of Truro they are so numerous, that Prof. Hitchcock compares the aspect of the country to the appearance of a "chopped sea," where the waves dash against each other in contrary directions. The hills there are sometimes 200 feet high, with corresponding cavities.

Prof. Hitchcock considers that these remarkable forms were originated by running water, which agency alone could give them their peculiar characteristics. But he can hardly believe that they are attributable solely to the action of water, unless it was poured over the surface with a power and a violence vastly exceeding anything now witnessed. He suggests that *ice* was also an agent in this work; and a fact noticed in the Deerfield meadows, strengthens his supposition. It was noticed that when these meadows were overflowed by the spring floods, blocks of ice remained in fixed positions, so that the water eddying about among them, formed cavities in the ground similar to these, sometimes four or five feet deep. "Let us suppose (he says) that large blocks of ice were arrested by some narrow gorge, and as the diluvial waters subsided,

they settled down upon the diluvium that had accumulated. The current would now be compelled to follow many a devious course among the irregular blocks. Its velocity, also, would in some places be much increased; and a natural effect would be, that it would wear away the gravel and sand around some of the blocks of ice. They would be gradually undermined and settle down; and perhaps cavities as deep as we now witness, might be scooped out."

These forces, he suggests, operating upon a grand scale, caused such hollows as these Dungeons, which form the most striking feature in the Forest River landscape. The theory, he admits, is not without difficulties, but it is certainly worthy of examination.

The Forest River was called by the Indians *Mash ab e quash*, and remains of the works of that people are still observed in this vicinity. The most interesting of these remains of the former lords of our soil, is an old Indian Fort, the outlines of which are observable on the summit of a hill overlooking the Forest River Plain. It is the only thing of the kind in this vicinity. The hill which the Fort occupies, stands at the intersection of the Lynn road, with a new cross-road recently built. A new school-house stands within a stone's throw of the spot. This small defence was mentioned as an "old Indian Fort," in the County Records, as early as 1658. It is nearly circular in form, and about 30 feet in diameter within the ditch which surrounded it. It is a great curiosity, and well worth a visit.

Not far from here, half a mile to the northward, is a great deposit of shells, marking the former seat of Indian habitation. It is at the head of Throgmorton's Cove, which makes in from Salem Harbor near the Forest River Mills, and is just east of Pine Grove. This cove commemorates John Throgmorton, one of the early settlers of the town. He came over with Roger Williams in the ship *Lyon* in 1630, and settled in Salem with his pastor, and was granted land here. He had the honor of being excommunicated with Williams from

the Salem Church, and went with him to Rhode Island. Throgmorton was one of those of whom Hugh Peters wrote, that "these wholly refused to hear the church, denying it and all the churches in the Bay to be true churches, and, except two, all re-baptized."

The monstrous heap of half-decayed and broken clam shells at Throgmorton's Cove, renders it certain that this charming and secluded spot was often visited by the Indians as a favorite fishing-place, or a sort of aboriginal summer watering-place. The shells now remain as when cast aside by the Indian families, who must have devoured shell-fish in immense quantities. Some thirty cords have been taken away as manure, but yet a great collection remains. Following up the valley to the South, in the direction of the Fort, frequent traces of shell deposits are noticed. Fragments of the peculiar kind of stone of which Indian arrow-heads were made, are also frequently seen. We observe, also, frequent rings of Barberry bushes, whose circular mode of growth Mr. Gregory* thinks indicates the site of a wigwam. One instance of this occurs on the eastern slope near the summit of the great hill behind the Forest River Lead Factory. Shells are also observable here in the soil. Indeed the whole Forest River section abounds in Indian relics, which are turned up very frequently by the plow. This great plain must have been an Indian roving place for many long years.

Details of Indian life within our limits we do not possess. The few facts which have been handed down by tradition and history, concerning the tribe located here when our fathers arrived, give us no clear and definite idea of their numbers or character. We only obtain an impression that there were a few straggling families, the prey of stronger tribes. In earlier times, and probably not long before the settlement, we may believe that the Naum-

keags were more numerous and perhaps more efficient. But as we actually know nothing of this, we must leave it to our imaginations, when we visit the ancient Indian localities, to supply the facts of Indian life, which must make up the romance of the spot.

And as we leave the subject of Indian remains, we here leave also the topic of this paper. Our purpose has been to collect briefly, and in an off-hand manner, some of the incidents which group themselves around the chief points of our local scenery, when we think of their historic associations or their present aspects. Yet we have not attempted to sketch fully the history, the scenery, or other matters of interest connected with either of them.—The object has been simply to mention such things as would naturally fall into the current of a conversation upon either of the sections noticed, and conversation never wholly satisfies either the converser or the conversee.

The civil history of Salem is full of interest, and rich in materials illustrative of nearly every social, political, and religious change which has occurred in Massachusetts since the foundation of the Colony; and this history has happily been well preserved in written and printed records. The natural history of Salem is also copious and various, and yields constant delight and instruction to its students, and even its desultory reader. Nature is everywhere rich in facts and phenomena of the highest and most beautiful significance; and whenever a Gilbert White or a Miss Cooper records the life of nature, in some quiet, unobtrusive town, the whole world is pleased and surprised to know that one small spot contains so much to wonder at and admire. Happily for our neighborhood the Institute observes and preserves its natural history; and though no one has yet written it in a book with that simplicity and grace which mark the naturalist of Selbourne, yet we often have detached portions of it in living speech, in the familiar and delightful conversations of the first Vice-President of the Institute (Rev. John

*Mr. J. J. H. Gregory, of Marblehead, who has given great attention to Indian relics, and is an authority upon the subject.

Lewis Russell); and the more we thus hear, the more we desire that the whole story may thus be told.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

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Continued from Vol. 1, Page 183.

Henry Bulloch, 4 mo. 1664.

Will of Henry Bulloch, of Salem, dated Dec, 21, 1663, wife Eliz'h, son Tho's Bulloch, grandchild, John, son of son Henry Bulloch, deceased, and his sister Eliz'h, wife Eliz'h ex'ix. Wm. Flint & Nath'l Felton, overseers. Proved 29, 4, '64.

Inventory of above estate taken Jan. 4, 1663, by Thos. Gardner, sr., Nath'l Felton, amount 99, 15, 0, list of debts due to the estate, 23, 2, 0: debts, 3, 0, 0. Allowed 29, 4, 1664,

Wm. Stewart, 4 mo., 1664.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Stewart, amount 39, 3, 11, returned by Sara, relict of dec'd, and allowed 29, 4, 1664, and widow appt adm'x.

Eliz. Cocherell, 4 mo, 1664.

Inventory of estate of Eliz. Cocherell taken 27 June, 1664, by Jeffrey Massey and Henry Skerry; amount 102, 02, 0, allowed 28, 4, 1664, and Edward Clap, Francis Collins and Andrew Woodbury appt'd adm'rs.

Wm. Goose, 4 mo, 1664.

The Court being informed that Mr. Goose, dying many years ago, leaving no will, and no admin. being granted, and that Mrs. Goose is distracted and not able to provide for herself. The Towne of Salem having been at great expense about her for several years, the Court do grant admin. to the Selectmen of Salem, they to return an inventory. The Selectmen being, Wm. Hathorne, Wm. Browne, George Corwin, Nath. Prince and Henry Bartholomew.

Inventory of above estate taken 28 June, 1664, by Jeffry Massey, Thomas Jiggles and John Pickering, amounting to £54 16s. Charge of Salem for relief of the widow since 1656 to 1662, £39, 18s, returned 29, 4 mo, 1664.

Grace Sallows, 4 mo. 1664.

Inventory of Grace Sallows taken Jan. 29, '64, by Tho's Hutton, and Tho's Rootes, amount 113, 13, 3; list of debts, 34, 15, 10. allowed 29, 4, 1664.

R'd White, 4 mo 1664.

Inventory of estate of R'd White, amount 2, 14, 0, returned and allowed 30, 4, 1663, and widdow Smith appt'd adm'x.

Geo. Fraile, 4 mo., 1664.

Inventory of estate of George Fraile of Lynn, who deceased 9 of 10 mo. 1663, taken by Thos. Houghton, Thos. Putnam, John Putnam, and John Tarbox, amount 184, 14, 0, returned and allowed 29 Mar. 1664.

At Court held 29 Mar. 1664, Eliz'h, relict of George Fraile, appt'd adm'x, mentions that he left 1 son and 4 daughters.

List of debts due to estate,	6,	12,	8.
“ “ “ from “	7,	14,	9.

Returned 28, 4, 1664.

Thos. Spooner, 9 mo, 1664.

Inventory of estate of Thos. Spooner, taken 15 9 mo, 1664, by Edmond Batter, and Hilyard Very: amount 333, 03, 03, allowed 29 9 mo, 1664, and Eliz'h, his widow, appt'd adm'x.

Nich. Tucker, 9 mo, 1664.

Inventory of estate of Nicholas Tucker, taken and returned by Andrew Tucker.

John Bartoll, 9 mo., 1664.

Inventory of estate of John Bartoll taken 16 November, 1664, Moses Mavericke and Wm. Chuz, amount 71 10, 0, allowed 29, 9, '64. Returned by Dan'l Bartoll who is appt'd adm'r.

List of debts amount 64, 18, 5.

John Coleman, 4 mo., 1665.

Inventory of estate of John Coleman; amount 8, 12, 0. Returned by Peter Duncan.

List of debts and charges, - - 7. 10, 3.

Allowed in Court, 27, 4, 1665.

Ric'd Windowe, 4 mo., 1665.

Will of Rich'd Windowe, of Gloucester, 2 May, 1665, mentions daughter Ann, (Rich'd Gedney to have the sword and belt he traineth with), (Anthony Bennet, son-in-law, to have the great bible which was his father's), Eliz. Bennet his dau. in law. Sarah Davis to have his fowling piece and shot-moulds. Wife Bridget, James Travis, app'ts Wm. Haskell, sr., James Stevens and Jacob Davis of Gloucester, to be overseers. Proved 27, 4, 1665.

Inventory of above estate amount 211, 19, 6, taken by Philip Stanwood, John Davis, and Wm. Sargent, 26 4 mo., 1665.

Jno. Slater, 4 mo., 1665.

Inventory of estate of John Slater, jr., taken 18 May, 1665, by Wm. Pitt, John Peach, and John Codner; amount 50, 15, 0.

Capt. George Corwin, and Eliz'h Slater, relict of above John, app'd adm's of his estate, 27 4 mo, 1665.

Jona. Witt, 4 mo., 1665.

Inventory of estate of Jona. Witt, of Lynn, deceased, taken 30 11 mo., 1664, by Oliver Parchis and Thomas; amount 54, 19, 0, allowed; mentions his father Darian.

Mary Witt, relict of John, is appt'd adm'x 27, 4, 1665.

Rob't Moulton, 9 mo., 1665.

Will of Rob't Moulton, sr., of Salem, dated 5 Sept. 1665, his wife ex'x; son Robert, daughter Abigaile, son Samuel to enjoy all his land within Reading bounds, butting on Ipswich River, 16 acres more or less, dau. Hannah, £20 in neat cattle when she is married, two younger sons, John and Joseph, two younger daughters, Miriam & Mary.

Witness: Henry Bartholomew, George Gardner, and Sam'l Gardner. Proved 28, 9, 1665.

Inventory of above estate taken 3, 8, 1665,

by Samuel Gardner, Job Swimmerton, jr., amount 294 10 0; a list of debts, 20 12 0½, allowed 28, 9, '65.

Andrew Hodges, Mar. 1666.

Will of Andrew Hodges of Ipswich, dated Oct. 11, 1665, mentions his beloved wife, he give £5 to the custody of Cambridge for the good of some fellow, Henry Bennet £5, Good-wife Walden 40s, Mary Quitter 40s, Mr. Cobbit, 40s, cousin Esther Birdly, she to be administrator, and Dea. Thomas Knowlton and Theophilus Wilson, overseers. Probated 27, 1, 1666.

Inventory of above estate taken 16 Jan., 1665, by Robert Lord and Jacob Foster, amounting 226, 19—allowed 27 Mar., 1666.

Rich'd Window, June, 1666.

Petition of Bridget. widow of Ric'd Window of Gloucester, wherein she mentions that she lived with her husband after they were married 7 years; that when he died he left estate valued at £212, which were by some person got away from the petitioner that she had nothing to support her, and whereas one James James Stephens, one of the overseers of the will of her husband, confesseth that he (by word of mouth) left her one cow, yet she has not got that either; therefore she ptition that the Court will see to the case, that the estate may be regularly divided. May 23, 1666.

John Farrington, June, 1666.

Inventory of John Farrington, taken May 14, 1666, by John Hathorne and Joseph Jenks, amounting to 243, 6, 6, returned by the widow, 27, 4, 1666.

Humphrey Gilbert, June, 1666.

The deposition Ellen Hathorne, aged 25 yrs, who testifies to a gift to Hannah Gilbert by her mother on her death bed.

The depos. of the wife of Wm. Grave to the same.

The deposition of Eliz'h Hutton to the same, and to the giving of the same gift by Humphrey Gilbert on his sick bed.

Edw. Estuich, June, 1666.

Inventory of Edw. Estuich to be taken June 1666, by Edmond Batter, Francis Nourse, amounting to 70, 03, 00; amount of debts, 38, 02, 09, returned by Esther, widow, 29, 4, '66.

Elizabeth Estuich, age 14 yrs,	} The ages of Edw. Estuich children.
Sarah Estuich, " 12 "	
Hannah Estuich " 10 "	
Esther Estuich " 7 "	
Edward Estuich. " 4 "	

Wm. Trask, 4th mo., 1666, Salem.

Will of Wm. Trask, sen., of Salem, dated May 15, 1666, mentions Sarah his wife, sons William, John, daughters Sarah, Susan and Mary, grandchildren, £10 apiece. Wm. & John, his sons, to be ex'ors. Proved 28, 4, 1666.

Inventory of above estate taken June 15, 1666, by Ths. Robbins & John Hill, amounting 364, 0, 0, returned by William & J'm'e Trask, 24 4 mo., 1666.

Francis Laurie, June, 1666.

Will of Francis Laurie of Salem, dated Nov. 6. 1665, mentioned his son-in-law, John Neale and Mary his wife, Jeremiah, son of son-in-law John, Jonathan, son of said John, Joseph, son of said John, his five grandchildren, Jeremiah, John, Jonathan, Joseph and Lydia, children of my son-in-law John, and Mary Neale, John Neale, his son-in-law, and Mary his wife, to be executors. Proved 28 4 mo., 1666. Witness, Hilyard Veren & Bartholomew Gedney. An inventory of above estate taken June 28, 1666, by Edmond Batter and Barthlo Gedney, amount 192, 00, 00, returned by John Neale and Mary his wife, 24 4 mo., 1666.

Wm. Guttersons, Sept., 1666.

An inventory of estate of Wm. Gutterson, (deceased July 12, 1666,) amounting to £56, 6, 0, returned by Elizabeth Gutterson Sept. 25, 1666.

Sam'l Sharps, 9th mo., 1666.

An inventory of the estate of Samuel Sharps, taken June 18, 1664, by John Browne, sen'r

and Hillyard Veren amount ———. In debt 20, 00, 00, returned 27 6, 1666.

Obadiah Antrum, Nov., 1666.

An Inventory of the estate of Obadiah Antrum, taken Nov. 29. 1666, by John Neale, John Pickering and Giles Corey, amounting 332, 18, 00; debt, 36, 0, 0, returned by Martha, widow of Obadiah, and she is appt'd adm'x, 29 9, 1666.

Benj. Hermayes, Nov., 1666.

Inventory of estate of Benj. Hermayes' estate, taken at the request of Widow Estich, 26 9 mo., 1666, by George Gardner & Francis Nurse, amount £14.

Deposition of Francis Nurse, aged about 45 years, sworn in Court, 29, 9, 1666.

Thos. James, 9th mo., 1666.

An inventory of the estate of Thomas James taken 20 September 1666, by Machael Shaflin and Nathaniel Felton, amount 122 09 06; Debts, 9, 12, 03, returned Jeremiah Meachum, admr., 28 4, 1666.

Eliz. Scudder, 9th mo., 1666.

An Inventory of the estate of Eliz. Scudder, widdow, taken by Henry Bartholomew & Hillyard Veren, a'nt 33 7 6, debt, 10 12 9, returned 29 9, '66.

Ric. Johnson, 9 mo., 1666.

Will of Ric'd Johnson of Lynn, dated 20 Aug., 1666, sons Daniel, Samuel, daughters Abigail Collins & Elizabeth Tolman, appts. his wife sole extx. app'ts Ths. Laughton, James Axey, and Andrew Mansfield, overseers. Proved 27, 9, 1666.

Inventory of above estate taken 18 7 mo., 1666, by Thos. Laughton, James Axey, Henry Collins, amount 368 17 6; debts 22 0 0. Allowed 27, 9, 1666.

Ralph Tompkins, Nov. 1666.

Inventory of Estate of Ralph Tompkins, of Salem, taken 12, 9, 1666, by Thomas Gardner, and John Kitchen, amount 20 19 0; debts, 5 0 0, allowed, and administration given to John, son of the deceased, the land to be to the

said John, and after the debts are paid the rest to go to Mary the daughter of John Foster.

Deposition of Ann Small, aged about 50 years. Do. do. Edward do. aged 40 years, "sayth yt In ye day of discorde wtt Ralph Tomkins did heare him seaueral times say that itt was his will yt Mary ffoster should have his kow and all his houshold goods. After his decease in regard she Had ben such a good nurs vnto him for said Hee she Has don more for mee and my poore wife than any body else would Have don."

Samuel Aborne, aged 52 years, saith the substance of above.

Nathaniel Felton, aged 50 years, saith the same also.

Rob't Lemon, June, 1667.

Will of Rob't Lemon, dated August 2, 1665, mentions wife Mary, daughters Sary, Hannah, Mary, Matthew. Mentions debts which are due to Thomas Sallows, Richard Sallows, Mary Sallows. Proved 25 4 mo., '67. Mary, the widow, appointed administratrix.

Inventory of above estate taken 3d 2d mo, 1667, by Hilliard Veren, Thos. Rootes. Amt. £241 7, 0; debts, £9, 12, 0. Allowed 25 4 mo., 1667.

Roger Hascoll, 4 mo., 1667.

Will of Roger Hascoll, dated 27 of May, 1667, mentions wife Elizabeth, son-in-law, William Dodge, three youngest sons, Roger, Joseph and Samuell, daughters Hannah and Sarah, sons, Mark, William, John, sister Jane, son Josiah, daughter Elizabeth, 2 Brothers, William and Mark Haskall. Witness, Thomas Pickson and John Hill. Proved 26, 4, '67. Wife Elizabeth, Executrix.

Inventory of above estate taken 11 June, 1667, by John Rayment, Hugh Woodberry, John Dodge; amount £616, 18, 00: allowed in Court 25, 4, 67.

Arthur Saundin, 4 mo. 1667.

Inventory of estate of Arthur Sandin taken April 8, 1667 by Moses Maverick, George Corwin, Samuel Ward; amount 248, 13, 02; debts 120, 9, 11. Allowed 25, 4, '67.

Alexander Seers, 4 mo., 1667.

Inventory of the estate of Alexander Seers taken June 7. 1667, by Hilliard Veren, Thos. Rootes; am't 133, 14; debts 71, 15, 06; allowed 25, 4, 67.

Thos. Read, 4 mo., 1667.

Inventory of Thos. Read's estate taken 5 of April, 1667, by Jno. Neale, Edmond Batter; amount 87 07; debts 17. Allowed 25 4 mo, '67.

Joseph Pope, June, 1667.

Will of Joseph Pope, dated Sept. 10th, 1666, mentions wife Gertrude Pope, executrix, two eldest sons, Joseph and Benjamin Pope, two youngest sons, Enos and Samuell, daughter Damaris Buffum, Hannah Pope; brothers George and Richard, Joseph Gardner and Samuell Shatok the elder, are appointed overseers. Allowed 27, 4, 1667.

Jona. Brown, Nov. 1667.

Inventory of estate of Jona. Brown, taken 16th April, 1667, by Hillyard Veren, Samuell Gardner; amount, 68, 08, 08; allowed 28 July 1667.

List of debts 240, 0, 04½; allowed and an order of Court to pay 5 shillings to the pound, dated 27, 9, 1667.

Account between James Allen and Jona. Brown. Account between John Brown, sen'r, and Jona. Brown. Petition of John Brown sen'r, for the Court to appoint some person to decide what proportion to be paid on the debts of estate of Jona. Brown and his agreement to pay the same.

These presents witness that whereas there was twentie and nine hogsheads of tobacco shipped upon the John's adventure in Virginia, in March, 1666, Richard Greene being master of the said vessel, and as tobaccos were consigned for the accompt of mr. Abraham Browne, Edmond Downs and company.—Signed Jonathan Brown, dated seventeenth Nov. 1666.

Power of attorney from Jas Allen to Hill-yard Veren to prosecute a debt against Est. of Jona. Brown, deceased.

Boston, Novemb'r 1st, 1667.

Mr. John Brown, Senior:

I sometime since Aquainted that att the frequent And Earnest request of yo'r Sonn Johnathan Brown; Pretending to me Extreme necessity, I lent him and by his desires Paid for him severall sums of monies and English Goods at mony Price, to the value of thirty-four Pound, fifteen shillings & 7d, of weh I rec'd but eleven pound fifteen shilling & he promised me money in a very short space, butt fayled off Performin. I never had any dealings before to oblige me to do that favor, but only with respect to yor self as his father and my serv't Jerimie Dumer as his Brother I intreat you to undertake the Consideration of this my debt, & also the managem't thereof, that iff it my be I might have the whole, though I give you what by me you desire, or iff not the whole, then what Proportion is in equity due. I Committ all unto you being well satisfied both in your and yor wifes desire that right may be done. I wrote to you three months Ago; my letter is with yor wife; for it seemeth you were newly gone to sea, wherein is tee Aect weh I have again here also transcribed out of my booko.

Mr. Johnathan Browne is d'r	Contr Cr.
1666, May 31, To monyes lent & ac	
by Mr. Scott,	5 0 0
" June 7, To mony lent,	3 0 0
" June 22 To Goods d'l to xer	211 15d
money or Virginia	
Tobb. at 2	16 15 7
To Benj Massey	10 0 0
	23 of 1.
	34 15 7
	Balance rest-
	ing in mony

I hope I need not say any more to Prevail with you to do this business for me, for far as as if Conserneth both as reling to what must be done in Cort or any other wayes. If you or any other concerned do scruple the Truth of my aect I shall be ready when called thereunto to give my oath that It is as I have presented it to A penny; and If yor self please to call at my house I suppose I have yor sonns hand for most part off it. Salem being a place that my

occasions will not permit me to Come into I committ all to yorself,
who Am yor Loving friend And Brother in Cht,

JOHN HULL.

A guaranty from Jona. Brown to Robert Allen, of Choptank, in province of Maryland, that he will pay for three thousand nine hundred sixty-two pounds of tobacco, purchased of Allen by his father, John Brown.

Dated 13 of July, 1666.

Signed JONA BROWN.

Nath'l Green, aged about 39 years, deposeth;
&c., 16, 8 mo., 1667.

Rich'd Green, aged about 39 years, deposeth;
&c., 16, 8 mo., 1667.

Thos. Randall, 9th mo., 1667.

An Inventory of goods of Thos. Randall; deceased, taken 20th Nov., 1667, by Moses Mav-erick and Erasmus James; Amt £6 9 0. Allowed 26 9; 67.

Samuel Sharpe, Nov., 1667.

Whereas there was a Letter of Administration granted to Nathaniel Sharpe by the County Court, held at Ipswich in September last, concerning the Estate left by his mother lately deceased, wherein ye Division of ye said Estate among the Children was ordered by ye said Court be left to themselves to be agreed upon, and ye said agreement to be presented to the next County Court held at Salem in November to be Confirmed, These are to Certify, that it is joyntly and unanimously agreed amongst them all, that ye said Nathaniel Sharpe, Administrator aforesaid, shall have a double portion of ye said Estate, the Remander to be equally divided between the rest of the Children, now wittnes our hands, this 29 of November, 1667.

Agreement allowed 26 9 mo., 1667.

NATHANIEL SHARPE,

THOMAS JEGGELLS,

the marke P of CHRISTOPHER PHELPS,

JOHN MORTON,

the marke H of HANNAH SHARPE.

Geo. Wheeler, 4th mo., 1663.

An Inventory of the estate of George Wheel-

er taken May 28th, 1668, by Anthony Somerby and William Titcomb, Amount 29 1 0.— Allowed At Salem 30 4, '68. Administration granted to Susanna, wife of the deceased.

John Perkins, 4th mo., 1668.

An inventory of the estate of John Perkins, taken at Topsfield June 12th, 1668, by Francis Peabody and Edmon Town, amount 48 15 0. Allowed at Salem 30 4, '68. Administration granted to Deborah, wife of the deceased.

Robert Andrews, 4th mo., 1668.

An Inventory of the estate of Robert Andrews, Sen'r, of Rowley viliage, taken by Francis Peabody, Isask Commings, Sen'r, and Edmon Townes, Amount 728 4 0. Allowed 1 5, '68. Administration granted to Grace Andrews, wife of the deceased.

Thomas Brackett, 4th mo., 1668.

An inventory of the estate of Thomas Brackett, taken by Edmond Batter 1 5, 1668, Amount 32 00 6. Allowed at Salem, 1 5 mo., 1668. Administration granted to Thomas Brackett, father of the deceased—the estate is to be to the use of said Thomas Brackett and of Alce his now wife.

Thomas Dill, 4th mo., 1668.

An inventory of the estate of Thomas Dill, late of Marblehead, taken 2 July, 1668, by Christopher Lattemer, Amount 113 10 00. Allowed at Salem 30 4, '68. The above Inventory was sent into the court by Mr. Bartholomew Gedney and Richard Dill, administrators, and is allowed.

Philip Knight, 9th mo., 1668.

An inventory of the estate of Phillip Knight taken by John Putnam and Thomas Fuller, Amount 106 18 0. Allowed 23 9 mo., 1668. Administration granted to Margery, relict of said Phillip. The eldest son is about 26 years old, Philip, the 2d, about 23 years old, Rebecca, the 3d, about 17 years old, Eliza, the 4th, about 13 years old, Mary, the 5th, about 11 years old.

Wm. Walton, 9th mo., 1668.

An inventory of the estate of William Walton, late of Marblehead, Taken 23 November, 1668, by John Peach, Sen'r and Samuel Ward, Amount 287 10 6. Allowed 27th 9 mo., 1668. Administration granted to Elizabeth, relict of the deceased.

Timothy Robinson, 11th mo., 1668.

An inventory of the estate of Timothy Robinson, taken 29th June, 1668, by Thomas Robbins and Richard Croad, Amount 134 4 00. Allowed 26 11 mo., 1668. Administration granted to the widow. The house and ground to be security for the child's portion, the rest to the widdow.

Christopher Linsey, 4th mo., 1669.

Will of Christopher Linsey of Lynn, dated April 2d, 1669, and probated 29 4 mo., mentions son Eliazer, John, daug. Nahomie; Widow. Witnesses, Joseph Wardwell, Andrew Mansfield. Codicill dated April 2nd, 1669. mentions son Eliazer, Executor, to which is added an agreement of the children John, Eliazer and Nahomie Lynsey, that the estate is to be divided equally between them, dated 19th 2 mo., 1669. Also the Inventory of the estate of Christopher Linsey, who died the 11th April, 1669, taken 12th April, 1669, by Joseph Wardwell, Andrew Mansfield, William Bassett.

Wm. Walton, 4th mo., 1669.

A 2nd Inventory of the estate of William Walton of Marblehead, taken June 25th, 1669, by John Peach, sen'r, Sam'l Ward, Am't 20 00 00.

A 3d Inventory of the estate of William Walton of Marblehead, taken June 29, 1669, by Moses Maverick & Samuel Ward, Amt 8 00 00.

Wm. Whitteredge, 4th mo., 1669.

At the Court held at Ipswich the 28 April, 1669, William Whiteridge dyeing intestate and administration being formerly granted unto Thomas Whiteridge, and an inventory of the

estate being brought into this court, which falls short of paying the debts a great deal and more debts still appearing, The Court orders that all William Whitteredge's creditors shall within one month make their debts to be instantly due, to the clerk of the court or else be excluded from any after claim, notice in writing to be set up at Salem and ye Ipswich meeting houses.

Wm. Whitteredge, 4th mo., 1669.

An Inventory of William Whitteredge deceased, (prysed by us the 16th of December, 1668,) who departed this life the 9th of Dec., 1669. Amount 84 13 10, Allowed 28 June, 1569; presented by Thomas Whitteredge, son of the deceased.

A List of debts due from the above estate amount 111 13 7.

The above said estate appearing to be less than the Creditt, Ordered by the Court at Salem, 2 July, 1669, that the sum of 15 shillings on the pound be paid each creditor.

The Testimony of Neienabed Foster, Jr., Taken June 28th, 1669.

The Testimony of Elizabeth Foster, Taken June 28th, 1669.

The Deposition of John Choat, aged about 40 years, taken June 28th, 1669.

Sam'l Archard, 4th, 1669.

At a County Court held at Salem 30th, 4th mo., 1668, Susanna Archard and Samuel Archard. Administrators of the estate of Samuel Archard, decd, brought an inventory of the estate amounting to 176 3 6, the estate being debtor 295 14 2, the widows thirds of the housing and land being £39, the rest of the estate is 137 3 6, and will pay the debts at the rate of 24d per pound; and there being an order of Ipswich Court to signify that all Creditors should come in to make there just debts appear at or before this court at Salem, which order was posted up at the meeting house in Salem, and after the debts were proved it was ordered that the sum of 24d on each pound proved be paid, provided and it is to be understood that at the widows decease her third of

the estate be divided proportionally among the creditors.

At Court at Salem, 24th, 4th mo., 1669, Samuel Archer Sen'r dying intestate and there being administration on the estate granted to Susanna, the relict of sd Archard, and to Samuel Archard, his son, who were to bring an Inventory of the said estate to the next court at Ipswich, March, '67-'68, which Inventory shoves that the Debts exceed the value of the estate therefore it is ordered that by this court that Mag'r William Hathorne, Mr. William Browne and Hilliard Veren do survey and examin all those debts not yet paid.

Whereas the County Court held at Salem ye 24, 9 mo., 1668, did desire and impower William Hathorne, William Browne and Hilliard Veren to Joyn with and assist the Administrators to the estate of Sam'l Archer dec'd, to settle the estate and pay all the creditors 15 shillings on the pound, only Mr. Phillip Cromwell and George Ropes at the rate of 18 shillings on the pound. Approved and Allowed at Court at Salem 29 4 69.

Deposition of William Oeman, aged 35 years, taken 24, 7 mo., 1668.

Deposition of George Alley, aged 42 years, taken 25, 7 mo, 1668.

Deposition of Thomas Dow, aged 37 years, taken 30, 4, 1669; mentions William Knowlton and his brother Samuel Knowlton, (Thos. Wells?)

An Account between Samuel Archard and William Browne from 12th of 12 mo., 1657, to 28th of 9 mo, 1663, a balance in favor of Browne of 120 16 6d. A List of Debts due against the estate of Samuel Archard am't 195 14 01.

Jane James, 4th mo., 1669.

An inventory of the estate of Jane James taken by Moses Mavericke, John Peach and Christopher Latamer. Amount 85 00 00. It is mutually agreed in the court 30, 4 mo., 1669, by Evasmusi James and Richard Road and Hester his wife that the estate left by their mother, Jane James deceased, be divided be-

tween them, to say the house and 4 acres of land valued at £40 to *Evasmus*? and the house and land at the ferry ground by the pound at £40 to Hester, and the Cow Common is £5 equally devided between them, also equally sharing the rest of the estate.

Wm. Woodcock, 9th mo., 1669.

An Inventory of the estate of Doctor William Woodcock taken by ——— Putnam, William Flint, Isack Williams. Amount 107 08 5. Allowed 2d, 10 mo., 1669, Administration granted (Hanna the relict) to Eleazer Hathorne and Mr. John Corwin.

At a court held at Salem the 30, 10 mo., 1669, Mr. Eleazer Hathorne and Mr. John Corwin, administrators of the estate of Mr. William Woodcock dec'd, present that the said estate is Dr. to Capt. George Corwin, Capt. Walter Price, Mr. William Browne sen'r, Mr. John Gedney sen'r and Mr. Phillip Cromwell.

John Marsh, 9th mo., 1669.

An Inventory of the estate of John Marsh jr., taken 2d, 10th mo., 1669, by Henry Bartholomew, George Gardner, Joseph Grafton jr. Amount 300 01 00. Allowed 2d, 10, 1669. Administration granted to Sarah, relict of the deceased, mentions ye two children, viz., Sarah and Ruth to have £60 each when they arrive at the age of 18 years or at their marriage.

Samuel Symonds, 9th mo., 1669.

Will of Samuel Symonds jr. of Ipswich, dated 18 December, 1668, probated 30, 9, 1669. I give unto each of my sisters, viz., wife of my brother Daniel Epps, Martha, wife of my brother John Denison, Ruth, wife of my brother John Emerson, Mary, wife of my brother Peter Duncan, and Pricillia Symonds, eight pounds. All the rest of my estate I give to my Honored Father, Samuel Symonds, and I also appoint him executor of my estate. Witnesses, James Chute, Daniel Eppes jun.

Inventory of the above estate, am't £70 17 0; mentions money owing in England £95 10s 7d. Dated 29 Nov., 1669. Allowed 30, 9, 1669.

Robert Buffum, November, 1669

An Inventory of the estate of Robert Buffum, taken 15th Nov'r, 1669, by George Gardner, John Kitchen. Amount 270 19 00. Allowed at Salfm 2 10 1669. Administration granted unto Tamson, relict of the deceased.

The Testimony of Gertrude Pope, widow, being at ye house of Robert Buffum when he lay on his death bed. Robert Buffum would have me and Elizabeth Kitchen take notice that what he had as to his estate he would leve to his wife, for she helped to get it and ye children were hers. Signed, Gertrude Pope.

The Testimony of Elizabeth Kitchen, (the same in substance as above.)

Henry Coombs, 9th mo., 1669.

An Inventory of the estate of Henry Coombs, taken 16 September, 1669, by Henry Bartholomew, Moses Maverick, Hilliard Veren. Amount 85 5 6. Allowed at Salem 2, 10 mo., 1669. Administration granted to the widow; mentions the children.

A List of the debts amounting to 57 02 5.

Sam'l Roberts, 4th mo., 1670.

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Roberts late of Ipswich, dec'd, taken the 21st June, 1670, by Robert ———, James Chute.— Amount 43 18 9. Allowed at Salem 29, 4, 1670.

Thomas Day, 4th mo., 1670.

An Inventory of Thomas Day. 9, 4 mo., 1670, by John Gardner, Richard Prince, Henry Bartholomew. Amount 23 7 2. Allowed 29, 4, 1670. Administration granted unto Mary, ye relict of the deceased.

John Kenney, 9th mo., 1670.

Will of John Kenney of Salem, dated Allowed 30, 9, 1670; mentions, I give A piece of two year old vantage, well known to John Pickman of Salem, to John Flint, grandchild to William Flint; I give 40 shillings to John Backsteer of Salem; I give 40 shillings to Alexander Gillman of Marblehead; I give the

rest of my estate to my beloved wife, Sarah Kenney. I appoint my friends Henry Bartholomew and John Pickman of Salem overseers. Witnesses, William Flint, William Beale, John _____, John Bayley.

PHILIP ENGLISH.

PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

In order to give a somewhat clear idea of this prosecution or persecution, we have deemed it best to make it a distinct article, and cast it into the shape of a second part of the Sketch of Philip English. By this means, the subject can be disconnected from the extraneous matter of the text, and be more clearly and effectually treated. The Salem witchcraft persecution is a study, and almost apart from the general history of that age; for its causes, existence, continuance and effects seem to have been outside the ordinary circle of human experience. Our endeavor will be to give some idea of those causes, as gathered from various authorities, together with certain documents illustrative of our more particular subject; and such general observations on the nature of witchcraft, as may appear pertinent, and susceptible of proof.

A belief in *witchcraft* was no new thing, of course, with the men of 1692. From the earliest days of history such a belief has haunted the minds and souls of men. Witchcraft was denounced, indeed, in the Old Testament, but then the witchcraft of that day is believed by some to have been **Idolatry*—the forsaking

of the true God to worship the false Gods or Devils of the Heathens, by whom the Israelites were surrounded. A belief in evil spirits, whose habitation is in the air, in deserts, ruins, and the waste places of the earth, forms a part of the creed of about all nations. In the days of Moses, deserts were considered the dwelling places of devils. The Saviour was led up of the spirit into the *wilderness* to be tempted of the Devil. Whether we construe this as a literal wilderness, or desert, or a retirement into the solitude of his own mind, wherein to examine his own thoughts and reflections, to meet and rebuke and conquer all the worldly questionings and ambitions which could be suggested to him, still we see the same belief, as in the days of Moses, viz., that the Devil inhabited the wilderness, that is, solitude.—The two men possessed of the Devil, whom the Saviour met in the country of the Gergesenes, came out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, and were dwellers, no doubt, in those lonely and desolate places. The man, whom he met and cured in the country of the Gadarenes, was a dweller in the tombs and in the mountains. The old Magicians retired to places destitute of inhabitants, where the Spirits told them those things which they should write. Lucian tells of a famous Magician who, with his companions, betook themselves into a desert, woody, shady region for a conversation with Spirits. It is evident that solitudes, deserts and waste places were ever believed to be the haunts of

*It is evident from the Old Testament, that witchcraft, sorcery, and the like, were practised by the heathen nations, who surrounded the Israelites; though this practice among those nations seems to have partaken of a religious character—the worship of the Devil or false Gods—with peculiar rites and ceremonies appertaining thereto. Wizards, dreamers, sorcerers, astrologers, magicians, enchanters, diviners, charmers, soothsayers, consultants with

familiar spirits, false prophets, and necromancers,—all seem to have been known to the heathen nations, and to be included in the general condemnation of the Jewish Law, and as different branches only of one crime, viz., the forsaking of the true God for the worship of false ones. See Hale's "Modest Enquiry into the nature of withcraft," Chap. 13, for the Scripture authorities on this point; and for reference to various modern New England cases of witchcraft, see Calef's "More Wonders of the Invisible World," and particularly the authorities quoted by Cotton Mather in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," also in his "*Magnalia*," Book 7, Chap. 6, and in Upham's Lectures on Witchcraft.

Spirits, and of a wide order and of various degrees: and that those who sought familiar spirits and intercourse with the Devil, or demons, went into the solitudes to seek them; while the possessed of the Devil were often driven into those solitudes, so congenial to the powers afflicting them.

At the time the Pilgrims and Puritans sought these shores, the country was a *wilderness* of woods—the “*American Deserts*,” as Cotton Mather describes them—and the natives were regarded as Heathens, and their Gods Devils. Our Fathers ran the parallel with, and were pleased to note the resemblance between themselves and the ancient Israelites. As the Jews had their Exodus of old, so had our Fathers in the latter day. As the heathen surrounded the latter, so did the Indians their own little band. If the Israelites had the old Canaan, they had the new. In the rites and ceremonies and worshipped Deities of the Indians, they beheld a resemblance to those of the ancient heathen, who begirt Israel. The Indians were *polytheists and practicers of witchcraft, as were the old Heathen; and in their “*Hobbamock*”† our Fath-

*“They (the Indians inhabiting these parts of America) generally acknowledged and worshipped *many Gods*; therefore greatly esteemed and revered *their priests, powaws, or wizards*, who were esteemed as having immediate converse with the Gods.” Cotton Mather, *History of New England*, Book 6, p. 52.

“That the *Powaws*, by the infernal spirits, often killed persons, caused lameness and impotency, as well as showed their art in performing things beyond humane, by diabolick skill; such who have conversed among them have had no reason to question.” *Idem*.

†*Hobbamock*,—who appears to have been the Devil of the Indians, and far more worshipped when our fathers landed in New England, than *Kiehtan*, their good God, from whose worship they are said to have declined—according to the priests, chief warriors, powaws, and Panieses, (counsellors of the King,) often appeared to them in the shape of a man, fawn or eagle, but generally of a *snake*, who gave them advice in their difficult undertakings.

The powaws, (the Indian wizards) according to the

ers detected a close resemblance to the Devil of the Scriptures. The Indian Powaws prayed to Hobbamock for the removal of evils, and the common people joined or said Amen, sometimes breaking out in songs to him. It has been said that the Indians sometimes sacrificed even their own children to him. Such scenes reminded our Fathers of the old Heathens, and strengthened the parallel they drew. This wilderness had been given them of the Lord, as was Canaan to the Jews, and as wrested from the dominion of the Heathen, and more especially of the *Devil* they served; and whose reign, so long undisputed here, was now invaded by the Church of Christ. The solitudes which he had so long possessed and been worshipped in, were now to resound with the songs of Zion—a hateful music to his rebellious ear. The strict puritanism of the early settlers was supposed to be peculiarly offensive to him; and when *witchcraft* was discovered in New England, it was thought not strange that the Devil should endeavor to afflict a people who most hated him and whom he most hated. At the date of 1692 there became mixed with the general belief in witchcraft, an awful belief in the darkest possible plot of Satan to destroy *Salem and the

report of the Indians, could make water burn, rocks move, trees dance, and change themselves into blazing men. What was more marvellous, they could burn an old tree to ashes in the winter, when there was not a green leaf in the whole country, put the ashes into water, and take thence a green leaf, which you could carry away. They would change a dry snake skin into a living snake, to be seen, felt, and heard.

It is obvious that the Indian powaws of America were fully equal, if not superior, to the wizards and wonder-workers of the East Indies.

Cotton Mather says these “Powaws” often employed their demons to smite their neighbors with blindness, lameness, and other mischiefs, and sometimes to kill them, and sometimes to cure their maladies.

*Cotton Mather, who thought himself, perhaps, the champion of the Lord against the sin of witchcraft in 1692, thus states what reasons Satan had for vexing New England, and especially Salem, with

Colony; and, as an incentive to this belief, a credence in certain quarters in the fulfilment of the grand prophecies of Scripture, which added a religious or rather fanatical furor to the excitement, hard for us to realize, or even imagine. The Salem Witchcraft stands alone in history for the gravity of its illusions and delusions—having a breadth and depth and significance which were deemed truly appalling at the time, and revealing to our later eyes a host of terrible and gloomy and sombre imaginations, only surpassed by the mysteries and horrors and wonders of the Apocalypse.

If Salem has had to bear the whole burden of the witchcraft tragedy, which first broke out at its village (now Danvers) in 1692, it is because that affair is not well understood. Various able writers have shown, that neither the

his arts at that period. "The *New Englanders* are a people of God settled in those which were once the *Devil's* territories; and it may easily be supposed that the *Devil* was exceedingly disturbed when he perceived such a people here accomplishing the promise of old made unto our blessed Jesus, *That he should have the utmost parts of the earth for his possession*. There was not a greater uproar among the Ephesians when the Gospel was first brought among them, than there was among the Powers of the Air (after whom the Ephesians walked) when first the silver trumpets of the Gospel here made the joyful sound. The Devil thus irritated, immediately tried all sorts of methods to overturn this poor Plantation, &c." Again he says:—"We have been advised, by some Credible Christians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accused of *Witchcraft* as well as *Murder*, and Executed in this place [Boston] more than forty years ago, [that is before 1653] did then give Notice of an horrible PLOT against the Country, by *WITCHCRAFT* and a foundation of *WITCHCRAFT* then Laid, which if it were not Seasonably Discovered, would probably Blow up and pull down all the Churches in the Country. And we have now with Horror Seen the Discovery of Such a *Witchcraft*! An Army of *Devils* is horribly broke in upon the place, [Salem] which is the Center, and after a sort, the *First-born* of our English Settlements, and the Houses of the good People there, are filled with doleful shrieks of their Children and Servants, Tormented by Invisible Hands, with Tortures altogether preternatural. After

belief in witchcraft, nor its punishment originated with us, nor even in our Colony; and that witchcraft was a crime against which statutes had been enacted in England, and persons punished for the crime there before our fathers enacted laws against it in the Colony. Various parties had been punished for that *crime in the Colony itself, ere the Salem

the Mischiefs there Endeavored, and since in part Conquered, the terrible plague, of *Evil Angels*, hath made its progress into some other places, where some other persons have been in like manner Diabolically handled."—Cotton Mather. *Wonders of Invisible World*—Article—"Enchantments Encountered."

It appears that Cotton Mather wrote a work some few years before 1692, in which he made mention of a few "Memorable Witchcrafts" committed in New England. The famous Richard Baxter graced the second edition of this work with words like these:—"If any are scandalized that New England, a place of as serious piety as any I can hear of under Heaven, should be troubled so much with witches, I think 'tis no wonder. Where will the Devil show most malice but where he is hated and hateth most." See "Enchantments Encountered." New England had been looked upon as "a true Utopia." Says Mather:—"A famous Person returning hence [from N. E.] could in a Sermon before the Parliament profess, '*I have now been seven years in a country where I never saw one man drunk, or heard one oath sworn, or beheld one beggar in the streets all the while.*'" Men like Mather believed that N. E. had degenerated from her early standard of purity—that the Devil had taken advantage of the fact—would be therefore authorized to torment her with all the more fury, and that he hated the Colony with all the more malice for the past, or the present godliness in it. We must therefore read the witchcraft matter, in part, through the theological belief of that day.

*The following order of the Gen'l Court in 1648 can be found in the Records of Mass., vol. 2, page 242:

"The Corte desire the course wch hath bene taken in England for discovry of witches, by watching them a certaine time. It is ordred, that the best and surest way may forthwith be put in practice, to begin this night if it may be, being the 18th of the 3d mo., and that the husband may be confined to a private roome and be also watched."

Of this case, Deane in his Hist. of Scituate says:

tragedy began ; and cognizance had been taken of the offence, even in our own County, long before 1692, as we shall in due time prove. The Salem tragedy owed its importance in public estimation to a cause or causes apart from the mere origin of witchcraft in the Colony, as we shall endeavor to show ; and the severity of that tragedy, which gave it such a notoriety, was due to a combination of very extraordinary circumstances, which have given it also such a prominence, that all the other witchcrafts noted in New England are almost lost in the gigantic and deep shadow our Salem affair has cast over its history.

We have quoted from Cotton Mather, (who published his work in 1693 by the special command of the Governor, and the approbation of Stoughton, the Lieut. Gov.) to show what a belief was prevalent in high quarters at that day. We shall have occasion to quote again from Mather as to other causes for the strength and severity of the tragedy in 1692: and it should be borne in mind that a good part of Mather's work—"Wonders of the Invisible World"—is taken up by a sermon he preached in August, 1692, when the delusion was raging, and is reproduced with additions in 1693, and published with his trials of the witches in Sa-

"The accused was Margaret Jacob (alias Jones.) Winthrop describes her confinement and gives some details of the evidence. The persons who were appointed spies alleged that "they saw a little child coming in and going out from her repeatedly, and when they pursued the child, it vanished." On such testimony the poor woman was condemned and executed.

"The first indictment for witchcraft in New England was at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1647, when the first execution for that offence took place." The only two indictments in Plymouth Colony were in 1660 and 1676. In the first of these cases the accuser publicly retracted her charge. Both cases were discharged. See *Deane*.

Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, Book 6, Chap 7, gives several supposed examples of witchcraft in the Colony from 1662 to 1688, and doubtless believed in them as genuine, as did the generality of people at that day.

lem, and this by the special command of the Governor. His thoughts and his words are thus rendered a part of the official history of the times, and represent, we may therefore conclude, the prominent, prevailing belief of that day. A somewhat careful perusal of his work induces us to believe that our Salem tragedy was especially based upon a religious belief—then influential, and we may suppose prevalent in the Colony, and exculpates Salem from the main burden of the tragedy. It began here, but then that was an only accident. The same fury might have characterized it, had it broken out elsewhere. It was expected and dreaded—at least some great work or plot of Satan—and when it broke out at Salem, it was thought a peculiarly appropriate place for the first assault of Satan. The public mind—the body-politic were prepared for this contagion ; which, like the visible plague, might indeed break out in one spot, but which found the whole community predisposed to the attack.

These things deserve to be said of the Salem Witchcraft, for many minds perhaps still believe that Salem ought to bear its burden, and that our witchcraft is the **only*, as it un-

*Rev. Mr. Hale, of Beverly, who wrote his work (before quoted) in 1697, says, (page 16 17) "Several persons have been charged with and suffered for the crime of Witchcraft in the Governments of the Massachusetts, New Haven, Stratford or Connecticut from the year 1646 to the year 1692." He further says that the first was a woman of Charlestown in the year 1647 or 8. Mr. Hale himself went to her on the day of her execution, and with some neighbors, who endeavored to bring her to confession and to repentance. She denied that she was a witch to the last. Some time after this a Dorchester woman suffered for the same offence, steadily denying her guilt. A Cambridge woman also suffered by the name of Kendall, who denied her guilt to the last, and the principal accuser of whom was afterwards put in prison for adultery. In 1656 another was executed in Boston. Two or three were executed at Springfield—one of whom (Hale says) confessed. Hale mentions the cases of some *four* in New England who confessed, but says, "all others denied it unto the death," (page 20), and further says:—"But it is not my purpose to give a full relation of all

questionably is the most important delusion of the Colony. Our Salem Witchcraft will never be forgotten, and never ought to be—as a lesson of caution and wisdom for the future; but while its locality has been rendered so notorious, the *causes* which produced it should also be as well known, that we may not bear any burden but that which rightfully belongs to us; and the share Salem ought to bear is only her common proportion of the ignorance and fanaticism of the Colony at that day. It is almost a sufficient sorrow that the Salem of 1692 was the chosen locality, for the deed and the place are indissolubly joined together; but Salem was not the *cause*. That lay behind her and around her, and the Colony shared with her the madness of the hour, and sympathized with her, and drew from her trouble and calamity fresh lessons of persecution and reproach. If the remainder of the Colony had been sane, and Salem only bereft of her reason, our old town might bear the burden; but the share taken in the matter by the Government, the Clergy, the Courts, and the remainder of the Colony, proves that our burden is their burden—our mistakes their mistakes—our penitence their penitence—our sorrow and shame theirs—theirs also.

There appears to have been joined to the Salem Tragedy a still deeper belief even than that of the mere temporary affliction of Salem or the Colony by the Devil. If we are to judge by Cotton Mather's sermon preached in August, 1692, there was a belief then prevalent, that the latter days were at hand, and that the second coming of the Lord might be soon expected.

that have suffered for that sin, or of all the particulars charged upon them, which probably now is impossible, many witnessing *viva voce* those particulars which were not fully recorded." (page 20).

By this quotation it would seem that not a few persons had suffered in N. E. prior to 1692 for witchcraft, and more, probably, than are generally supposed. It will be seen by Hale, that Salem Village did not originate the witchcraft persecution, though it culminated there.

That this may remain in no doubt, we shall make a few quotations* from Cotton Mather's

*At the witchcraft period of 1692 it was supposed the powers of the Devil and his angels had been enlarged and his chain lengthened. Cotton Mather in August of that year preached a discourse, in which he takes as his text Rev. 12 chap., 12 verse: "Wo to the inhabitants of the Earth and of the Sea, for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." Judging from the tenor of this discourse, which is inserted with additions in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," Mather supposed that at that day the Devil was to have dominion for a time over a woful and sinful world ere his eternal overthrow; that the second coming of the Lord was at hand, and that the church after fearful torments (witchcraft and the like) was to enter into its promised rest; and that as the Lord was about to set up His kingdom, Satan would "assay the like for himself with most apish imitation." Mather was suspicious "that that there will be again an unusual Range of the Devil among us a little before the *Second Coming* of our Lord, &c.," as there was at the first; and says further: "The Evening Wolves will be much abroad when we are near the Evening of the World." Mather thought that the Church was quite near its Golden Age—the thousand years of rest and peace. "Good news for the Israel of God, and particularly for His New England Israel. If the Devil's time were above a thousand years ago pronounced *short*, what may we suppose it now in *our* time? Surely *we* are not a *Thousand Years* distant from those Happy Thousand Years of rest and peace and [which is better] holiness reserved for the people of God in the latter days; and if we are not a Thousand Years yet short of that Golden Age, there is cause to think that we are not an *Hundred*. That the blessed *Thousand Years* are not yet begun is abundantly clear from this, *We do not see the Devil bound*. No, the Devil was never more let *Loose* than in our *Days*; and it is very much that any should imagine otherwise. But the same thing that proves the Thousand Years of Prosperity for the Church of God UNDER THE WHOLE HEAVEN to be not yet *Begun*, do's also prove that it is not very *far off*; and that is the prodigious *Wrath* with which the Devil do's in our Days Prosecute, Yea Desolate the World." Wonders of Invisible World, Edition of 1693, pp. 36—7.

Such extracts might be indefinitely made from Cotton Mather, and in part explain the furor of the

"Wonders of the Invisible World,"—a work published, as we have said, by the authority of the Governor himself, and in 1693, and which states (we should judge) the prevalent opinion and truth of that day. If so, the witchcraft which broke out at Salem Village was considered by about all the leading minds of that day, not as the simple bewitching of a few children, but as the first signs and symptoms of the outburst of a great *plot* of the Devil against the Church of Christ in New England,—which plot Cotton Mather (as we have stated in a previous note) intimates was foretold some *forty* years before. Not only was this plot so foretold, but the period at which it broke out, corresponded near enough with the then theological solution of the time when the New Heaven was to commence, and the Devil was to make his last, but short struggle for dominion in the world, and his rage and wrath to be in accord with his despair. Men like Cotton Mather believed that the Lord was then about "to set up His Kingdom in the most *sensible* and *visible* manner that ever was, and in a manner answering the *Transfiguration* on the Mount," (page 28) and the Devil was about to set up his kingdom

witchcraft persecution. Satan's reign had come, his last struggle for dominion upon earth, according to the interpretation of the Divines, who lost themselves amid the Prophecies of Daniel and the mysteries of the Apocalypse, where every word is a mystery; and who, by their zealous and misguided belief and action upon that belief, increased the flames and the fury. Just in the proportion that the reign of Satan was to be short, it was to be terrible; and in proportion to the shortness and severity of that reign was to be the unsparing zeal and labor and efforts of the Ministers to overcome Satan and his emissaries! Mather therefore called loudly for *Reformation* and *Extraordinary* efforts in the churches to meet this extraordinary crisis.

For the use of Cotton Mather's work—a very rare one—we are under great obligations to Dr. J. A. Batchelder and Mr. L. B. Brooks of Salem, in whose families a copy has been inherited from Isaiah Dunster, grandson of the first President of Harvard College.

also in imitation. We have seen that the eminent Baxter had thought it reasonable that the Devil should bear New England an especial wrath, as being a place *where he was hated and hateth most*. It was thought, too, by Mather, and by men like him, that about all the civil and religious evils which had happened to New England from its settlement up to 1692, were clearly the works of the Devil. Says Mather in 1693, "I believe there never was a poor plantation more pursued by the wrath of the Devil, than our poor New England." (page 41.) In addition to this, he believed also that the wrath of God was poured out upon the Colony. Mather believed, and he so says, that the settlement of the Protestants and Puritans in New England gave the Devil "a Rousing alarm," for it was an invasion of his ancient and hitherto undisputed dominions, and that therefore he had left no stone unturned to undermine this Church of Christ and force it out of the Country. He then enumerates the various trials of the Colony—the Indians, theological heresies, blasts upon grain, wasting sicknesses, the attempts of parties to deprive it of its liberties, Indian wars, desolating fires, and losses at sea, (the late French war having been more disastrous in proportion to the commerce of New England than to any part of the English nation,) and finally the Devil in person come down upon it with unheard of wrath—these, all these evils Mather sums up as the works of the Devil and the wrath of God, (pages 42-3,) and we can see by his statements and belief, which was, we doubt not, the belief of the age, that the great adversary of souls was suspected of evil against the Colony—was expected also, and that perhaps the only question was, when and where? At the date of 1691-2, the public mind was morbid, and unnaturally sensitive. Evil upon evil had fallen upon the Colony, and the religious forebodings of credulous men, as well as their enthusiastic expectations, saw both the reign of Satan as the cause of evil on the one hand, and the coming Kingdom of God on the other. They

themselves were plunged into the mystery enshrouding both.

Some of those, too, who were accused of witchcraft in 1692, confessed that their object was to destroy the Church of God in the Colony, (see Hale's *Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft*, page 38) and this confession was only a confirmation of the gloomy belief in the *plot*, which Mather informs us of. When, moreover, we consider the enormity of such a plot, and this confession of it, we shall be at no loss to perceive why the witchcraft affair at Salem assumed such a fearful interest in New England; for not only was it now known that that plot was a verity, but it was also known where and by whom it was to be consummated. So we perceive that the witchcraft at Salem became at once of immense and all-exciting interest—was a blow aimed at the very heart of the whole Church of Christ in New England, and the first development of the infernal plan of Satan against the very existence of Christianity in the land. It was this belief* which gave to our Salem Tragedy its awful and appalling interest and alarm; and unless this fact is adhered to, we lose the key which unlocks the mystery. To ascribe to Salem the *origin* of the witchcraft here is a mistake, while the fury with which it raged,

was owing not to local causes, but general ones. The *whole* Colony was as deeply interested in the matter as Salem, and that it even occurred here was at the time thought to be very natural, as we shall show.

Cotton Mather states, what was undoubtedly thought a good reason, why Satan should have chosen Salem as the place of attack, and we shall quote him in the matter. In describing some of the acts of witchcraft, he says,—“We have also seen the Devil's *First Batteries* upon the town, where the *First Church* of our Lord in this Colony was gathered, producing those distractions which have almost ruined the town,” (pages 51-2). By the emphasis which Mather lays upon the *first* attack upon the *first* church in the Colony, we can readily see why, in his estimation, as in that of others, most probably, Salem was *the* place of all others which the Devil hated the most, and with good reason; and why it was especially and most fittingly chosen as the point of attack. As Cotton Mather believed, those in authority* appear then to have believed, and so did multitudes of people in the Colony. No, the witchcraft tragedy in Salem dates back to a cause, far deeper than any mere local one. It was linked in with prior beliefs, with the supposed fulfilment even of sacred prophecy, with a particular plot of the Devil to ruin and subvert the Church of Christ in New England—was supported by confessions of those accused to that end—and as if to make the matter more ominous, it began in the family of a Minister of the Gospel—Satan thus showing the strength, the malignity, and the wisdom of his attack. Such, at least, seem to be the reflections of that day; which,

*Cotton Mather says, (and he is evidently sincere in the matter, however partial he may be,)—“Many of the persons thus represented (as witches) being examined, several of them have been convicted of a very damnable *Witchcraft*. Yea, more than *Twenty* have *Confessed* that they have Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil showed them, and Engaged in his Hellish Design of *Bewitching* and *Ruining* our Land.” See “Wonders of Invisible World”—Article, “Enchantments Encountered,” page 6.

This quotation from Mather is important, as showing what was the belief of those in authority, as well as himself and others, as to the *importance* of the witchcraft plot at Salem. It must not be forgotten that Mather printed this by the *special command* of the Governor of the State, and by the sanction also of Stoughton, the Dep. Gov.

We could quote further from Mather in support of this view, if necessary.

**Calf* states that Sir William Phips, the Governor, was a parishioner of Cotton Mather, and it would appear that the former was much influenced during the witchcraft period by the counsel of his Pastor—as he sought the advice of the clergy in relation to witchcraft, and Cotton Mather was very prominent as an adviser, and is said even to have drawn up the advice on which the Gov. and his Council acted.

if it could not plainly foresee the thing, yet thought it knew how to explain it thoroughly and satisfactorily at the event; and doubtless was sincere in its attempt. The true history of the affair absolves Salem from bearing the whole burden, and lays it upon the general error and mistake of the Colony and of the most learned theologians in it.

We are also to consider that the affair at Salem exceeded in all its proportions any and all other cases of witchcraft that had ever happened before in the Colony. Whatever other witchcrafts had occurred previous to this were rather of a personal character—were isolated, detached cases, in which at times inferior Spirits or Demons might be concerned, even at times trifling Demons, as in the case at Newbury, (of which we shall presently make mention). This case at Salem was of a far different and weightier character. As the witchcraft at Salem was (believed to be) the final great plot of Satan for the overthrow of the church in New England, he came in person. It was Satan himself who now appeared, and who led in person the grand attack. No subordinates were now to be trusted; no trifling spirits or demons were to play their pranks of malice or mischief. These all gave way and retired before the presence of the great Arch-Fiend himself—who was in solemn and terrible earnest, as his time was, if Scripture told true, to be short. Soon, full soon the adamant chains might bind him, and the bottomless pit receive him. This was the fear upon him. Filled too with inextinguishable malice and rage against the Church of Christ which had invaded America, and thereby gained the land which had been so long his own, (for were not the heathen Indians his servants?) and hoping to overturn and extinguish that church or drive it from the soil, and so avoid the doom he feared—for not until the earth was the Lord's, could his own days be numbered—he, the Arch-Fiend, filled too with all the subtlety of ages of unhallowed wisdom, and cruel with all the mercilessness of a soul to whom evil was good, was descending in all his rage upon the Colony. He came too upon

the Church of Christ, and his purpose was to overthrow it, and *by and through its own members*. He came with his promises, which were soul-bewildering, and with his book, for his followers to sign, that none should be lost to him; and that book was appropriately signed in blood. He promised all manner of worldly prosperity—the command of time and space—vast spiritual power, by which all enemies could be put under foot, and tortured and punished, and turned even into obedient slaves; and last of all, he brought with him the rites and ceremonies of *his* church—set up in most blasphemous imitation of the true church—and with its meetings and baptisms and prayers and sacraments of Hell. Over this church—of the utmost conceivable blasphemy and wickedness—he presided; and worst of all, there were found at some of its gatherings, which took place in Salem, professed members of Christ's Church in S., acknowledging the Devil to be their God, praying to him, eating his sacramental bread and drinking his bloody wine. This was the flower and consummation of witchcraft. To torture poor souls with the arts of sorcery was an iniquity worthy of death; but what indignation and fate were due the professed disciples of the Christian Church, who thus in silence and secrecy were betraying that church to the Devil and their souls to eternal perdition—who were bringing a ruin upon the land, the extent of which no imagination could even conceive? Such persons would not fail to be tormentors of others, who could defy and deny their God and Saviour. Of all criminals these were the most dangerous; and unforgiven of God, why should they be spared of man? So ran the current of that day; and the fact remains, that of the twenty-eight condemned to death above a third part (*Calef*, page 233) were members of some of the churches in New England. More than half of them were of good conversation in general, and not one cleared. Nineteen were hanged and one pressed to death. (*Calef*, page 233.)

We see from history and the inferences deducible from it, how momentous was the

witchcraft affair at Salem, and how bewildering and exasperating the causes which lie at the bottom of it; and if that delusion be famous and most extraordinary, it is due not to any extraordinary frailty in our Salem people, but to a most extraordinary condition of the whole Colony, aggravated too by civil misfortunes; and that Salem was readily believed by about all, when the event came, to be the appropriate place for the first development of this infernal plot of Satan. Ought Salem to bear the whole burden? Was not this terrible tragedy, in part at least, thrust upon her? And when we consider how sincerely that plot was believed in—how horrible beyond all imagination its character—how utterly depraved and wicked the aiders and abettors of it must have appeared to be—how necessary it was to extinguish it, that the church should be saved and the Devil be foiled—that the rest of the church be secured—that it might be prepared for the second coming of the Lord—we can readily see why the exposure of the plot at Salem should have lashed the religious portion of the Colony into a fury and madness, which must ever be memorable in our local and public annals. It was a whirlwind of fanaticism which swept the Colony; and all the more terrible, as its motive power was the ignorant interpretation of those great mysteries—the Prophecies and the Revelations. It was the mystery of Iniquity which came upon it, and was mistaken for that of Godliness.

Surrounded, moreover, as our fathers were, with the Indians, who practised witchcraft, and whose wizards were so skillful and famous, we can readily perceive (with the Old Testament bias and leaning of the Puritans) how exciting to them was even the very subject itself. Fearful of its tendencies, with the history of the idolatries of old Israel before their eyes, anxious themselves not, as well as forbidden to err in such a way, and fearing always a lapse from the path of right—believing that the Satan of old was still around them, hating them worse and with greater reason than ever he did the Jews, and with a

determination to *destroy them*, body and soul—and their sudden awaking to the belief that he was to accomplish it by *witchcraft* and through their own church members—their fears, when in ignorance of the means to be employed, turned to hatred of the deepest and darkest dye when that ignorance became knowledge, and the plot became known and could be guarded against. And this supposed knowledge burst upon the Colony at once, and all the smothered fears and indignation and wrath of the Puritans against their great adversary and his emissaries exploded, as does the outburst from the volcano. Up came the burning indignation and molten and glowing rage from the very core of the Colony, overwhelming all that was fair and beautiful and good in its fiery tide, and leaving to history a gloomy, desolate, blackened mount of fanaticism, seamed upon its sides with a lava, hardly cool enough yet to walk upon, and buried in cinders and ashes.

It may not be unprofitable, as it certainly is but justice to Salem, to ascertain what had been done about witchcraft in our own county, ere the outburst at Salem itself. For that purpose we shall give abstracts of certain cases taken from our County Records on file at the office of the Clerk of the Courts.

It appears that as early as 1652, John Bradstreet was presented at Ipswich "for suspicion of haueing familiarity with the Devil." One or two of his stories proving false, he was sentenced to a fine of 20 shillings, "or else to be whipt." In November, 1669, Goodwife Burt (not of Salem) is accused, by no less than *eight* witnesses in our County Court, of divers acts of witchcraft, though no record of judgment remains against her.

In 1660—1 or thereabouts, Susannah Martin*

*The evidence against Susannah Martin is given in detail by Cotton Mather in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," (pages 114 to 127). Mather gives the evidence, or the bulk of it, in *five* cases, viz., Rev. George Burroughs, Bridget Bishop, Susanna Martin, Elizabeth How and Martha Carrier, besides some information as to witchcraft matters under the head of his Four "*Curiosities*." It is very probable

of Amesbury was believed to have bewitched the wife of Wm. Browne of Salisbury. The Church in Salisbury "appointed a day of humility to seek God on her behalf," so great was the extremity. Then the troubles of Mrs. Browne ceased, and the Salisbury Church, (in consideration that Mrs. B. had seen Goodwife Martin no more—had not met her in journeyings, &c.) instead of the day of humiliation gave thanks for her Deliverance." (See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, Essex Co. Court, page 224.) Some *thirty* years after, this very affair is produced as evidence against Susannah Martin, when the great tragedy of 1692 was claiming its victims, and on the strength of this and other evidence she was condemned and executed.

In 1674 Christopher Brown was examined before our County Court on his own report, that he had been trafficking or discoursing with one whom he apprehended to be the Devil—"which came like a Gent in order to his binding himself to be a Servant to him." On that examination, "his discourse seeming inconsistent with truth, &c.," the Court gave him "good counsell and caution for the present", and dismissed him. In 1679—80 the famous case of the Morse family of Newbury* against Abel and Caleb Powell occurred, and the evidence is on file in our Court Records. The old man,

that some of the evidence given by Mather cannot now be found on our Essex County Court Files, as some of the old papers connected with our witchcraft trials are missing. Mather's work itself appears now to be a great rarity, almost as great as the original Court documents.

*Cotton Mather evidently had faith in the supernaturalism of the "Newbury" affair, since he says in his "Wonders," page 10, (speaking of the degrees of demons) "who can allow that such trifling Dæmons as that of *Mascon*, or those that once infested our *Newberry*, are of so much Grandeur as those Dæmons whose Games are mighty Kingdomes?"

We can see by this how much more important was considered the *game* at Salem, where the Devil himself—the Arch-Fiend—was supposed to be *personally* present, and who was believed to be playing for the entire subversion of the N. E. Church and the sole possession even of this whole Western World!

Wm. Morse, and his wife had a grandson, Abel Powell, living with them, who appears to have been a great rogue, and who threw all Newbury into an uproar with his sleight of hand. Wm. Morse and his wife detail the wonderful things which happened to them in their house, and which they thought must have been the works of the Devil; but Caleb Powell, (in Mary Tucker's deposition, Page 541—2 Records, Salem Witchcraft) broke somewhat of the charm of this case by looking in privately at the window of Morse's house, when the latter was at prayer, and there seeing young Abel *flinging a shoe at the head of his grandfather while at prayer*—who all the while supposed the Devil was tormenting him with such kinds of mischief. Caleb Powell himself, (the brother) for suggesting at first that the mysterious causes of those torments might be discovered by astrology or astronomy, was suspected of having been concerned in the mischief and was brought before the Court, who did not indeed find evidence enough to condemn him, but yet decided, that he had given such ground of suspicion that they could not so acquit him, but that he should bear his own shame and the costs of the prosecution. As for Abel Powell, (the cause) the Court decided (March 30, 1680) that they "do not see sufficient to charge further, yet find see much suspicion as that he pay the charges." This case doubtless was rumored abroad over the County, magnifying as it went, and strengthened perhaps the foundation for the superstructure of the witchcraft madness of 1692. In 1679—80* we thus see whither

*Rev. Mr. Hale says (page 21) "about 16 or 17 years since, (he wrote in 1697, and this brings the date about 1680—81,) was accused a woman of Newbury, (Essex County) and upon her trial the Jury brought her in guilty. Yet the Governor, Simon Bradstreet, Esq., and some of the magistrates reprieved her, being unsatisfied in the verdict," and upon the grounds that they were not satisfied that a spectre, doing mischief in her likeness, should be imputed to her person as a ground of guilt, and that two single witnesses to different facts were two such witnesses as were needed against a person ac-

the belief in witchcraft was tending. It was then really believed that young Powell was a wizard, and he was then said to have been brought up under one Norwood, whom the people believed to have been a student of the Black Art. At that day even, though the Powells were not *convicted*, yet the County was *convinced* probably, and the very decision of the Court is a verdict in substance, if not in form, against witchcraft, its aiders and abettors.

In 1680, at the County Court sitting at Salem (29th 4th mo.,) Mr. Philip Reade made a complaint against Margaret Giffords for "suspicion of witchcraft," and presented several papers and evidences against her. The Court thought fit to enjoin the said Margaret to appear at the next Court at Ipswich, to answer to the complaint, and it is recorded that she did not appear at the September term, 1680, though then called to answer to the charge.

cused of a capital crime. After her reprieve she led a Christian life, and on her death bed denied her guilt of witchcraft.

It is not at all unlikely that the case of the Irish woman in Boston, who was condemned before 1692 for bewitching John Goodwin's children, and who was interpreted to condemn herself in her native tongue when on trial, and the history of whose case was given to the public by Cotton Mather in the year 1689, in his "Memorable Providences,"—it is not unlikely, we say, that this case, so publicly treated, had its effect upon Salem Village, where the tragedy began in the latter part of 1691, as it is well known, by the reported *bewitching of children*. Hale says (page 24) "they (the children at the village) were in all things afflicted as bad as *John Goodwin's* children at *Boston* in the year 1689. So that he that will read Mr. Mather's book of *Memorable Providences*, page 3, &c., may read part of what these children, and afterwards sundry grown persons, suffered by the hand of Satan, at Salem Village and parts adjacent, *Anno* 1691-2. Yet there was more in these sufferings than in those at Boston by pins invisibly stuck into their flesh, pricking with irons (as in part published in a book printed 1693, viz., the *Wonders of the Invisible World*.)"

The coincidence between the sufferings of the Parris children and those of Goodwin's children, we think deserves the notice given above.

In this case silence may have been taken as the tacit confession of guilt, and so strengthened the public belief in the existence and guilt of witchcraft. At all events, all these cases occurred before the outbreak at Salem Village, and clearly show, we think, whither the current of public fear and indignation was setting, when the Salem witchcraft commenced.

We now come to the epoch of 1691-92.—Early in that year, (1692) the Rev. Sam'l Parris* of Salem Village, or Farms, (now Dan-

*The Rev. Mr. Parris, in whose family this direful tragedy at Salem Village commenced, had been a settled minister according to *Calef*—("More wonders of the Invisible World," pages 184-5,) for some years at the village, was a man of liberal education, who first tried "merchandizing" for some time without much success, and then entered the ministry. When he had been settled about two years, he obtained a grant in fee simple from a part of the town of the house and land he occupied, and which had been allotted by the whole people to the ministry. This occasioned great division, both between the inhabitants themselves, and between a considerable part of them and Mr. Parris himself,— "which divisions," says *Calef*, "were but a beginning or *prelude* to what immediately followed," i. e., the witchcraft tragedy.

The people of the village procured the dismissal of Mr. Parris therefrom in 1697, though he had in 1694 acknowledged generally his errors (in the share he took in the persecution) before the dissenters of his church, who, in 1693, had stated their reasons for withdrawing from his ministrations, his share in the witchcraft matter being their prominent objection to him, and though also the elders and messengers of the churches who met at Salem Village April 3, 1695, had endeavored to reconcile his parish to him. Among these reconcilers, however, were Increase and Cotton Mather, whose sympathies were really with Mr. Parris. His parish could not, however, be reconciled to him. They charged him with having had an "easy and strong faith and belief" in the witchcraft accusations—in being partial in stifling some accusations and vigilantly promoting others—in the oaths he took against the lives of several, swearing that the prisoners with their looks knocked down the pretended sufferers—in his going to Mary Walcott and Abigail Williams, and directing others to them to know who afflicted the people in their

vers) had two children in his family—one a daughter, Elizabeth Parris, aged 9, and a niece, Abigail Williams, aged 11 years—"who were distressed with singular distempers." A physician, who was called in, gave various medicines without effect, and being puzzled at their symptoms—which consisted of creeping into holes, under benches and chairs, putting themselves into odd postures, uttering loud outcries, and strange, incoherent and unintelligible expressions—being sometimes dumb, and as if choked, and complaining of having pins thrust into their flesh, &c., &c.—came to the conclusion and opinion, rather than confess his own ignorance, that "*they were under an evil hand.*" This meant that they were bewitched, and the neighbors so understood and believed it. An Indian servant in the family and his wife made some private experiments, after the Indian fashion, to find out the witch. This coming to the ears of the children, they are said to have at once accused Tituba, the Indian woman, of pinching, pricking and tormenting them, and to have complained even that her appearance or shape, or apparition, was visible to them and tormented them, when she was not visible to the spectators. Ann Putnam, a young single woman in the neighborhood, was also similarly affected. So also was Elizabeth Hubbard or Hubbard, a maid living at Dr. Grig's at the village, and who was about 17 years old. So also were, not long after, Mary Warren, aged about 17, living at John Proctor's—Mercy Lewis, belonging to Thos. Putnam's family, aged about 19—Susannah Sheldon, about 18, and Mary Walcott, daughter of Capt. Jon-

illnesses—thus dealing with them that have a familiar spirit—in putting his own church in danger by his facility in listening to accusations—and said "that Mr. Parris by these practices and principles has been the beginner and procurer of the sorest afflictions, not to this village only, but to this whole country, that did ever befall them." See *Calef*, pages 121 to 126.

Mr. Parris had to leave the village, but how far he was to be blamed over and above others of his age, we do not profess to judge.

athan Walcott, of the village, aged about 17. A few others appear also to have joined the hue and cry at or about the same time as the last named.

The first warrants which appear on the Court Records are dated Feb'y 29, 1692, and were issued, one of them against Sarah Good, wife of Wm. Good of Salem Village, and the other* against Sarah Osborne, wife of Alexander Osborne of Salem Village, and "*Titibe*," an Indian servant of Mr. Sam'l Parris of said place, (Salem Village) "for suspicion of witchcraft" by them committed and thereby much injury done to Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Anna Putnam and Elizabeth Hubert, (Hubbard) all of Salem Village, "sundry times within this two months," and lately also done at said Salem Village, &c. The complaint was made by Mrs. Joseph Hucheson, Thomas Putnam, Edward Putnam and Thomas Preston of Salem Village, on behalf of their Majesties, and before John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin, Cessitants; who, on hearing the complaint, issued their warrants for the arrest of the accused parties and their presentation upon the 1st of March, at about ten o'clock in the forenoon, at the house of Lieut. Nath'l Ingersalls, at the village. Here seems to begin the judicial cognizance of, and action against witchcraft in 1692.

*Sarah Good is mentioned by herself and as the only party accused in one warrant, while in the other Sarah Osborne and Tituba are both mentioned. It may be that Sarah Good was first accused, and then Sarah Osborne and Tituba. In the examination of Dorcas Hoare for witchcraft, (a copy of which will appear in this article) Abigail Williams, one of the tormented, said that Mrs. H. was "the woman that she saw first before ever Tituba Indian or any else." Abigail W. was the niece of Rev. Mr. Parris, and one of the "original" afflicted ones. Now as she charged Mrs. H., on the 2d of May as being the original tormentor, it is not unlikely that Mrs. Good herself was even accused before Tituba, who historically is the first accused. Thus strange and contradictory were the charges made by some of the accusers.

Calef says Sarah Osborne was "an old bed-ridden woman, and that both she and Sarah Good were so ill-thought of, that the accusation against them was the more readily believed. (page 187.)

[To be Continued.]

THE VERY FAMILY.

BY JONES VERY.

Continued from Vol. I, page 116.

An account of the earliest location of this family has been given in the third number of the Historical Collections. To that account I would add the following particulars: The farm of Samuel Very was much larger than that of his mother's, which it adjoined. In the two original deeds, now contained in the first Book of Records, I find that it was purchased of Richard Way of Dorchester, Suffolk county, in 1656, and contained more than 170 acres. It is described as "ten acres which was Joshua Verren's; also 160 acres on Cedar Pond, which Hilliard Verren, late husband of Doreas Verren, gave unto his son, Hilliard Verren, in his last will and testament. Also one acre of land where the house of Phillip Verren formerly stood." Phillip and Joshua Verren received from the town grants of this land in 1634. The Verrys, Verrens, and other families from Salisbury, England, settled in this neighborhood. Edward or Edmond Giles, the second husband of Bridget Very, also received grants in 1636 of 120 acres on Cedar Pond. One of the bounds of Samuel Very's farm "on the east and to the south" was a rock called Wigwam Rock. This rock is mentioned also on Edmond Batter's deed, 1652, and was probably the same now called Ship Rock.

²Samuel Very left the homestead to his son ³Benjamin, who left it to his eldest son ⁴Samuel, who in 1769 gave it to his wife Abigail (Pepper) and her children. In 1793 John, George, Amos and William Very sell to Nathaniel Nurse "all their right to the estate of their honored father, Samuel Very, deceased." Mary Giles was the last of that name who owned land in the vicinity. She had a claim on the farm where the Danvers Alms House now stands, which claim she sold to Mr. Nurse. She married John Oaks, and lives in New Salem.

After the year 1700 some of Bridget Very's

descendants moved farther down on Goldthwait's Brook, where they also owned about 70 acres of land. Of this 30 acres were mostly level, and went by the name of "Very's Plain." This Plain extended from and in the rear of the burying ground on Boston Road to the Lynnfield Road. The late Robert Peel had a small map dated 1722, on which this tract is so bounded and designated. The Village burying ground, so called, was used before 1732; and some of the family were doubtless buried there. In 1736 the committee of the proprietors of the common and undivided lands, belonging to the Village and Ryal side proprietors, sell to Benjamin Ives twelve acres of land on Very's Plain, "reserving always the Village burying place so called." In 1734 Benjamin and Joseph Very sold to Benjamin Ives 62 acres in this vicinity. The saw mill, of which mention has been made, was not as there stated near the site of Mr. James N. Buffum's mill, but on the western side of Very's Plain, where Tapley's Brook empties into Goldthwait's Brook. The dam is still to be seen. This spot in olden time was the scene of much toil, and of many sports and incidents in alewife fishing. Once so noisy and mirthful, it is now wild, secluded, and still. The only sound one hears is the gurgling of the brook over the fallen stones.

"Thou, ever joyous rivulet,
Dost dimple, leap, and prattle yet;
And sporting with the sands that pave
The windings of thy silver wave,
And dancing to thy own wild chime,
Thou laughest at the lapse of time."

The information contained in the following Genealogy has been mostly derived from the Register of Deeds, and of Probate; and from Church, and Town Records in Salem, and Danvers. From these sources a full history of the family from the first can be obtained.

Bridget Very was born about 1600. Her will made 1668, attested 1680. Her children: Samuel, b 1619, d 1683-4, Mary, Thomas, b 1626, d 1694. (She also mentions her two

sons by her second husband, Eleazer Giles, bap. 1640, d 1726, and John Giles, bap. 1645, d 1709-15. She had also two daughters by the same, Mehetabel, m John Collens 1658, and Remember, m Henry Moses 1659. See a genealogy of the Giles family by John A. Vinton.)

SECOND GENERATION.

²Samuel Very, m Alice, dau. of John and Frances Woodice or is. Children: ³Samuel, b before 1659, ³Thomas, ³Jonathan, b 1659, d 1769, ³Joseph, b 1661, d 1663, ³Isaac, b 1663, ³Joseph, b 1664, d 1694, ³Hannah, b 1666, ³Mary, b 1668, ³Benjamin, ³John, b before 1659, d 1720, ³Sarah, ³Elizabeth, b before 1659.

²Mary Very, m 1659 Thomas Cutler of Reading, who d 1683. Children: ³Thomas, b 1660, (m Elizabeth, 1690. Children: born in Charlestown, now Stoneham, ⁴Thomas, b 1691, ⁴Elizabeth, b 1692, d 1713, ⁴Hannah, b 1696, ⁴Mary, b 1698, d 1703, ⁴Ebenezer, b 1700, ⁴Ruth, b 1704, d 1706. ⁴Thomas m Hannah, children: ⁵Hannah, b 1722, ⁵Esther, b 1724,) ³Sarah, b 1666, ³Ruth, b 1668, ³David, b 1670, ³Jonathan, b 1678. Mary Very m (probably) 2d Matthew Smith sen'r 1684. Thomas Cutler was one of the earliest settlers of Reading. He is thought by Lilley Eaton, Esq., to have settled on the "Old Cutler Place," just within the bounds of Stoneham, near the line.

²Thomas Very was a fisherman, lived in Gloucester, m Hannah Giles, d 1683, dau. of Thomas Gyles, who lived near Beverly Bridge, in Salem. Children: ³Ephraim b 1651, ³Hannah, b 1652, ³Bridget, b 1653, ³Thomas, b 1656, ³Abigail, b 1661, ³Samuel, b 1659, ³Elizabeth, b 1665, ³Edward, b 1662, ³Francis, b 1667. Of these, ³Hannah m Bartholomew Foster. Children: ⁴Bartholomew, b 1670, ⁴John, b 1673, ⁴Thomas, b 1676, ⁴Samuel, b 1678, ⁴Edward, b 1681. ³Abigail, m Ralph Andrews. This is as far as I trace the descendants of ²Mary and ²Thomas Very.

THIRD GENERATION.

³Samuel Very, son of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, d after 1734, mariner, m Abigail.

Two sons, ⁴Samuel, Jr., b 1683, husbandman, ⁴John, m Abigail—one son, ⁵Samuel, b 1718, mariner, lived in Osgood's Lane, Bridge Street, m Susannah Page, 1742, one son, ⁵John, b 1743.

³Thomas Very, son of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, m Elizabeth Proctor, 1681. Children: ⁴Thomas, b 1681, ⁴Elizabeth, bap. 1704. Dismissed from the First Church in Salem, to form a church at the middle precinct in S. Danvers, 1713. Before this time the family must have gone three or four miles through the wilderness to meeting. ⁴Jonathan, b 1704, m Elizabeth Nourse, 1747, ⁴Joseph, bap. 1704, m Sarah Twist 1719, ⁴Alice, bap. 1704, m Jonathan King, 1726.

³Jonathan Very, son of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, cordwainer, m Mary Symonds, 1718. She was the dau. of James Symonds, son of James, son of John, 1636. Children: ⁴Mary, m Symonds, ⁴Abigail, m Cook, dau. m Pratt. (Children: ⁵Joseph, ⁵Susannah,) ⁴Elizabeth m Cheever, ⁴Martha, m Pickman, ⁴Bethiah, m Archer, ⁴Jonathan, Jr. (See 4th gen.)

³Isaac Very, son of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, m Mary, 1717.

³Joseph Very, son of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice. In an old ledger of Philip English, 1683, I find mention of Joseph Very and his brother Samuel, as bringing in wood for sale from their father's farm.

³Hannah Very, dau. of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, m William Beans, 1695.

³Mary Very, dau. of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, m Jonathan Marsh, 1697. (He was the son of Zachariah Marsh and Mary Silsbee, m 1664. Zachariah was the son of John and Susannah, of Salem, 1637, members of 1st Church in 1639.) Children: ⁴Jonathan, ⁴Joseph, ⁴Samuel, ⁴Mary.

³Benjamin Very, son of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, lived upon the homestead. He petitioned for, and gave towards the building of the first meeting-house at the middle precinct, in Danvers, 1710, m Jemima Newhall of Lynn,

1698, (dau. of Joseph Newhall, b 1658, son of Thomas and Elizabeth N.) Her mother was Susannah Farrar, dau. of Thomas Farrar, who came to Lynn 1639. See Memoir of the Farrar Family Gen., Reg. 1852. Children: ⁴Samuel, b 1699, bap. 1704, ⁴Ruth bap. 1704, ⁴Joseph, bap. 1704, ⁴Benjamin, bap. 1704, d 1785, ⁴Jemima, bap. 1710, ⁴Kezia, bap. 1714, ⁴Ephraim, bap. 1714, ⁴Isaac, b 1714, bap. 1716, d 1778, at Sandy Hook, in the army, ⁴Daniel, (see 4th gen.)

³John Very, son of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, m Hannah. Lived on Very's Plain. Administered on his father's estate. Children: ⁴John, weaver, lived on the Plain, ⁴Hannah, m James Giles, Jr., bap. 1718, fisherman, 1740, son of James, the second son of that name of Eleazer Giles, bap. 1630, d 1726, and Elizabeth Bishop, b 1656, d 1732, dau. of James Bishop of N. Haven, Lieut. Gov. of Con. (The gravestone of James Giles, the first son of Eleazer, of which an account has been given, proves not to be the only one in New England, so early erected to a child. A correspondent of the Essex Institute, from Dorchester, Mr. Samuel Blake, writes that there are four gravestones in that place, which were erected to children before 1680, and one as early as 1644.) ⁴Abigail, ⁴Desire, (see 4th Gen.)

³Sarah Very, dau. of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, m 1st James Cooke of Boston, mariner, m 2d, Stover.

³Elizabeth Very, dau. of ²Samuel and Alice Woodice, m John Nurse.

FOURTH GENERATION.

⁴Jonathan Very, Jr., son of ³Jonathan Very and Mary Symonds. Lived in St. Peter's St., near the corner of Church St., teamster, d aged about 78. His house taken down a year before the great fire of 1859, m Dec'm 19th, 1745, Elizabeth Bickford, sister of Eben Bickford. Children: ⁵Elizabeth, b 1747, ⁵Jonathan, b 1748, ⁵Jonathan, b 175-, ⁵James, b 1752, ⁵Nathaniel, b 175-, ⁵Samuel, b 1759, d 1832, ⁵Sarah, b 1762, ⁵James, b 1763, ⁵Abigail, b 1766. (See 5th gen.)

⁴Samuel Very, son of ³Benjamin Very and Jemima Newhall. Lived on the homestead, husbandman, m 1st, ———. Two sons:

⁵George, Revolutionary Soldier, ⁵John, m 2d Abigail Pepper of Lynn, two sons: ⁵Amos, ⁵William. (See 5th gen.)

⁴Ruth Very, dau. of ³Benjamin and Jemima, m Caleb Wallis, 1728.

⁴Joseph Very, son of ³Benjamin and Jemima, shoresman, lived on the Main st., in Salem, m Ruth Foster, dau. of John Foster, 1724. Children: ⁵Joseph, b May 17, 1725, ⁵Nathan, b Feb. 16, 1726, ⁵Ruth, b Oct. 18, 1728, d Oct. 10, 1786, ⁵James, b Feb. 16, 1730, settled in Norton, ⁵Mary, b Nov. 29, 1732, m ——— Shepard, ⁵Eunice, b Dec. 23, 1734, d July 6, 1757, ⁵Patience, b Jan. 16, 1736. m Stephen Goldthwaite of Northbridge, ⁵Thomas, b June 7 1739. Joseph Very and Ruth sold their house in Salem in 1736, and went to reside in Mendon, Mass. Joseph Very d Jan'y 24, 1743, Ruth d Feb. 23, 1767. (See 5th gen.)

⁴Benjamin Very, son of ³Benjamin and Jemima, m Rebecca Boice, 1733. Lived on the Plain. He was a Revolutionary Soldier. One dau.: m John Richards, fisherman.

⁴Jemima Very, dau. of ³Benjamin and Jemima, m Joseph King, 1736. She was dismissed from the First Church in Salem to form a church at the middle precinct in Danvers, 1710.

⁴Isaac Very, son of ³Benjamin and Jemima, m Elizabeth Giles, 1736. She was born 1715, d 1779, dau. of Samuel Giles, b 1694, and Susannah Palfrey, m 1719, youngest dau. of Walter P., sailmaker, grandson of Peter Palfrey, 1629. See His. Col., vol. 1, p 186. Samuel Giles was the son of Eleazer G. (son of Bridget Giles and Edward) and Elizabeth Bishop, m 1677. Children: ⁵James, ⁵Elizabeth, ⁵Hannah, ⁵Daniel, died young, ⁵Isaac, b 1745, d 1831, ⁵Benjamin, ⁵Isaiah, ⁵Sarah, ⁵Jacob, d 1797, ⁵Samuel, died young, ⁵Samuel, b 1755, d 1824, ⁵Daniel, died in some foreign land. (See 5th gen.)

⁴Daniel Very, son of ³Benjamin and Jemima, a Revolutionary soldier.

⁴John Very, son of ³John Very and Hannah, weaver, lived, on Very's Plain, m Elizabeth. Children: ⁵John, b 1748, d 1772, ⁵Daniel, b 1750, ⁵Samuel, b 1751, ⁵Jonathan, b 1753, ⁵David, b 1755, ⁵Sarah, b 1757, ⁵Hannah, b 1758, ⁵Benjamin, b 1760, d 1797, ⁵Joseph, 1762, ⁵Elizabeth, 1764, ⁵Eunice, b 1768, ⁵James, 1770, (See 5th gen.)

FIFTH GENERATION.

⁵Jonathan Very, son of ⁴Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, b 175-, shoresman, lived in St. Peters st.

⁵Elizabeth Very, dau. of ⁴Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, m Benjamin Cox jr., children: ⁶Elizabeth, ⁶Benjamin, m Sarah Smith, children: ⁷Eliza, ⁷Benjamin jr., physician, ⁷Sarah, ⁷Mehtabel, ⁷Francis, ⁷Mary Ann, ⁷Edward S.

⁵Samuel Very, son of ⁴Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, m 1st Abigail Crowninshield, children: ⁶Jonathan, m Susan Peabody, 1811, ⁶John C., mariner, m Mary Dwyer, 1812, (children: ⁷Samuel, shipmaster, m Sarah W. McKey, ⁷Edw'd m —, Baptist Clergyman, drowned in 1852 at Blomadon, Nova Scotia, with Prof. Chipman, Prof. of Geology at Wolfville Academy.) John C. Very was a passenger in the ship Margaret of Salem, which was wrecked at sea on the 21st of May, 1810, on its passage from Naples to Salem. Fifteen persons were saved in her long boat and brought into Marblehead by Capt. Richard Pedrick. But he, with thirty others were left on the wreck. Of these only three, Capt. Henry Larcom of Beverly, E. A. Irvine and Mr. Very, were finally "saved and restored to their families as from the dead," after forty days of great suffering and danger, twenty-three of which were passed in a small, leaky boat after leaving the wreck. (See Salem Gazette, June, July and August, 1810.) ⁶Abigail, m Theodore Eames, Teacher and Counsellor in Salem and New York. ⁶Samuel, m Alice Palmer, 1804. ⁶Samuel m 2d — Rantoul, one son, ⁶Samuel R. ⁶Samuel m 3d Martha Cheever, children: ⁷Eliza, m John Felt, one son, ⁷John V. ⁶Nathaniel, m Esther Ward, ⁶Harriet, ⁶Martha, m Nathaniel Horton,

one son, ⁷N. Augustus, Associate Editor of the Salem Gazette, ⁶Mary Ann, m Joseph Gomes.

⁵Sarah Very, dau. of ⁴Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, m James Odell, b 1761, d 1834, children: ⁶Thomas, ⁶James, ⁶Sarah, ⁶Eliza, ⁶Benjamin.

⁵James Very, son of ⁴Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, m 1st — Palfrey, children: ⁶Mary, m Ebenezer Stodder, ⁶Eliza, m William Peele, ⁶James. ⁵James m 2d Abigail Brooks (Grant), children: ⁶James, b 1805, d 1830, in Cabenda, Africa, ⁶Eveline, m Andrew Waters, ⁶Nathaniel, m Eliza Ann Kimball, ⁶Abigail, m William Hill, one dau., ⁷Abigail.

⁵Abigail Very, dau. of ⁴Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, m Samuel Dowst, children: ⁶Samuel, ⁶Richard, ⁶Abigail, m — Batchelder, ⁶Elizabeth.

⁵William Very, son of ⁴Samuel Very and Abigail Pepper of Lynn, m Sarah Moulton, 1784. Lived on the Old Boston Road. Children: ⁶William, ⁶Abigail, ⁶Sarah, ⁶Mary, ⁶Hannah, ⁶Thomas.

⁵Amos Very, son of ⁴Samuel and Abigail. Lived on the Lynnfield Road; m Sarah Leathe, 1790, children: ⁶Samuel, ⁶Susan.

⁵Nathan Verry, son of ⁴Joseph Very and Ruth Foster, b Feb. 16th, 1726, d Oct. 1st, 1800, farmer, m 1st Beriah Thayer of Mendon, Mass., d 1757, children: ⁶Abigail, b Feb. 10th, 1754, d June 28th, 1757, ⁶Ruth, b Oct. 29th, 1755, d June 10, 1757. m 2d Sarah Scott, children: ⁶Sally, b Oct. 29, 1767, m Caleb Allen of Mendon, farmer, d Dec. 28, 1785, ⁶Nathan, b Feb. 25, 1769, (see 6th gen.) ⁶Abigail, b Feb. 14th, 1771, d April, 1852, m Simon Whipple of Smithfield, farmer, ⁶Patience, b June 10, 1774, d Oct. 23, 1827, m Richard George of Wrentham, Mass, Counsellor.

⁵James Verry, son of ⁴Joseph Very and Ruth Foster, b Feb. 16, 1730, settled in Norton, Mass. about 1795, m — Coddington? son, ⁶William, d aged about 50, m —, children: ⁷William Coddington, b about 1810, ⁷Caroline, m — Whipple of Fall River, physician, ⁷Rosalind, m Pierce, ⁷Hannah, d aged 18. About

1845 William C. Very sold the homestead and with his mother and two sisters and their families went to Illinois.

⁵Isaac Very, son of ⁴Isaac Very and Elizabeth Giles, shipmaster, lived in May st., b 1745, d 1831, m 1st Mrs. Knapp, one son, ⁶Isaac Very, (who m 1st — Twist, son, ⁷Daniel T. Very. 2d Margaret Townsend, children: ⁷Albert, ⁷Isaac.) ⁵Isaac m 2d Margaret Brown, children: ⁶Jacob, ⁶Margaret, b in Charlton, m — Harwood. m 3d Rachel Jones of Charlton, Mass., children: ⁶Rachel, b in Charlton, m William Robinson, ⁶Sarah, b in Charlton, m — Hazelton, (children: ⁷Caroline, ⁷Samuel.) ⁶Nathaniel, b in Charlton, merchant, Charleston, S. C., afterwards in New York, m — Witherbee, one son, ⁷Julian C. Very, b 1834, d 1856, ⁶Nancy, m Richard Manning, one dau., ⁷Nancy, ⁶Jones, b in Spencer, Mass., 1790, d 1824, m 1813 Lydia Very, (see 6th gen.) m 4th — Harwood, children, ⁶Benjamin, ⁶Mary, ⁶Abraham, m Hannah Ingalls, (children: ⁷Abraham A., ⁷Isaac.)

⁵Sarah Very, daughter of ⁴Isaac Very and Elizabeth, m 1st — Aberdeen, 2d Edward Smothers, children: ⁶Sarah, ⁶Daniel.

⁵Jacob Very, d 1797, shipmaster, son of ⁴Isaac and Elizabeth, children: ⁶Jacob, ⁶Elizabeth, ⁶Martha.

⁵Samuel Very, shipmaster and merchant. Lived corner of Essex and Boston sts. Son of ⁴Isaac and Elizabeth, m 1st Hannah Putney, 1776, (dau. of Jonathan Putney and Sarah Very, dau. of ⁴John Very. Jonathan Putney was grandson of John Putney, who m Judith Cook, 1662; and who in 1673 received a grant of land of 30 acres in Danvers, where the road from Lowell st. meets the Newburyport Turnpike, then called Pudney's Road.) children: ⁶Hannah, b 1781, ⁶Samuel, b 1784, ⁶James, b 1789, lost in the U. S. vessel Wasp, ⁶Lydia, b 1792, ⁶Fanny, b 1795, ⁶Louisa, b 1798, m 2d Lydia Clough, 1799, children; ⁶William Gray, b 1800, d 1830, ⁶Henry, b 1804, ⁶Francis, b 1807, ⁶Eliza Gray, b 1809, (see 6th gen.)

⁵Sarah Very, dau. of ⁴John Very and Elizabeth, bap. 1777, m Jonathan Putney, d 1786,

children: ⁶Jonathan, b 1750, d 1814, (m 1773 Elizabeth Newhall, d 1833) lived in Charlton, Mass., ⁶Stephen, m Hepzibah Larrabee, ⁶Hannah, married 1776 ⁶Samuel Very, ⁶Martha, d died unm., ⁶Sarah, m Samuel Goodell. ⁶Jonathan Putney and Elizabeth and their son, Amos, were buried on their farm in Charlton.

⁵Joseph Very, son of ⁴John Very and Elizabeth, bap. 1773, m 1st Abigail Phillips, 1763, one son, ⁶Ephraim, shipmaster, b 1765, d 1805, (m Abigail Rowles, b 1766, d 1832, children: ⁷Ephraim, ⁷Joseph, b 1792, died in Eastport, Me., ⁷Samuel, ⁷John,) (see 7th gen.) ⁵Joseph, m 2d Lydia Twist, children: ⁶Hannah, b 1787, ⁶Lydia, ⁶Joseph, bap. 1785, ⁶William, bap. 1785, ⁶Samuel, bap. 1785.

⁵Benjamin Very, son of ⁴John and Elizabeth, shipmaster, lived at Ryal Side, Beverly, m Mary Corning, children: ⁶Jonathan, b 1786, ⁶Benjamin, b 1791, ⁶Robert Smith, b 1793, ⁶James, b 1796. His widow m — Cleaves.

SIXTH AND SEVENTH GENERATIONS.

⁶Jones Very, shipmaster, lived corner of Essex and Boston sts., son of ⁵Isaac Very and Rachel Jones, b 1790, d 1824, m ⁶Lydia Very, (dau. of ⁵Samuel Very and Hannah Putney,) 1813, children: ⁷Jones, b 1813, ⁷Washington. Clergyman and Teacher, b 1815, d 1853, m Martha N. Leach, 1851, (children: ⁸Franklin, b 1852, ⁸Martha W., b 1853, d 1855,) ⁷Franklin, b 1818, d 1822, ⁷Horace, b 1820, d 1820, ⁷Frances Eliza, b 1821, ⁷Lydia Louisa Ann, b 1823.

⁶Hannah Very, dau. of ⁵Samuel Very and Hannah Putney, m Isaac Shreve of Alexandria, D. C., children: ⁷Samuel V., shipmaster, m 1st Sarah Price, m 2d Mary More, ⁷Rebecca, m John Calef, ⁷Hannah, m Eben N. Price, ⁷Isaac, m Margaret Curran, ⁷Benjamin, m Elizabeth Shannon, ⁷Louisa, m Henry Osborne.

⁶Lydia Very, dau. of ⁵Samuel Very and Hannah Putney, m ⁶Jones Very, son of ⁵Isaac Very and Rachel, children: (see above.)

⁶Samuel Very, son of ⁵Samuel Very and Hannah, m Hannah Le Roy, children: ⁷Samuel, ⁷Lydia, ⁷Louisa.

⁶Fanny Very, dau. of ⁵Samuel and Hannah,

m James Macomber, children: ⁷James Gregg, ⁷Frances, ⁷Emma. Live in Utica, N. Y.

⁶William Gray Very, son of ⁵Samuel Very, and Lydia Clough, m Elizabeth Warden, dau. of John Warden, one dau., ⁷Elizabeth, m John Niles.

⁶Henry Very, son of ⁵Samuel Very and Lydia Clough, m Elizabeth Brockwell, lives in Hartford, Conn., children: ⁷William, ⁷Anna B., ⁷Edwin, ⁷Alice, ⁷Louisa.

⁶Francis Very, son of ⁵Samuel and Lydia, m 1st Mary Melborne, one son, ⁷Sylvester; m 2d Caroline Wakefield, children: ⁷James H., ⁷Rebecca, ⁷Franklin D.

⁷John Very, son of ⁶Ephraim Very and Abigail Rowles, d 1858, m 1st Harriet Nye, children: ⁸Harriet, m ———— Bowe, ⁸Ephraim, ⁸John, ⁸Joseph; m 2d ———— Holt, one son, ⁸Samuel.

⁶Hannah Very, dau. of ⁵Joseph and Lydia Twist, m Eben Dale, children: ⁷Lydia, m John Huse, ⁷Hannah, m ———— Fuller, ⁷Joseph, m ———— Frye.

⁶Lydia Very, dau. of ⁵Joseph and Lydia, m Samuel Quarles.

⁶Joseph Very, son of ⁵Joseph and Lydia, m Mary Dempsey, children: ⁷Daniel, b 1812, ⁷Joseph, b 1814, ⁷Louis, b 1817, d 1827, ⁷Andrew, b 1819, ⁷Henry, b 1821, ⁷Perley, b 1824, ⁷Louis, b 1827, ⁷Edwin, b 1829, ⁷Augustus, b 1832, ⁷Albert, b 1835.

⁶William Very, son of ⁵Joseph and Lydia, m Hannah Phillips, children: ⁷Lydia, b 1804, ⁷William, b 1808, ⁷Joseph, b 1810, ⁷Samuel, b 1812, ⁷Samuel, b 1814, ⁷Benjamin, b 1820.

⁶Daniel Very, grandson of ⁴John Very and Elizabeth, m Sarah Osborn, children: ⁷Sarah O., b 1809, ⁷Lydia O., b 1812, ⁷Hannah, b 1814, ⁷Harriet, b 1816, ⁷Eliza Ann, b 1819, d 1840, ⁷Benjamin, b 1821, d in Mexico 1845.

⁶Nathan Verry, d Jan. 31, 1837, son of ⁵Nathan Verry and Beriah Thayer, m Hannah

Thompson, d Oct. 6, 1834, children: ⁷Foster Verry, d Oct. 27, 1789, farmer; lives in Blackstone, (see below.) ⁷Sally, b Aug. 4, 1791, d May 21, 1840, ⁷Nancy, b July 4, 1793, m Otis Mason of Cumberland, R. I., merchant, ⁷Abigail, b July 7, 1796, lives in Blackstone, ⁷Hannah, b Oct. 1, 1798, ⁷Nathan jr., b May 24, 1801, merchant, d June 10, 1828, m Nancy George Ballou of Cumberland, R. I., children: ⁸Nathan G., b June 27, 1824, m Mary B. Vaughn of Bristol, R. I., children: ⁹Julia C., b Jan., 1850, ⁹Nathan G., b July, 1857, ⁹George F., b July 14, 1827, Counsellor, Worcester, Mass., m Martha M., dau. of Griffith James of Milford Haven, South Wales, (I am indebted to George F. Verry, Esq., for my account of the descendants of ⁴Joseph and Ruth Verry. This branch of the family spell the name with two r's, a change which took place after their removal from Salem.) ⁷Samuel, b June 29, 1804, m Annie Gaskill of Mendon, Farmer, Blackstone, children: ⁸Sarah B., b Feb. 6, 1831, m John H. Crane, Worcester, Baker, ⁸Samuel Philemon, b Nov. 13, 1835, d Sept. 1st, 1838, ⁸Marianna, b March 29, 1839, ⁸Abbie Frances, b June 21, 1841, ⁸Ellen Maria, b Dec. 9, 1845, ⁸Martha Elizabeth, b July 16, 1851, ⁷James, b July 15, 1807, d Feb. 13, 1809, ⁷Mary Ann, b Dec. 27, 1809, lives in Blackstone.

⁷Foster Verry, son of ⁶Nathan and Hannah, m Rachel Holbrook of Uxbridge May 24, 1810, children: ⁸Albert, b in Mendon, July 15, 1812, d at Northbridge, Dec. 7, 1832, ⁸James, b in Mendon, Feb. 27, 1814, Manufacturer, Woonsocket, R. I., m Nancy Nolen, Nov. 27, 1834, children: ⁹Esther I., b Aug. 19, 1836, d Aug. 10, 1847, ⁹Isadore, b July 10, 1839; ⁹Chloe, b in Mendon, March 20, 1816, m 1837 David Wilder, Merchant, Toledo, Ohio, ⁹Sally, b in Mendon, April 30, 1818, m 1842 William B. Nolen, Franklin, Mass., ⁹Foster jr., b Oct. 30, 1821, d in Mendon, June 30, 1836.

The Old Planters' House.



DR. HENRY WHEATLAND.

Dear Sir:

I esteem it both a privilege and a duty to comply with the request expressed by the publishing committee, to revive the recollection and to give some reminiscences of the ancient house associated many years since with Roger Conant, and afterward with my ancestor, Gov. Endicott. Verily, in the language of that learned archæologist, the lamented Lincoln, "the first step of civilized man on the New England shore is so recent that the outline of his earliest foot print is still uneffaced," and we suppose it is known only to a comparatively few that we have still among us "the great Frame House" of the Old Planters, first erected at Cape Ann in 1624, which was, after the sale of the effects of the Dorchester adventurers to the now Massachusetts Company, taken down and erected at Naumkeag for Gov. Endicott's use soon after his arrival in 1628. It is therefore familiar with all the events of our entire history from the earliest beginning. It is the office of the antiquary simply to separate facts from the dust of time, and leave them to speak for themselves. The above sketch of it was engraved substantially from a drawing communicated by Geo. A. Ward, Esq., of New York, in a letter to the late Eben. Hathorne, in

1827, representing it as it appeared about 1775, before any alteration in its style of architecture had taken place. There is an unbroken and reliable tradition that this house is the identical one referred to in the following deposition of Richard Brackenbury, of 20th Jan'y, 1680-1:—"I understand this company of London having bought out the right of the Dorchester Marchants in New England, that Mr. Endicott had power to take possession of their right in New England, which Mr. Endicott did, and *in particular of a house built at Cape Ann*, which Walter Knight and the rest said they built for the Dorchester men; so I was sent with them to Cape Ann to pull down the house for Mr. Endicott's use; the which we did," and removed it to Salem, where it is still standing at the Northerly corner of Washington and Church streets. This would be the most likely place for the Gov. to have selected for his residence, being nearly opposite the Meeting House, the whole space at that time being open, and commanded an unobstructed view of that primitive building.

This ancient house is now an object of great interest to the antiquary, as a sort of "*Santisima Casa*," or holy house of Loreto*; true,

*Eustace's Classical Tour, Italy, vol. 1, pp. 240, 1, 2.

there is no legend like that, of its being transported through the air by angels from Palestine; but there is better evidence for believing it is coeval with the Massachusetts Colony, and in fact with the previous Dorchester Company; and if we could be induced to examine it, particularly what is called by tradition "*the Governor's chamber*," and notice its old oaken timbers, the substantial manner in which it is put together, the large knees at the corners fastened by wooden trunnels, like a ship's between decks, the large size of the timbers, the coarse style of the finish, tradition aside, we should discover so many evidences of strength and durability that we could have no doubt that it was a "*frame house*" intended for transportation. One of the timbers in the cellar has been found marked in small nails the letters I. E., the initials of the Governor's name. In the opinion of the family of its original proprietor in Salem, it was framed of English oak and sent over with the Dorchester emigrants, and that Walter Knight's testimony had reference merely to setting it up.

How long the Governor occupied this house is uncertain, for he possessed several others in Salem, besides the one at the Orchard farm, before he removed to Boston in 1655. He occupied one in Broad Field previous to 11 Feb'y, 1642, and in his will he bequeathed to his wife "*my houses in Salem with ye grounds belonging to them, with full power to dispose of them as she shall see good.*" In those days of small things is was not as now, the universal practice to put deeds upon record. A deed given to John Pickering in 1642 of a part of Broad Field, "*lying before the dwelling house late in the occupation of Gov. Endicott,*" was not recorded until 1785, *one hundred and forty three years afterwards*, and many no doubt were never recorded. No deed of conveyance of any house thus left by Gov. Endicott has been found on record. The record of deeds as a means of tracing the early ownership of property cannot therefore be relied upon, and we should be obliged to relinquish many of our historical convictions should they be submitted to this

proof. A deed of a few rods of land, without any house, from his son Zerubabel, 20th June, 1677, to Daniel Eppes, "*Scoolemaster*," is supposed to indicate the identical spot where this house stands, but as it measures only eight feet and a half on the *main street*, which is conjectured to be the present *Washington street*, we are disinclined to believe it, but only a *part* of the Endicott field, as it was then called. We think it quite as likely that the house stood on the acre of land, measuring 17 poles North and South, conveyed by Zerubabel to his son John, 9th Aug., 1678, which he conveyed to William Browne, jr., both lots bounding South by land of John Price.

The transitions this house has undergone are numerous. It is associated with the earliest development of the Massachusetts Colony, which historians have found it so convenient to ignore, or at most to gloss over with a *mere* passing notice. It was first, as we have seen, occupied by Roger Conant, as a nucleus around which the Cape Ann Colony settled in 1624, or probably earlier still, by the overseers who preceded him in the organization of that place. There it stood, for a brief period of four years, when it was removed to Naumkeag. How changed is everything around, since 'this old house was new.'

"Chance and Change are ever busy,
Man decays and ages move."

It rose, at that time, among "*the half score of log cabins*" of the settlers, like a stately column amid the ruins of the old world. Around it the long departed red man congregated in squads, to watch whatever to him was new or strange in the habits of the white man. The smoke curled in blue wreaths over his wigwam, and around his bark tents were spots where his husbandry, or rather his squaw's,* had been exercised. Over nearly the whole of this broad and wild region was thrown the gloomy mantle of the forest. A few farm houses, perhaps, and then came the dense and unbroken wilder-

*The women or damsels of the birchen household had charge of the cultivation of the soil.

ness. Who so wanting in sensibility, or imagination, as not to have desired to penetrate the secrets of these gloomy solitudes, and to conjecture what legends might have peopled this interminable wilderness, and what deeds of adventure these dusky regions might reveal. What a crowd of recollections of days long since departed, nestle about those old oaken timbers! and if they had tongues, how many strange events would they relate, unrecorded in history!—how would they elucidate what is now obscure in the first beginnings of this “*wildernesses work*!” How much could they tell us of the struggles of the Dorchester Company before they dissolved, which history has never recorded! Beneath its roof, or within its walls, all the initiatory steps were discussed preparatory to the settlement of the new colony. The terror exhibited from the threatened invasion of the “Sugust Indians” in 1628, was here manifested.† The great mortality among the settlers the first winter, arising from the rigors of an untried climate—badly fed and badly lodged—was here anxiously considered.‡ From this house the gentle spirit of Mrs. Endicott at that time took its flight for a purer and brighter abode.§ From within these walls went forth the warrants for calling the first General Court, under the charter, in which the troublesome and rebellious Morton of “*Ma-re Mount*” refused his assent to the laws thus promulgated.|| This Morton, by the way, was a sort of Friar Tuck—devotee, bravo, libertine and buffoon in equal parts. It was here, in this very house, that Winthrop and “some other gentlemen, and some of the women,” on their first arrival, “supped on good venison pasty and good beer.” It was in this house, in the autumn of 1631, Winthrop tells us, that he, Capt. Underhill and others, “*were bountifully entertained.*” These rafters, as we verily believe, once ech-

oed with the voices of the old planters of 1624, and the new planters of 1628. With Conant's and Endecott's adjusting the compromise between the old and new planters, as to the propriety of raising *tobacco*, which resulted in securing that *inestimable* privilege *exclusively* to Conant's party. With Higginson's and Skelton's, about the ritual and the government and discipline of the Church.—Within these walls were taken the important steps of establishing a new priesthood, and of dissolving all allegiance to, or alliance with, any other church on earth. Here were broken and thrown away the old fetters of the hierarchy, by men, it is true, few in numbers, but strong in character, strong in purpose, and stronger still in the conviction that the cause which led to this step was holy and just. These rafters, also are familiar with the voices of Hugh Peters and Roger Williams. Within its walls the planters felt secure from the anathemas of Bishops under which they had suffered so much persecution. From its door was seen the solemn funeral procession bearing the sainted remains of Lady Arbella, “who left a paradise of plenty for a wilderness of want,” to their last resting place in “Potter's Field.”* From its window might be seen the train-bands, under Endicott, with their mutilated colors; the red cross of St. George *rebelliously* torn out.

On the arrival of Higginson, he notices it “as a *fair house newly built* for the Governor.” Here Higginson and his wife made their first sojourn, which he thus records “the governor came on board to our ship, and bade us kindly welcome, and invited mee and my wife to come on shore and take lodging at *his house*, which we did accordingly.” In later time it has been occupied by the Rev. John Sparhawk, the Pastor of the First Church, from 1736 to 1755, and for many years as a tavern under the name of the “*Ship Tavern*.” The present owner, who remembers it since 1784, says it had at that time undergone no material alteration in the original style of architecture—at that period it still retained its primitive peaks and was but two stories high—the

†Felt's Annals, vol. 1, p. 44–45.

‡Felt's Annals, vol. 1, p. 46–47.

§Felt's Annals, vol. 1, p. 47.

||Felt's Annals, vol. 1, p. 108.

upper story projecting over the lower, which was the style of building at that period in England, and not introduced here as a defence against the Indians. In 1792 the then owner destroyed every vestige of its original architecture by raising it another story,—thus divesting it of its primitive peaks, which gave it such a picturesque appearance. Its “frame” appears still sound, and capable of enduring yet another century, but how much longer it will be allowed to remain, is a question we cannot answer. Whether it will first yield to the scythe of time, or to the still more fatal hand of man, must be hereafter determined.

Respectfully Yours,

C. M. ENDICOTT.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. I, Page 200.

William Cash and Elizabeth Lambert were married in ye 8th mo., 1667; their son William borne 23d 12th mo.. 1668; son John borne 10th July, 1671, and died 14 days after; 2d son John and Elizabeth, twins, borne 10th July, 1672, and John deceased 26th August, 1674; Mary and Ana, twins, born ye 29th Aprill, 1675; yr daughter Hester was borne 9th March, 1679; William, son of Wm. Cash deceased, his son William borne 13th Feb'y, 1693-4.

Richard Cross and Jane Pudeater were married ye 24th 9th mo.' '70; their daughter Elizabeth borne 17th August, 1671; their son John borne the 12th 2d mo., 1673.

Isaack Cooke, his daughter Abigail, by Elizabeth his wife, borne the 12th Aprill, 1670; their son Isaack deceased 6th Aprill, 1671; their daughter Hanna borne the 15th October, 1672; their son John borne the 23d March, 1673; Isaack borne 3d 7th mo., '74; dau. Rachel borne the 20th 12th mo., 1675; their sonn Ebenezer borne the 24th 10th mo., 1677;

their sonn Samuella borne the 1st October, '79; his son deceased the same day; son Isaack deceased 8th 8th mo., '79; Rachell deceased the 15th 8th mo., '79; Ebenezer deceased the 20th 8th mo., '79.

John Cooke and Mary Buxton were married the 28th of December, 1672; their daughter Mary borne ye 11th 9th mo., 1673; son John borne ye 20th 6th mo., '74; daughter Elizabeth borne ye 7th 2d mo., 1676; sonn Samuella borne the 3d 9th mo., 1678; sonn Samuella deceased 11th 8th mo., 1679; their son Joseph borne the 9th March, 1680; daughter Hanah borne 9th 7th mo., '84; Lydia borne 2d March, '87; son Isaac borne 16 April, 1689.

Thomas Cooper and Sara Southwick (widow) were married the 12th June, 1674; their daughter Elizabeth borne ye 2d 9 mo., 167-.

Thomas Cloutman and Elizabeth Story were married 26th July, 1672: their son Edward borne ye 27th July, 1673.

George Cockes, his daughter Sara, borne by Mary his wife, 8th 9 mo., '74.

Nicholas Chatwell and ye widow Sara March were married the 15th 12th mo., 1671; their daughter Mary borne ye 24th 10th mo., '73; daughter Hanah borne 22d June 1676; Prisca their daughter borne 22d 2 mo., '79.

Capt. John Corwin, his son Samuella, borne by Margaret his wife, the 12th 8th mo., 1674.

Henry Crosbee was married to Deliverance Coree ye 5th June, 1683; his son Henry borne 14th May, 1684.

John Collens, his daughter Hannah, borne by Hittabel his wife, the 4th of August, 1676. The said John was late of Gloucester.

Thos. Clark and Mary Voaker were married 4th March, 1675; their son Thomas borne the 14th 2d mo., 1677.

Joshua Conant and Christian More were married the 31st August, 1676; their son Joshua borne ye 12th May, 1678.

Michael Chapleman and Rebecka Needham were married January, '75; their son Michael borne the 21st August, 1677; their daughter Rebecka the 27th 12th mo., 1679; George borne 5th Sept., 1682; James borne 14th Sep-

tember, 1685; son Anthony borne the 19th Sept., 1688; their son Isaac borne the 30th March, 1691; their father deceased the 7th of May, 1692.

Abraham Coale, his son Isaack, borne by Sara his wife ye 4th 6th mo., 1677; his son Sam'l born 19th May, 1687.

Henry Cooke married to Mary Hale ye last of 7th mo., 1678; their daughter Mary borne ye 15th of July, 1678.

Jonas Clay and Mary Allen were married ye 22d 8th mo., 1678.

Thomas Cloyce, his daughter Mary borne by Susana his wife 6th 5th mo., 1677.

Ezekiell Cheevers and Abigail Lippingwell were married the 17th of June, 1680; their daugh. Abigaile borne ye 22d 1st mo., 1679-80; his son Thomas born 28th Feb'y, 1683; son Ezekiel borne Marche 15th, '85-86; son Sam'll borne 9th Feb'y, '89-90; (his son Ezek'l dyed 15th Feb'y, 1689-90.)

Thomas Cooper and Deliverance Marstone were married the 27th 10th mo., 1680.

Daniell Cannady and Hannah Cooke were married the 10th 9th mo, 1681; their son Daniell borne 10th August, '82.

David Canada, son of Daniel Canada and Hanah his wife. was borne 7th July, 1683; Hanah yr daughter borne 4th Sept., 1685; yr son Jona. borne ye 19th Jan'y, 1687; yr son Isaac borne ye 21st Jan, 1689; yr daughter Eliza borne March 21st, 1692; the father died ye 11th June, 1695.

Mathew Dour, theire da'r Sara borne ye 3d 5th, 1660; dyed ye 18th 5th, '60; da'r Hann born ye 23d 8th, '52: dr'r Eliza borne ye 16th 10th, '53; da'r Dorcas 16 8th, '56; da'r Bethia ye 26 3, '5-; son Daniel bo. 10th 7th mo., '62; Debora borne 10th Decem'r, '65; son Mathew 3d 10th mo., '67; daughter Ruth borne 15th October, 1673.

John Dodg, son of Richard Dodg, his dau'r Deliverance borne by Sara his wife ye 15th March, '60-61; their son John borne 15th April, 1662.

John Dodg, son of Will'm Dodg, married to Sarah Procter the 10th Aprill, 1659; their son

John borne ye 2d January, 1661; theire daughter Martha borne ye 5th February, 1672.

William Dodg ye younger, his son William by Mary his wife borne the 20th of March, 1663-4; daughter Mary borne ye 26th Maye, 1666.

John Deacon, his wife Eliza deceased 30th 6th mo., '62.

William Dicer and Eliza Austin were married by Maj. Hathorne the 20th 9th, '64; theire dau'r Elizabeth borne ye 2d July, 1667; theire daughter Honnor borne the 2d day of Aprill, 1673.

Anthony, son of Anthony Dike by Margery his wife, borne 24th March; Nathanyell theire son borne the 25th 10th mo., 1667; daughter Margery borne the 16th 6th mo., 1669; Jonathan 28th March, 1673; their daughter Mary born —; son Benjamin borne 22d 12th mo., 1679-80.

William Downton, his son William borne by Rebecka his wife the 12th Aprill, '65; theire son John borne the 17th 4th mo., 1669.

Steephen Daniel married to Mary Prince 26th July, 1666. their son Steephen borne the 6th 10th mo., 1667; their son John borne the 12th April, 1669; daughter Mary borne the 18th July, 1670; Mary the wife dyed in October, 1679.

Tho's Daye, his da'r Abigaile borne by Mary his wife ye 22d 10th mo, 1667.

John Daye, son of Thomas Daye, and Ann Coleman were married the 16th day of July, 1668; theire daughter Ann borne 18th of October, 1669; son John borne ye 24th 11th mo., '70; Steephen borne 16th October 1672.

George Deane, his da'r Eliza borne by Eliza his wife ye 2d 11, '60, and dyed 22d 11th, '60; son —

John Dixy and Sarah Collens were married the 9th 10 mo., 1679.

Mr. Steephen Daniell and Susanna Hide, widow, were married the 3d of December, 1680; ye daugh'r Susana borne 28th Aug't, 1686; Steephen Daniell jun'r deceased 14th Feb'y, 1686-7.

Thomas Daley was married ———; An his daughter borne 16th Sept., '82; Mary borne 6th July, 1685.

Jno^r Driver, sone of Wm. Driver, borne 3d July, 1685; Thom's borne 24th March, 1686-7; Elizabeth born 28th April, 1689; Michael bo^r 13th July, '91.

Wm. Dunn or Dynn married unto Elizabeth Haskett 6th June, 1684; his son John born by Elizth his wife 23d May, 1686; his son William born by Elizth his wife 1st Aug^t 1689.

Edmond Dolbeare, his daughter Elizabeth borne 3d Octob^r, 1684: daughter Sarah borne 29th Jan'y, 1685-6; sonne Thomas borne first December, 1687; sone Barnard born 18th 7th mo., 1689. and dyed ———; 2d sone Barnard 18th of Aprill, 1691.

Rog^r Derby and Lucretia his wife married in Topsham, in the County of Devon, in Old England, 23d of August, 1668; their son Charles born in Topsham 27th July, 1669. Arrived in Boston 18th July, '71. Experience born at Ipswitche 18th Decem^r, 1671; sonne Samuel borne at Ipswitche 24th 9th, 1673: sone Roger borne att Ipswitche Jan'y 1st, 1675; sone Jno^r born att Ipswitche Feb'y 25th, 1677; sone Richard borne att Ipswitche Octo^r 8th, 1679; Lucretia born att Salem Aug^t 17th, 1681; Ebenezer born att Salem 9th 9th mo., 1683, and dyed 20th Jan'y, '88; Lucretia, their mother, wife of Rog^r Derby, deceased May 25th, 1689; son Charles dec'd att Canada ye 8th Octo^r, 1690.

George Deane, sone of Tho's Deane and Mary his wife borne 7th August, 1692.

John Deale, son of John Deal and Eliz^h his wife, was borne the 2d Novemb^r, 1685; Eliza Deale was borne ye first of March, 1687 Ledia Deale was borne the 24th of Feb'y, 1688; Mary Dale borne the 7th June, 1691; Samuel Dale was borne the 21st Novemb^r, 1694.

Mary Darland, daughter of Thomas Darling, and Joana his wife, was borne the 16th March, 1690-1; Margaret Darland, daughter as aforesaid, was borne June 4th, 1695.

Elizabeth Darby, daughter of Roger Darby and Elizabeth, his wife, borne at Salem March 10, 1692; Margaret borne August 14th, 1693; their daughter Ann borne the 10th December, 1695; their daughter Martha borne the 30th September, 1697.

Eliza, dau. of Zorubabell Endicott, borne by Mary his wife, and dyed 8th 7 mo. '58; son Zerubabell bo ye 11th 2d mo. '62; dau. Eliza, sone 12th 2d mo. '61, and dyed 1st 3d '62.

Ralph Elenwood maryd to Ellen Lyn 14th March, '55; theire son Raulph borne 18th March, '57; son John borne 2d July, '59; Joseph borne 12th 3d, '62.

Edward Eastwick, his dau. Hester by Hester his wife, bo. 21st 2d, 1659: theire son Edward borne ye 12th Aprill, 1662.

Samuell Ebborne and Susana Trask, married by Maj. Hathorne ye 19th 12th mo. 1663; their son Samll bo. 1st July, 1664; son William bo. 19th January, 1666; Susana borne ye first week in April, 1669, and deceased in August following.

Jonathan Eager maryed to Rebecka Hide by Ma^r. Hathorne ye 27th 4th, '61 and theire dau. Hanna borne ye 27th 5th '62; son Jonathan borne 25th January, '64.

Ralph Elenwood, his daughter Mary born by Ellen his wife, 3d 2d mo. '64; daughter Elizabeth borne 27th June, '66; Benjamin borne 1st 2d mo. '68: David borne 6th July, '70.

Richard Ellitt drowned 5th 12th mo., '62.

Mr. Zarubabell Endecott, his son Zarubabell borne by Mary his wife the 14th February, '64.

Clement English married to Mary Waters 27th August, 1667; their daughter Mary borne the 18th February, 1668-69; daughter Elizabeth borne the 19th February, 1670: Joseph borne ye 12th March, 1672.

John Elwell and Jane Durin were married the first October, 1667; theire son John borne ye 14th day of October, 1668; dau. Jane borne 23d 11th mo., 1671.

NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY.—No. 2.

BY MATTHEW A. STICKNEY.

Number one contains a short but connected account of the copper coinage of Great Britain, which were the only legal coins of her American Colonies, and were circulated here to some extent. Frequent quotations have been made from Snelling, Simon, Rueding and others. These works are costly and not common in this country, and short extracts from them may be considered worthy of a reprint. Almost all that the Records of Mass. contain respecting its currency was published by the Rev. J. B. Felt in 1839. Free use has been made of this work, and I would here acknowledge my obligations to him for rendering me every assistance in his power in making my collection of coins. Previous to the publication of his work on the Mass. Currency he called to see such coins as I had then collected, some of which he described in his work. When I began my collection very little, if any, attention was given to this pursuit, the importance of the study not being duly appreciated; whereas now coins are sought for by all classes and almost fabulous prices paid for them. I propose to continue these notes to the final separation of this country from England in 1776.

A history of the issue of coins made by the colonies and individuals from that period to the commencement of the operations of the U. S. Mint would be very voluminous. During the unfortunate reign of Charles I. by the order of the assembly of Kilkenny, 1642, copper pieces called St. Patrick's half-pence and farthings were struck by the Catholic adherents of Charles I., who were the firm friends of the House of Stuart. The half-pennies have on one side the figure of a king, with a radiant crown, kneeling and playing on the harp, and over the harp the imperial crown of England, of a different metal from that of the coin, that is, brass upon copper, or copper upon brass, with this inscription, *Floreat Rex*; reverse, the figure of St. Patrick mitred and standing with a crozier in his right hand and a leaf of trefoil

in his left, which he holds out to the people about him, and on his left side the arms of the city of Dublin, three castles, 2, 1, with this legend, *Ecce Grex*. The farthing has likewise on one side a king crowned and playing on the harp, a crown of copper or brass over it, and round it *Floreat Rex*; reverse, St. Patrick mitred, holding in his left hand a double or metropolitan cross, a church behind him, and stretching out his right hand over a parcel of serpents and other venomous creatures, as if driving them out of the church, alluding to the Protestants, called in the act which ordered their issue the puritanical, the malignant party; inscription, *Quiescat Plebs*. (The escaped unslaughtered Protestants.)

The success of Cromwell and the death of Charles I. caused an immediate stop of their issue and circulation, and I find no account of them till after the restoration of Charles II., who, with James II., would not have been likely to object to their being put again in circulation, as appears to have been the case in New Jersey in 1682.

The coins found here in circulation are much worn, and there is but little doubt that they were the Patrick coins brought over by Mark Newby, a parcel of these coins having remained in his family, and were brought from Ireland by him to New Jersey and legalized in 1682, as appears by Sam'l Smith's History of New Jersey, published 1765, page 153.

"That for the more convenient payment of small sums of money, Mark Newby's coppers, called Patrick's half-pence, should pass as half-pence current pay; provided he gave security to the speaker, for the use of the general assembly for the time being, that he, his executors and administrators, would change them on demand, and provided none were obliged to take more than five shillings in one payment."

Smith in a note says that these were Irish half-pence brought in by Newby.

The only other notice which I can find of them is in Drapier's Letters by Dean Swift, who enumerates them, among other copper

coins passing in Ireland previous to 1722, as the small St. Patrick and the great St. Patrick half-penny, which he says was larger than the half-penny coined in 1680, by virtue of the patent granted to Lord Dartmouth. West New Jersey, where these coins were made current, formed a part of the patent granted to the Duke of York, afterwards James II., 1664, he sold it to Lord Berkely, who sold it to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns, who, to satisfy his creditors, conveyed it in trust to William Penn, Garven Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, 1676; but very little progress had been made in its settlement until it fell into the hands of the Quakers. Penn caused it to be surveyed and sold to two companies of "friends" in Yorkshire and London, and others, who after having bought it again of the Indians, immediately proceeded to settle it; they divided it into ten proprietries for its government. Of the third or Irish tenth, W. Cooper and M. Newby were the agents; this was in 1682, and no other notice of Newby appears but of that date, when he was chosen councillor and a commissioner, and must have been a man of some note at that time. The Quakers who had received favor and encouragement from the Stuart family probably felt no disinclination to circulate the coin struck for their assistance. As the ship Kent was about to sail with her emigrants the sixteenth of the sixth month, O. S. 1677, King Charles II. pleasuring in his barge came alongside of her, and seeing a great many passengers and informed whence they were bound, asked if they were all Quakers and gave them his blessing. These emigrants to New Jersey were most of them men of good estates in England and may be considered as the founders of that colony.

NOTE.—These coins are rarely seen here, and for the fine specimens in my collection I was obliged to send to England. Wampum appears, as was the case in the other Colonies, the currency of New Jersey, before and after the circulation of St. Patrick's coins.

MISCELLANEA.

Superscription.

TO MR. GEORGE CORWIN
AT SALEM IN

NEW ENGLAND,
Marcht. These,

London 22d March 1658.

MR. GEORGE CORWINE

I commend me unto you, theise few lines are only to acquaint you that yours dated 22d Decemb'r last I rec'd with — Barrell of Beaver, by Captaine Pearses Ship you shall have an account and also the parc'll of goods by him and the ship called the Prudent Mary as neare as I can fitt you, if there doe two shippes come sooner yett I shipped yours upon the two latter because they are off greatest strength, and in so doing I have done ffor you as ffor myselfe. Beaver is exceeding low at this time by reason of the warrs with Spain all trading is very dead only elke skins att present are iff good worth about 26 6d a pound I was offered to give long tyme to gett 56 6 a pound ffor your Beaver; when as formerly such would have given 56 a pound ready money, by Captaine Pearse I shall further trouble you and for present I shall rest

Your loving friend

WILLIAM PEAKE.

Sir Wm. Peake was Lord Mayor of London A. D. 1666.

ANECDOTE OF REV. NICHOLAS NOYES,

One of the early pastors of the First Church in Salem, ordained Nov. 14, 1683, died Dec. 13, 1717, aged 70 years.

We recently had in our possession a patchwork quilt, entirely of silk, made by Elizabeth Barton, afterwards the wife of Samuel King; she was the daughter of Dr. John Barton, progenitor of the present family, a prominent physician and surgeon of Salem, whose professional skill was elicited in some of the witch trials of that period. Miss Barton when young, like some ladies of our day, was noted for her fancy needlework; and the results of her skill much interested the Rev. Mr. Noyes during his frequent visits at her father's house.

This quilt is constructed of small, triangular pieces of silk, of various colors, some of which are wrought with golden threads; the sections are folded into the required form upon pieces of paper; and as at that early day paper was an article that could not be wasted with impunity, not only were her friends taxed for choice remnants of the costly silken garments, but for paper also; accordingly Mr. Noyes placed at the disposal of the young lady a quantity of the "notes" which had been handed him and read from the pulpit on Sabbath days, asking the prayers of the great congregation; a practice common in our churches until recently, but now rapidly passing into disuse. Not only were these requests made in cases of affliction, but as expressions of thankfulness for a safe return from sea or other peril—recovery from sickness, &c. Occasionally some husband and wife would jointly "have up a note," as this custom was called, for "mercies received," which was understood as commemorative of the advent of a cherub and an enlargement of the family circle.

As this quilt was never put to use, or indeed quite completed, these evidences of social devotion still remained within the delicately stitched sections of the silken fabric. On one of these occasional visits Mr. Noyes composed upon this identical quilt the following riddle:

"I am bespangled and triangled,
With divers colors on;
If every one should go to his home
I should be quite undone."

This anecdote has been frequently repeated in our hearing by an aged lady and relative of the family, now no more, who remembered it as related to her in her childhood by a venerable lady of the same family with whom she then resided.

FROM THE TOWN RECORDS OF SALEM.

4th June 1683. "The Selectmen doe consent yt James Collins may set in the seate where Joseph Ware did set, and Joseph Phipeny jr

and Jno Ingerson jr may set in the seate where Mr. Hab Turner and John Pickman doe set in the meeting house."

Feb'y 26, 1699—1700. "Whereas Mr. Samuel Ingersoll's wife is now married and provided with a seat in ye meeting house, ye wife of Francis Downing is placed in ye seat where ye said Ingersoll formerly did sit, he to pay her ye same what it cost her."

"The widow of Mr. John Endecutt deed is seated in ye seat where Mrs. Whillingly, Mrs. Epes, &c., sett, weh is in ye women's second seat a pew below."

Feb'y 24, 1700—1. "Whereas the Treasurer has taken a bond of Mr. David Phippen of Boston and Jno Pickering of Salem for ye 30 pounds left by Mr. Cromwell towards a writing school, ye selectmen doe allow and approve of ye same."

FROM THE TOWN RECORDS OF READING, MASS.

At Town Meeting held Feb'y 2, 1662—"It was further ordered the day and year above written: That every dog and bitch that comes to the meetinghouse after the present day, either on Lord's day or Lecture day, except it be their dogs that pay for a dog whipper, the owner of the dogs shall pay sixpence for every time they come to the meeting, that doth not pay for the dog whipper."

Then follow twenty-six names of "those men that will pay to the dog whipper for whipping the dogs out of the meeting house on the Lord's day."

PRICES OF RARE COINS.

At a late sale of coins in London the following pieces were sold at the prices affixed—all of them were in fine condition:—

The series, four pieces, of the Lord Baltimore money brought \$440,75; as follows:—shilling \$20,25; sixpence \$21; groat \$24,50; penny, in copper, \$375. The Sommers Island's copper sold for \$145; New England half pen-

ny, copper, \$78,75; Carolina half penny, copper, \$22. It is understood that most of these came to the United States.

At a late sale of American coins in Philadelphia the following prices were realized:—

1797 half dollar \$15; 1838 flying eagle dollar \$20; 1831 half cent \$11 50; Annapolis shilling \$8 50; 1836 flying eagle dollar \$8 38; 1752 half cent \$7 50; 1794 dollar \$11; 1796 half dollar \$9 75; New Jersey cent—rare die—*E Pluribus*, \$10 50; 1852 gold dollar—*pattern*, \$15.

AMERICAN MEDALS.

A medal was struck in commemoration of the capitulation of Lieutenant General James Burgoyne and the British army under his command at Saratoga. The original gold piece, struck at Paris and valued at ten half Johannes, has on one side a fine likeness, in profile, of the American General, surrounded by the words HORATIO GATES, DUCI STRENUO, and at the bottom, COMMITIA AMERICANA. On the reverse, Burgoyne, in the attitude of delivering his sword, occupies the foreground, about midway between the American and British armies, which are represented on the right and left, in the rear. Above are the words, SALUS REGIONUM SEPTENTRION, and beneath, HOSTE AD SARATOGAM IN DEDITIONE ACCEPTO, DIE XVII OCT. MDCCLXXVII. Some years since a few of these medals were executed in tin at the mint in Philadelphia and a select distribution of them was made.—*Alden's Epitaphs*, 1814.

"The Council of Revision of the State of New York," by Alfred B. Street, 1 vol., pp. 573. Mr. Street is connected with the New York State Library, and has given a full and accurate account of the doings of the Council during the period of its existence, from 1777 to 1821.

The most interesting portion of the volume to the general reader, is the Biographical Sketches of the members of the Council—George Clinton, John Jay, Morgan Lewis, Daniel D. Tompkins, De Witt Clinton, Joseph C. Yates, *Governors*. John Taylor, *Lt. Gov.* Rob't R. Livingston, James Kent, John Lansing, jr., *Chancellors*. Richard Morris, Robert Yates, Smith Thompson, Ambrose Spencer, *Chief Justices*. John Sloss Hobart, Egbert Benton, Jacob Radcliff, Henry B. Livingston, W. W. Van Ness, Jonas Platt, John Woodworth, *Justices of the Supreme Court*. The above names comprise all the members during the forty-four years of the continuance of the Council. The work can be obtained of T. O. H. Perry Burnham, 143 Washington St., Boston. J. C.

NOTICES OF THE FAMILY OF ROGER WILLIAMS,

[Copied from the Records of Providence, R. I., by Perley Derby.]

Mary, ye daughter of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Plymmouth ye first weeke in August, 1633, (so called)

Freeborne, ye daughter of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Salem in ye later end of Octob. , 1635, (so called)

Providence, ye son of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Providence in ye latter end of ye month Septemb., 1638, (so called.)

Mercy, ye daughter of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Providence about ye 15th of July, 1640.

Daniell, ye son of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Providence about the 15th of February, 1641, (so called,) counting the yeare to begin about ye 25th of March, so yt he was borne aboue a year and a half after Mercy.

Joseph, ye son of Roger and Mary Williams his wife, was borne at Providence about ye beginning of ye 10th month, Decem'r, 1643, (so called.)

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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[No. 2.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRIAL OF GEORGE JACOBS, FOR WITCHCRAFT.

BY LINCOLN R. STONE.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, February 24, 1859.

The Historical Department of the Institute has recently received from Messrs. Ripley and Charles A Ropes a valuable and interesting historical painting—"The Trial of George Jacobs of Salem Village for Witchcraft." It occupies a prominent position over the landing of the main stairway to the second story of Plummer Hall. This important gift deserves a more extended notice than the simple acknowledgment of it among the donations to that department. As one of the curators of the Historical department, the duty has been assigned to me of presenting this sketch of the trial and execution of Jacobs.

For many of my facts I am indebted to S. P. Fowler, Esq., of Danversport, who has investigated the subject very fully and communicated several papers in relation to it to the Institute. I have also used Upham's Lectures upon Witchcraft, and examined Hale's "Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft" and "Calef's Wonders of the Invisible World."

Before speaking at once of the Trial of Jacobs, I will, at the risk of trespassing upon your patience and repeating what is a very threadbare and old story to most, if not all,

who may hear me, give a slight account of the sudden rise and equally sudden fall of Witchcraft in our vicinity.

In the 16th and 17th centuries trials for witchcraft were frequent in England, Scotland, Ireland and France, and many suffered in all those countries. In Scotland, as late as 1720 or thereabouts, a person, an old, idiotic woman, was hanged for a witch. Hundreds are said to have been burnt at the stake, the innocent as well as insane, young as well as old, neither sex nor condition being any safeguard.

England was not behind Scotland in the punishment of reputed witches, and, during the Long Parliament alone, about three thousand people were executed for witchcraft—about thirty thousand in all! [Household Words, Oct. 1857, p. 117.

The testimony, and the actions and appearances of the witnesses in their courts were very similar to those in our courts. The last execution in England was in 1716, and it was not till the middle of the year 1751 that the Witch Laws were abolished. The immediate cause of the abolition was the trial of three men for the murder of a suspected witch and the attempted murder of another. One of the men was executed, and the rabble cursed the authorities and made a riot at the gallows, praising the man for the murder, having rid the parish of a malignant witch, and holding him up as deserving of reward, not "punishment."

In France the same horrible barbarity was shown, and Mr. Hale, in his enquiry, states that 900 were put to death, adding, "And in some other places the like; so that New England is not the only place circumvented by the wiles of the wicked and wisely Serpent in this kind."

Very early in the settlement of New England, as early as 1646, several persons had been charged with and suffered for witchcraft in the Governments of Massachusetts, New Haven, or Stratford, and Connecticut colonies, (Hale p. 16-17) the first a woman of Charlestown, in 1647 or '48, who was executed, and on the day of the execution she was visited by Mr. Hale and he took great pains to bring her to confession and repentance. But she constantly professed herself innocent of that crime, and on being asked to consider if God did not bring this punishment upon her for some other crime, as stealing, she answered, "she had stolen something, but it was long since, and she had repented of it, and there was Grace enough in Christ to pardon that long ago; but as for Witchcraft, she was wholly free from it;" and so she said until her death.

Some time after this a woman of Dorchester suffered; another in Cambridge, also in Boston, 1656, Hartford; and, some 16 years before the panic in Salem, a woman of Newbury was tried and found guilty, but the Governor, Simon Bradstreet, Esq., reprieved her. The next that suffered was an Irish woman of Boston, suspected to bewitch John Goodwin's children, who, upon her trial, did in Irish (as was testified by the interpreters) "confess herself and was condemned out of her own mouth;" and Mr. Hale quotes Luke 19, 22, ("Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee.")

In the last of February, in the year 1692, in the family of Rev. Mr. Parris, in Salem Village, commenced "the great and awful tragedy" which spread a terror over all New England. The persons afflicted were a daughter, nine years of age, and a niece of Mr. Parris, and a young female of the neighborhood. They at first complained of an Indian woman in

the family of Mr. Parris, and she was committed to prison and was finally sold for fees. Upon her release she declared "that her master had beat her and other ways abused her to make her confess and accuse (such as he called) her Sister Witches, and whatsoever she had said by way of confessing or accusing others was the effect of such usage."

In March, the 2d, goodwife Corey was examined by the magistrates, in the meeting-house at the village; this being, I think, the first public examination or trial. The examinations generally took place, as is well known, at the house on the corner of North and Essex streets, at that time the residence of Jonathan Corwin, Esq., acting Magistrate. His colleague was John Hathorne, Esq. "The 31st day of March was set apart as a day of solemn humiliation at Salem. But the delusion spread and the number of the accused was very large."

To meet the extraordinary crisis a special commission was issued to seven of the principal citizens and jurists of the colony, constituting them a court of Oyer and Terminer, to try the accused persons at Salem. These were the Lieut. Governor, Mr. Stoughton, Major Saltonstall, Major Richards, Major Gedney, Mr. Wait Winthrop, Capt. Sewall and Mr. Sargent. They assembled by appointment at the Court House in Salem on the 2d of June, 1692. The first victim was executed on the 10th of June, Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver. The Court sat again on the 30th of June, and five more women were hanged on the 19th of July. The Court sat again Aug. 5, and on the 19th of the same month four men and one woman were hanged. On the 22d of September two men and six women were hanged. Eight more were condemned, but this was the last execution. One man, Giles Corey, refusing to be tried was pressed to death, agreeably to the provisions of the English law.

In January, 1692-3, a reprieve was granted to those condemned to be hung, which so moved the chief judge, Stoughton, that he said to this effect:—"We were in a way to have cleared the land of them; who it is that obstructs the

cause of justice I know not; the Lord be merciful to the country;" and so went off the bench and came no more into that court.

Afterwards the Jury that tried the cases signed and circulated an humble and solemn declaration of regret for the part they had borne in the trials, acknowledging their errors and fears that they had been deluded and mistaken; asking forgiveness of God for Christ's sake; concluding: "We do humbly ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended; and do declare according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again on such grounds for the whole world; praying you to accept of this in way of satisfaction for our offence, and that you would bless the inheritance of the Lord, that He may be entreated for the land."

Judge Sewall annually observed a day of humiliation and prayer during the remainder of his life, to show his repentance and sorrow for the part he took in the trials. On the day of the general Fast, in the winter of 1696-7, he rose in his place in the Old South Church in Boston, and in presence of the assembly handed up to the pulpit a written confession, acknowledging the error into which he had been led, praying for forgiveness of God and His people, with a request to all the congregation to unite with him in supplication, that it might not bring down the displeasure of the Most High upon his country, his family or himself.

Thus ended the tragedy. The number of those who suffered death was twenty—nineteen by hanging, one by pressing to death; eight were condemned to death but escaped; fifty-five escaped by confessing themselves guilty; one hundred and fifty were in prison and more than two hundred were accused.

But to return to the Trial of George Jacobs, which took place on the 6th of August, 1692.

On the 12th of May, 1692, George Jacobs, sen., of Salem Village, was committed to Boston jail for witchcraft, and remained there six weeks and a few days. On the fifth day of August, the same year at a Court of Oyer and

Terminer held at Salem, he was tried with five others—the Rev. Geo. Burroughs, a former minister of Salem Village, John Proctor and his wife Elizabeth, John Willard and Martha Carrier of Andover, who were all brought in by the jury guilty of the crime of Witchcraft.

They were all executed on the nineteenth of August, with the exception of Elizabeth Proctor, on Gallows Hill in Salem.

The witnesses in these trials were Margaret Jacobs, grand-daughter of George Jacobs, Mary Wolcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam, Mersey Lewis and Mary Warren.

It is probable that Margaret Jacobs testified against her grandfather and Mr. Burroughs to save her own life, for she acknowledged to Mr. B., the day before the execution, that she had belied him and begged his forgiveness, who not only forgave her, but also prayed with and for her. The day after their execution she wrote the following letter to her father, George Jacobs, jr.:

From the dungeon in Salem Prison.

AUGUST 20TH, 1692.

HONOURED FATHER:—After my humble duty remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good health, as blessed be God I enjoy, though in abundance of affliction, being close confined here in a loathsome dungeon; the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I shall be put to death, by means of the afflicted persons, my grandfather having suffered already, and all his estate seized for the king. The reason of my confinement is this: I having through the magistrates' threatenings, and my own vile and wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my conscience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my soul, (the Lord pardon me for it!) but oh! the terrors of a wounded conscience who can bear? But, blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my sins, but in mercy, I hope, to my soul, would not suffer me to keep it any longer; but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the magistrates, who would not believe me, but it is their pleasure to put me in here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear Father, let me beg your prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and send us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven. My mother, poor woman, is very crazy, and remembers her kind love to you and to uncle

viz.: D. A. So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your dutiful daughter.

MARGARET JACOBS.

At the time appointed for her trial she had an abscess in her head, which caused her escape. [Calef pp. 224, 225.] She would have been hung for her recantation as some others were. "Her Father (George Jacobs, jr.) was likewise accused, but fled. Her mother, a crazy, sickly woman, was likewise accused and imprisoned; she had four small children with her in the house, when the officer came and persuaded her to go with him, telling her she would speedily return; when she came into the presence of the afflicted they said they did not know her, but at length one of them saying, 'Don't you know Jacobs, the old witch?' they all fell down into Fits and accused her; she was then sent to Prison and lay there ten months, and the neighbors in the mean time kept the children from starving." [Neal's History of New England, p. 147.]

Mr. Jacobs is said to have been a very respectable farmer, in comfortable circumstances and quite aged; and is thought by Mr. Fowler to have been lame, using two canes to assist him in walking—the afflicted accusing him of striking them with his stick. He left several children, George, Anne and Margaret, and his wife survived him. He left a will written before his execution. Calef says: [pp. 223-4.]

"Old Jacobs being Condemned, the sheriff (Corwin) and officers, came and seized all he had; his wife had her wedding ring taken from her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy provisions of the sheriff, such as he had taken, towards her own support, which, not being sufficient, the neighbors in charity relieved her."

Mr. Fowler has also given me a copy of the losses sustained to the estate by the seizure of the sheriff, copied from the records of the Commonwealth, as follows:—

AN ACCOMPT of what was seized and taken away from the estate of George Jacobs, sen., Late of Salem, dec'd, by Sheriff Corwin and his assistants, in the year 1692:—

fiene Cows, faire large Cattle, 3 pounds pr Cow,	£15 0 0
Eight Loads of English Hay taken out of ye Barn, 35 shil. pr Load,	14 0 0
A parcel of Apples yt made 24 barils Cider, to halues, viz.: 12 barils Cider, 8 shil. pr baril,	4 16 0
60 bushels of Indian Corn, 2 shil. 6d. pr bush,	7 10 0
A Mare,	2 0 0
2 good feather beds and furniture, Rugs, blankets, Sheets, bouldsters and pillows,	10 0 0
2 brass kittles, <i>lost</i> ,	6 0 0
Money, 12 shillings, a Large <i>Goold thumb Ring</i> , 20 shillings,	1 12 0
fiene swine,	3 15 0
a quantity of pewter which I cannot exactly know ye worth—perhaps	3 0 0
besides abundance of small things, meat in ye house, fowls, chairs, and other things took clear away, about	12 0 0
	£79 13 0

The Jacobs place is in Danvers Port, near the Iron Foundry, on the right going to Danvers, and upon it still live two men of the same name, both born in the old house, which is still standing.

I have lately visited the place, but can find nothing of family tradition except that the grave is still pointed out where Geo. Jacobs is supposed to have been buried; and a few years ago Matthew Hooper, Esq., bought the land containing it, and on opening the grave found the bones of an old person with locket enclosing hair. The bones were carefully re-interred, and this is the only grave that can be pointed out with any degree of certainty as belonging to the victims of the strange delusion of 1692.

Would it not be well for the Institute to erect some tablet to mark the spot?

In connexion with the above, it may not be inappropriate to insert the certified copy of all the proceedings of this trial from the records in the office of the clerk of the courts for this county—which has been copied and presented to the archives of the Institute by Ira J. Patch of this city.

WARRANT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

To The Constables in Salem.

You are in their Majests names hereby required to apprehend and forthwith bring before vs George Jacobs Senr of Salem And Margaret Jacobs, the daughter of George Jacobs Junr of Salem, Singlewoman, Who stand accused of high suspicion of sundry acts of witchcraft by them both Committed on sundry persons in Salem to their great wrong and Injury and hereof faile not. (Dated Salem, May 10th, 1692.)

JOHN HATHORNE, }
JONATHAN CORWIN, } Assists.

To constable Joseph Neale.

(May ye 10th, 1692.) Then I apprehended the Bodies of George Jacobs Senr and Margaret Jacobs, daughter of George Jacobs Junr, Both of Salem, According to the Tenor of the Above warrant p me.

(JOSEPH NEALE Constable In Salem.)

COMPLAINT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Salem, May the 14th, 1692.

Lt Nathanill Ingersoll and Sergt Thomas Putnam, yeoman, both of Salem Village, personally appeared before vs and made complaint in behalfe of their Majests against Daniell Andrew of Salem Village Bricklayer, George Jacobs Junr of Salem Village, husbandman, And ——— Jacobs the wife of said George Jacobs, ——— Buckley the wife of Wm Buckley of Salem Village cordwayner, and Mary Withridge of Salem Village, daughter of said Buckley, ——— Hart the wife of Isaac Hart of Lynn Husbandman, Thomas ffarrer senr of Lynn husbandman, Elizabeth Colson of Reding singlewoman, And Bethia Carter of onburne, daufter of Widdow Carter of sd Towne for S, Suspition of Sundry Acts of witchcrafts by them Committed or Donne lately on the body of Ann Putnam, Marcy Lewis, Mary Walcott and Abigail Williams and others of Salem Village, whereby much hurt is done to their bodies, therefore Craues Justice.

NATHANIEL INGERSOLL,
THOMAS PUTNAM.

INDICTMENT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Anno Regis et Reginee Willm et Marice nuncce Anglice ytt Quarto.

Essex: ss.

(The Jurors for our Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen pesents, That George Jacobs Senr of Salem in ye County of Essex, the 11th day of May in the fourth Year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King and Queen Defendrs of the faith &c., and Divers other Dayes and times as well before as after certaine Detestable Arts called Witchcrafts and soceries Wickedly and feloniously hath used Practised and Exercised at and within the Township of Salem in the county of Essex aforesaid, in upon and agt one Marcy Lewis of Salem village singlewoman, by which said Wicked arts the said Marcy Lewis the 11th Day of May in the fourth year abovesaid and Divers other Dayes and times as well before as after was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, wasted and Tormented and also for sundry other acts of witchcraft by said George Jacobs Committed and Done before and since that time agt the Peace of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen their Crowne and Dignity and agt the forme of the Statutes in that Case made and provided.

Witnesses } Marcy Lewis, Eliz. Hubbard,
} Mary Walcott, Sarah Churchill.

EXAMINATION OF GEO. JACOBS SR.

(The Examination of Geo. Jacobs Senr., 10 May, 1692.

Here are them that accuse you of acts of Witchcraft.

Well, let us hear who are they and what are they.

Abigail Williams. Jacobs laught.

Because I am falsely accused. Your worships all of you do you think this is true?

Nay, what do you think?

I never did it.

Who did it.

Don't ask me.

Why should we not ask you? Sarah Churchwell accuseth you, there she is.

I am as innocent as the Child born to-night.
I have lived 33 years here in Salem.

What then?

If you can prove that I am guilty I will lye under it.

Sarah Churchwell said last night I was afflicted at Deacon Ingersoll's and Mary Walcott said it was a man with 2 staves, it was my maaster.

Pray do not accuse me. I am as clear as your worships—you must do right judgments.

What book did he bring you Sarah?

The same that the other woman brought.

The Devill can go in any shape.

Did he not he appear on the other side of the river and hurt you—did not you see him?

Yes he did.

Look there, she accuseth you to your face, she chargeth you that you hurt her twice. Is it not true?

What would you have me say? I never wronged no man in word nor deed.

Here are 3 evidences.

You tax me for a wizard, you may as well tax me for a buzard. I have done no harm.

Is it no harm to afflict these?

I never did it.

But how comes it to be in your appearance?

The Devil can take any likeness.

Not without their consent.

Please your worship it is untrue. I never showed the book. I am silly about these things as the child born last night.

That is your saying; you argue you have lived so long; but what then Cain might live long before he killed Abel, and you might live long before the Devill had so prevailed on you.

Christ hath suffered 3 times for me.

What three times.

He suffered the crosse and Gall.

You had as good confesse (said Sarah Churchwell) if you are guilty.

Have you heard that I have any witchcraft?

I know you live a wicked life.

Let her make it out.

Doth he ever pray in his family?

Not unless by himself.

Why do you not pray in your family?

I cannot read.

Well, but you may pray for all that. Can you say the Lord's prayer? Let us hear you.

He might in severall parts of it and could not repeat it right after Mary Mialls.

Sarah Churchwell, when you wrote in the book you was showed your master's name you said.

Yes, Sir.

If she say so, if you do not know it what will you say?

But she saw you or your likeness tempt her to write.

One in my likeness, the Devil may present my likeness.

Were you not frightened Sarah Churchwell when the representation of your master came to you?

Yes.

Well! burn me, or hang me, I will stand in the truth of Christ. I know nothing of it.

Do you know nothing of getting your son George and his daughter Margaret to signe?

No, nothing at all.

The 2d Examination of said George Jacobs, 11 May, 1692.

The bewitched fell into most greivous fits and screkings when he came in.

Is this the man that hurts you?

Abig. Williams cried out this is the man and fell into a violent fit.

Ann Putnam said this is the man, and he hurts and brings the book to her and would have her write in the book and she should be as well as his Granddaughter.

Mercy Lewis, is this the man?

This is the man, (after much interruption by fits,) he almost kills me.

Eliz. Hubbard said this man never hurt her till to-day he came upon the Table.

Mary Walcot, is this the man?

After much interruptions by fits she said this is the man; he used to come with two staves and beat her with one of them.

What do you say, are you not a witch?

No, I know it not, if I were to dye presently.

Mercy Lewis went to come near him but fell into great fits.

Mercy Lewis testimony read. What do you say to this?

Why it is false. I know not of it any more than the child that was born to-night.

Ann Putnam said yes, you told me so, that you had been so this 40 yeares.

Ann Putnam and Abigail Williams had each of them a pin stuck in their hands and they said it was this old Jacobs.

Abigail Williams Testimony read.

Are not you the man that made disturbance at a Lecture in Salem?

No great disturbance. Do you think I use witchcraft?

Yes, indeed.

No, I use none of them.

ABIGL WILLIAMS V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

The Testimony of (Abigail Williams) witnesseth and (saith that she hath several times seen and been very much afflicted by the Apparition of Geo. Jacobs Senr of Salem at and before the 11 May, 1692.)

SUMMONS TO WITNESSES V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Wm. and Mary by ye Grace of God of England &c., King and Queen &c.

To ye Sheriff of Essex or Deputy or Constables of Salem, Greeting:

Wee command you to Warn and give notice vnto Joseph flint, John Waters Senr, John Doritch, Corpoll John ffoster, Capt Puttman and Rebecca his wife, that they and Euery of them be and appear forthwith at the Court of Oyer and Terminer holden at Salem, there to Testifie ye truth to ye best of your knowledge on certain Indictments Exhibited against

George Jacobs Senr; hereof make return, fail not. Dated in Salem (Augt 4th, 1692,) and in the fourth year of our Reigne.

L. S.

STEPHEN SEWALL Clerk.

GEO. HERRICK V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

(The Testimoney of George Herrick, aged thirty-fouer yeares or theirabouts, Testifyeth and Saith that some time in May last by order of their Majesties Justices I went to the Prison in Salem to search George Jacobs Senr, and likewise William Dounton the Goale Keeper and Joseph Neal constable was in presence and concerned with mee in the search, where under ye sd Jacobs his Right sholder wee found a tett about a quarter of an inch longue or better with a sharpe point Drupeing downewards, so that I took a pinn from sd Dounton and Run it through the sd tett but there was neither watter blood nor corruption nor any other matter and so we make Returne.

William Dounton testifyeth the aboue written.

and wee farther Testify and say yt sd Jacobs was not in the least senceable in what wee had done, for after I had made Returne to the maistrates and Returned I tould ye sd Jacobs. And he knew nothing before. (Sworne in Court Augt 4, '92.)

MARY WARREN V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Mary Warin afirmed, before ye Jury of Inquest, that George Jacobs senr has afflicted her sd Warin and beat her with his staffe, he or his Apperition; sd warin ses she has seen sd Jacobs or Apparition afflict Mary Walcot and beat her with his staffe: she sayed also that sd Jacobs has afflicte Ann Putnam: sd warin verily thinks sd George Jacobs is a wizard, Aug. 4, 1692, upon her oath.

Jurat in Curia.

ELIZ' H HUBBARD V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Elizabeth Hubbard Affirmed to ye Jury of

Inquest that she hath seen George Jacobs Senr afflict Mary Walcot, Ann Putnam and Abigail Williams: and sd Jacobs or his Apperition has sorely afflicted her said Eliz. Hubbard, Aug. 4, 1692, upon her oath.

Jurat in Curia.

MARY WALCOT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Mary Walcot Affirmed before ye Jury of Inquest that she hath seen George Jacobs Senr afflict Mary Warin and Ann Putnam and Elizabeth Hubbard, and sd Jacobs or his Apperition hath hurt her sd Mary Walcot and beat her with his staffe, Augt 4, '92, upon her oath sd Walcot sd she verily beleaved sd Jacobs is a wizard, and that on ye day and time of sd Jacobs his examination he afflicted her and Ann Putnam and Elizabeth Hubbard.

Jurat in Curia.

SARAH CHURCHWELL V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Sarah Churchwell Affirmed to ye Jury of Inquest that George Jacobs Senr or his Apperition has afflicted her said churchell by choaking of her and she verily believes that sd Jacobs did it by witchcraft.

Jurat in Curia.

(Sarah Vibber made oath yt she saw him yts George Jacobs at ye Gallows when Goody Olliver was executed and ye blackman help him up and yt she saw hsm afflict Mary Walcott and beat her with his staffe.

Jurat in Curia.

JOHN DORITCH V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

John Doritch, aged 16 years or thereabouts, Testifieth and saith, That John Small and his wife Anne, both deceased and formerly of the Towne of Salem, doth both appear to this Deponent and told him that they would tare him to pieces if he did not goe and Declare to Mr. Hathorn that George Jacobs Senior Did kill

them, and Likewise that Mary Warrens mother did appeare to this Deponent this day with a white man and told him that woodwife Parker and Oliver did kill her, and Likewise Core Proctor and his wife Sarah Proctor, Joseph Proctor and John Proctor did all afflict this deponent and do continually every day sence he hath begun to be afflicted, and would have him this deponent to sett his hand to a Booke but this deponent told them he would not: Likewise Phillip English and his wife Mary doth appear to this deponent and afflict him and all the abovesd persons Thretten to tare this deponent in pieces if he dothe not signe to a Booke: Likewise Goodwife Pease and Hobbs and her daughter Abigail doth Afflict him and thretten the same: and Likewise a woman appeares to this deponent who lives at Boston at ye Vper end of the Towne, whose name is Mary: she goes in black clothes: hath but one Eye: with a Crooked Neck, and she saith there is none in Boston like her, she did afflict this deponent, but saith she will not any more: nor tell him her name.)

Jurat all relating to ye prisoner at ye Barr.

MERCY LEWIS V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

The deposition of Mirey Lewes, who testifieth and saith that on 20th April, 1692, att or about midnight there appered to me the apperisition of an old, very gray headed man and tould me that his name was George Jacobs and that he had had two wives and he did torter me and beate me with a stick which he had in his hand and urged me to writ in his book which I refused to doe, and so he hath continued euer sence, by times coming sumtimes with two stickes in his hands to afflict me, still tempting me to writ in his book, but most dredful he fell upon me and did tortor me on the 9th of May, at eueng after I came whom from the Examination of his maid: threatening to kill me yt night if I would not writ in his book, because I did witness against his maid and persuaded her to confes, but because I

would not yeald to his hellish temtations he did tortor me most cruelly by beating me with the two sticks which he had in his hands and allmost redy to putt all my bones out of joynt tell my strenth and hartt was Redy to fail, but being upheld by an Almighty hand and encouraged by them that stood by I endured his tortors that night. the 10th May he againe sett upon me and afflicted me most greivously a great many times in the day still urging me to writ in his book, but att euening he againe tortored me most greivously by pinching and beating me black and blue and threatening to kill me if I would not writ in his book but I tould him I would not writ in his book tho he did kill me and tare me all to pieces, then he profered to give me gold and many figne things if I would writ in his book, but I tould him I would not writ in his book if he would give me all the world, then again he did tortor me most greivously but at last went away from me, also on the 15th May, 1692, being the day of the Examination of George Jacobs, then I saw that it was that very man that tould me his name was George Jacobs and he did also most dreadfully torment me allmost redy to kill me and I verily beleue in my hart that George

Jacobs is a most dreadfull wizzard and that he hath very often afflicted and tormented me by his acts of witchcraft.)

Merey Lewis declared to ye Jury of Inquest that ye aboue written evidence truth.

JOSEPH FLINT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

The Deposicon of Joseph Flintt, aged 30 yeares, Saith yt being at ye house of Mr. Thomas Beadles on ye 11th of May, 1692, when ye Majestrates were Examining George Jacobs his Grandaughter and understanding that she had confessed I this deponent went into ye other room where George Jacobs was and Told him yt his Grandaughter had confessed, he asked me what she had confessed I told him yt she confesst she was a witch or that she had set her hand to ye Deuils booke. Whereupon sd Jacobs said that she was not charged not to confess and then I asked him who charged her not to confess, he then made a stop and at last said yt if she were Innocent and yet Confesst she would be accessory to her owne death.

JOSEPH (marke) FLINTT.

Jurat in Curia.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRIVATE ARMED VESSELS BELONGING TO SALEM MASS. DURING THE WAR OF 1812..

PREPARED BY WILLIAM LEAVITT.

Names.	Class.	Tons.	Guns.	Weight of Metal.	Men.	Where Built.	When Built.	Builder.	Commander.	Captured.
Active.	sch	20	2	4-pounders	25	Salem	1810		Benj. Patterson	Sept. 1812
Alexander	ship	330	12	6 } 9 }	140	Baltimore	1808		{ Tim. Wellman, jr B Crowninshield	May 19 1813
Alfred	{ ship brig	200	16	6	110	Salem	1805	David Magoun	{ Step'n Williams Philip Bessom	Feb 1814
America	ship	350	20	9	150	Salem	1804	Retiah Becket	{ Joseph Ropes John Kehew	sold at Auction
Bl'k Vomit	boat	5	0	muskets	16	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	{ Jas. W. Chever John Upton	June 1831 sold
Buckskin	sch	60	4	12-pounders	50	Baltimore	1808		Bray	Sept. 1812
Cadet	sch	47	2	6 } 3 }	40	Boston	1814		{ William Calley Josiah Elwell	
Castigator	launch	10	1	6 ear'nade	20	Salem	1813	Webb & Beadle	{ Ste'n. G. Clarke Spencer Hall	
Cossack	sch	48	1	18-pounders	45	Salem	1813	Webb & Beadle	John Upton	Mch 1813

Names.	Class.	Tons.	Guns.	Weight of Metal.	Men.	Where Built.	When Built.	Builder.	Commander.	Captured.
Dart	sch	40	2	4	40	Salem	1800		William Davis T. Symonds John Green Abner Poland	
Diomede	sch	170	3 1	12 6	100	New York	1814		J Crowninshield	May 1814
Dolphin	sch	140	1 2	12 6	70	Baltimore			Jacob Endicott	Sept 1812
Enterprize	sch	200	4	18	100	Salem	1812	Barker & Magoun	John R Morgan	May 1813
Fair Trader	sch	40	1	12	35	New York	1809		John R. Morgan	Sept 1812
Fame	sch	30	2	6	30	Essex	1804		Webb, Upton, Poland, Green, Chapman & Evans	
Frolic	sch	110	1 4	24 6	60	Salem	1813		Nathan Green J B H Odiorne	Feb 1812
Galliniper	sch	25	2	6	30	Eng. built	1807		Tim. Wellman Andrew Tucker	May 1813 and burnt
Gen Putnam	sch	150	1 1	32 18 car.	60	Boston	1814		John Evans	Nov 1814
Gen Stark	sch	54	3	12 car'nade	50	Salem	1813	Barker & Magoun	John Evans William Rice	July 1813
Grand Turk brg	310	18		9-pound'rs	150	Wiscasset Me.	1812		Holten J. Breed Nathan Green	
Growler	sch	172	1 14	24 6	105	Baltimore	1812	Under sup't'dance Capt. J. J. Knapp	Sam'l B. Graves Nath'l Lindsey	Aug 1813
Helen	sch	75	4	6	70	Braintree	1792		John Upton	
Holkar	boat	6	0	muskets	16	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Samuel Lamson	1814
Jefferson	sloop	14	1	4 car'nade	20	Salem	1801	Christ'er Turner	John Kehew, J H Downie, S. Giles, T. Wellman, jr.	
John	ship	200	16	6-pound'rs	105	Salem	1794	Enos Briggs	James Fairfield B Crowninshield	Feb 1813
John & Geo	sch	57	1 2	12 6	50	New York	1810		John Sinclair, jr	Nov 1812
Lizard	sch	30	2	6	30	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Samuel Loring	1814
Montgom'y brig	190	10 2	6 18		100	Medford	1812		Holten J. Breed Benj Upton Joseph Strout	May 1813
Orion	boat	5	0	muskets	20	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	John Upton Jonathan Blythe	
Owl	boat	6	0	muskets	14	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	William Duncan	Apr 1813
Phoenix	sch	20	1	6-pounders	25	Salem	1814	William Rowell	Stephenson Richards	
Polly	sloop	96	1 8	12 6	60	Poughkepsie, N. Y.	1800		Sam'l C. Hardy Robert Evans	Apr 1814
Recovery	sch	20	2	3	20	Salem	1810		Joseph Peele	1812
Regulator	sch	75	1 2	24 6	50	New York	1808		James Mansfield	Sept 1812
Revenge	sch	57	1 2	12 6	50	New York	1810		John Sinclair, jr	Nov 1812
Scorpion	sloop	14	1	4	20	Salem	1812	Wm. Huliss	Stephenson Richards Thomas Osborne	
Swift	sch	27	1	6	25	Eng. built	1808		Harvey Choate	
Swiftsure	launch	10	1	4	20	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Stephen Clarke Charles Berry	
Terrible	boat	5	0	muskets	16	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	James Thomas John Greene	
Viper	sch	14	1	4-pounders	20	Salem	1814	Leach & Teague	Joseph Preston	
Wasp	sloop	30	2	6	35	Salem	1813	William Hulin	Ernest A. Ervin	June 18

Of these vessels, the ship America was sold at auction, June, 1831, and broken up. The boat Black Vomit was sold. The sch'r Cadet

was sold at auction, March 18, 1815. The launch Castigator was wrecked in Salem harbor, Sept. 23, 1815. Sch Dart, lost in the Bay

of Fundy, Dec. 11, 1812. Sch Fame, lost on Mud Island, Bay of Fundy, April, 1814. Brig Grand Turk, sold to W. Gray, of Boston, May 30, 1815. Sch'r Helen, sold. Sloop Jefferson, sold, and went to Gloucester for a fisherman. Boat Orion, sold. Sch'r Phoenix, sold by auction, March 4, 1815, for a pilot boat. Sloop Scorpion, sold in Boston, 1815. Sch'r Swift, sold by auction, March 4, 1815. Launch Swiftsure, sold by auction, April 13, 1814. Boat Terrible, sold. Sch'r Viper, sold by auction, June 21, 1815.

The ship Alfred was built on the Neck, between the gate and Col. John Hathorne's house, in 1805, by David Magoun, for Joseph White, Esq. At Mr. White's request, the rudder was hung before launching, against the remonstrance of Mr. Magoun, and as the vessel left the ways, the rudder struck the bottom and was unhung, and fell across the stern post, stopping her progress entirely, and she lay aground, one tide; when she floated again, it was perceived that she was "hogged." On bringing her up to the wharf, large blocks of wood were placed under her "fore foot" and "stern post," thus bringing her whole weight to bear upon the two extremities, and her centre settled down, and became straight again, and she afterwards proved herself to be a staunch and strong vessel, and a very fast sailer. Her masts were short, and her spars light; she carried but one square sail on her mizen mast, and that was a mizen topsail; she did not sail so well, when fitted for a privateer, and returned to port with the loss of her three topmasts; she was afterwards altered into a brig, but was again dismantled, probably she was over-masted and over-sparred, for it was observed each time that she was dismantled, that she sailed better under jury masts, than she did when full rigged. Notwithstanding all her accidents, she was a good cruiser, and was commanded by two as fine men as ever stepped on board a vessel.

The ship America was built near the head of India wharf (now Phillips') in 1804, by

Retiah Becket, who was assisted in building her by a Mr. Glytton, a Scotchman, a man of great mechanical genius and education, and an excellent draftsman, who resided in Beverly. She was built for George Crowninshield and Sons, and was fitted for a Privateer in July and August 1812; her upper deck was taken off, and her sides planked up, solid like the sides of a sloop of war; she was fitted for a Privateer under the direction of George Crowninshield, jr., and the perfect manner of her preparation and equipment proved him to have been a thorough bred seaman.

In July, 1818, one half of her was sold for \$4000. After her arrival from her last cruise in 1815, she lay at Crowninshield's wharf until June 1831, nearly 16 years—during which time, she had been repaired, coppered, and painted, with the expectation of selling her to go to South America, but for some unknown reason she was not sold, and she lay at the wharf until she was unseaworthy.

She was the fastest sailing vessel afloat during the war of 1812, and the most fortunate, and was always most ably commanded. She was sold June 1831 at auction, and broken up, being 27 years old.

List of the Officers of the private armed ship America on her first cruise, commenced at Salem, Sept. 7, 1812, and ended at Salem, Jan. 7, 1813.

Joseph Ropes, Commander,	
John Kehew,	1st Lieut.
Samuel Briggs,	2d "
Benjamin Daniels,	3d "
Nathaniel Perry,	Sailing Master.
Thomas Hills,	Surgeon.
John Bailey,	Captain of Marines.
Henry Tibbets,	Prize Master.
John Harris,	" "
Anthony D. Caulfield,	" "
Joseph Valpey,	" "
John Proctor,	" "
Archibald S. Dennis,	" "
James Chever Jr,	" "
Joseph Dixon,	Prize Master.
Thorndike Proctor,	Purser.
Thomas Slueman,	Gunner.

List of the Officers of the private armed ship America on her third cruise, commenced

at Bath, Dec. 3, 1813, and ended at Portsmouth, March 31st, 1814.

James Chever Jr., Commander.
 Ebenezer Meacom, 1st Lieut.
 Benjamin Upton, 2 "
 Nathan Greene, 3 "
 James Brace, Sailing Master.
 William C. Page, Surgeon.
 Jonathan Browne, Capt. of Marines.
 Thorndike Proctor, Purser.
 Benjamin Wadden, Gunner.
 Louis Lawrence, Gunner's mate.
 William C. Dean, Prize Master.
 Nathaniel Cleaves, " "
 John Hooper, " "
 John Harris, " "
 James Hall, " "
 Anthony D. Cauldfield, " "

List of Officers of the private armed ship America on her Fourth Cruise, commenced at Salem, November, 1814, and ended at Salem, April 8, 1815.

James Chever, Jr., Commander.
 Benjamin Upton, 1st Lieut.
 Holten J. Breed, 2 "
 Charles Treadwell, 3 "
 James Brace, Sailing Master.
 William C. Page, Surgeon.
 Thorndike Proctor, Purser.
 Samuel Chadwick, Capt. of Marines.
 Adam Truman, Gunner.
 Louis Lawrence, Gunner's Mate.
 William Hulin, Carpenter.
 Anthony D. Caulfield, Prize Master.
 Thomas Bowditch, " "
 Spencer Hall, " "
 Nathaniel Cleaves, " "
 Daniel Treadwell, " "
 George A. Hallowell, " "

The Black Vomit was owned by Dr. Samuel Hemenway.

The Castigator was a launch of 10 tons, fitted with two latteen sails.

The sch'r Diomedé was a very fine vessel, and a fast sailer, but after she was captured, being dismasted, it was found that she sailed better under jury masts than before.

The sch'r Enterprize was built on the Neck, at the same place where the Alfred was built.

The sch Fame, was a pink stern fishing boat of 30 tons, a fast sailer, and a very successful cruiser. She sent the first prize into Salem; she received her commission at noon, July 1st, 1812, and sailed in the afternoon of the same day, with the Jefferson.

The following are the names of the commanders of the schooner Fame,—William Webb, Jeduthan Upton, John Green, Jr., Abner Poland, Jr., Benjamin Chapman, Jacob Endicott, Robert Brookhouse, Jr., John Evans.

The sch. Frolic was built on the Neck, at the same place where the Alfred and Enterprize were built. She was built very sharp aft, so much so, that she was unseaworthy on that account, for being taken aback, in a moderate wind, she ran stern under as far as the main hatch, and was saved with great difficulty.

The 3-masted sch. Gen. Stark, was built at the same place, as the above, and whilst building it was proposed to call her the Timothy Pickering, but after she was launched, she was called the Gen. Stark. She was "lap-streak" built and carried 3 latteen sails. She was built to cruise in the Bay for licensed vessels.

The brig Grand Turk was one of the finest vessels of her class, in the U. S., and very fortunate as a cruiser. She was as famous for her good qualities as the America and in some respects she was better. She was built at Wiscasset, Me., after the model of the ship Volant of Boston, which was built at the same place and by the same master workman.

The ship Volant, under the command of Capt. Charles Treadwell, made her passage from Boston to France in 13 days.

The sch. Helen was a merchant vessel, loaned by her owners to volunteers, for the special purpose of capturing the Liverpool Packet, an English Privateer, which, for some months, had rendered herself a terror to all vessels entering the Bay; her cruising ground was in the vicinity of Cape Cod, with an occasional visit

into Massachusetts Bay, and once she was seen inside of Half Way Rock.

Such was the spirit with which this adventure was undertaken that the Helen was fitted out and 70 volunteers raised in about four hours. The master spirits, who started the expedition, formed a procession preceded by the American flag, and Mr. Henry Hubon, with his spirit stirring life and James Mecarthy with his drum, marched through the streets, led off by Capt. James Fairfield. They did not pass through many streets, however, for the number necessary was soon made up.

The Helen sailed on Thursday evening, Nov. 12, 1812, in quest of the Liverpool Packet, but on arriving off Cape Cod, found that she had sailed the day before for St. John's, and thus the object of this expedition escaped. The Helen put into Plymouth on the Monday following, in consequence of a snow storm, and several of the volunteers returned home by land.

The following are the names of some of the Volunteers on board the private armed Sch. Helen, Nov. 1812.

John Upton, Com.
James Fairfield, Lieut.
Henry Tibbets,
Ebenezer Bickford, Quarter Master,
Louis Lawrence, Gunner,
Ebenezer Hathorne,
Moses Fairfield,
Henry Hubon, Fifer.
James Mecarthy, Drummer,
Ebenezer Slocum,
Nathaniel Weston,
Joseph Millet,
—— Crow,
Samuel Lambert,
Andrew Clough,
John H. Downie,
Daniel Shehane,
Charles Green,
James Cliff,
George Leach,
Samuel Townsend,
Samuel Hutchinson,
George W. Pendar,
Joseph Rowell,

Joseph Newhall,
David Burdett,
Rankin Brown,
John Jackson.

The Helen was owned by the Messrs White, and J. J. Knapp, and they not only loaned the vessel, but assumed the risk. The whole project originated with Capt. John Upton, and the first person with whom he consulted, was Capt. Henry Tibbets, (now living in Winter street,) this was on the morning of the 12th November, 1812, and before night, these two energetic men with the assistance of volunteers had prepared the vessel, put on board the stores, ammunition, &c., borrowed four 6 lb cannons from the P. A. ship John, then lying at the wharf, and raised seventy volunteers, who were all on board in the evening, some who got on board as the vessel was leaving the wharf, signed the articles as she was going down the harbor. At 9 o'clock, they were off Naugus Head, and at 2 o'clock the next morning they were off Chatham Harbor, Cape Cod.

The English privateer Liverpool Packet, was captured by the privateer Thomas, Thomas M. Shaw Commander, of Portsmouth, N.H., off Cape Sable, June 10, 1813. The Liverpool Packet had just been refitted, and was on her way to her cruising ground, off Cape Cod.

The Thomas took her after a chase of five hours, and lost three men in boarding. She was carried into Portsmouth.

When the news was circulated that the Liverpool Packet was below, a prize, the whole town of Portsmouth seemed to be moved, and on Capt. Shaw's reaching the wharf in his boat, and it being ascertained from him that it was a fact, he was welcomed by three hearty cheers, and on the Liverpool Packet approaching the wharf, she fired a salute of seventeen guns, which was answered by reiterated cheers from the wharves.

All parties expressed their satisfaction that this famous little insignificant thing, (to all appearance) was at last captured

The Liverpool Packet was commanded by

Capt. Bass, and was manned by 33 men, and belonged to St. Johns, N. B.

The Sloop Jefferson was Geo. Crowninshield's pleasure boat, was built on the eastern side of Union Wharf, which was then owned by G. C. & Son. She was built by Christopher Turner, a noted ship builder of Salem, and was the 1st regular yacht built in Salem. She was 14 tons burden, and a very fast sailer, decked with a standing room in the stern, somewhat resembling those of the yachts of the present day, though different from them, fitted with a steering wheel. She was launched in March, 1801. She was made into a privateer in June 1812, and received her commission at noon, July 1, and sailed on her first cruise in an hour or two afterwards. She was a successful cruiser and sent the second prize into Salem.

The ship John was a merchant ship, built for Elias H. Derby, Esq., by Enos Briggs, in the winter of 1794-5, and was Mr. Derby's favorite ship. She was a ketch at first, and in March 1799, was altered into a ship. Her masts and spars were made by Hawkes & Babbage. The dimensions of her hull were as follows:—keel 75 feet, beam 25 feet, depth of hold $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At Mr. Derby's death, the John was bought by Geo. Crowninshield & Sons, and July 1812, she was fitted for a privateer.

The sch John and George was a prize vessel, captured by the sch. Regulator, Capt. Mansfield, Aug. 3, 1812, near Cape Sable. She was found at sea abandoned, having all sail set, she had been taken by the British squadron and abandoned about 4 days previous. She had on board 300 boxes lemons; she belonged to New York, and her captain's name was Isaacs. Being a fast sailer she was made into a privateer and made one cruise under the name of the John and George, John Sinclair Commander, and then her name was altered to the Revenge, and being captured during November following, by the English, her name was changed to the Retaliation. She was again captured by the Americans and carried into Portsmouth.

It will be seen by the above that the "John and George" and the Revenge were one and the same vessel.

The sloop Polly was a "North River sloop" and came to Salem with a load of Grain, either to "order" or for a market. After she had delivered her cargo, being a very fast sailer, she was bought for a privateer; her mast was very long, (90 feet.) The rule for masting the N. R. sloops was at that time, to allow a foot of length for every ton, and having carried away the head of it whilst in a chase of a vessel, her mainsail was shortened about 12 feet, after which it was found that the vessel sailed better than she did before. She was a very fast vessel and successful cruiser, and was well commanded.

The privateer sloop Wasp, Capt. Ernest A. Ervin, mounting two six pounders, was captured on the 9th June, by his H. B. M. sch Bream, Lieut. Hare, of 10 guns, after a close engagement of 3-4ths of an hour, and a running fight of 8 1-2 hours, when the colors were reluctantly struck to this vastly superior force of the enemy, when within half pistol shot. The whole chase having been within musket reach, the bravery displayed by Capt. Ervin drew forth the highest praise from Lieut. Hare, and the other naval officers at St. John's, whither the privateer was sent, and in consequence of the respect deservedly due to him, he was immediately exchanged, with his surgeon, Dr. John Wise.

Capt. Ervin so conspicuously exerted himself that he was signalized as the principal mark for the marines and sharp shooters; whole volley were directed against him, until the Commander of the Bream absolutely prohibited them, magnanimously declaring with the liberal sentiments ever attending brave souls, that he had conducted himself so heroically, it would be infamous in the last degree to endeavor to destroy him. The flag was not struck until the absolute necessity of saving the lives of the people rendered it indispensably requisite (the Bream being within half pistol shot and each of her guns charged

with 200 musket balls, langrage, &c.)—when it was done without his opposition, though not by his order.

The Naval Officers at St. John's expressed their approbation of his conduct, and Lieut. Hare out of respect to him, interceded for his immediate exchange, which was accordingly made; and here we ought to state, the great degree of politeness and hospitality with which the officers and crew of the Wasp were treated by Lieut. Hare and his officers, which has drawn forth their highest gratitude and esteem, and for which they have tendered publicly their sincere thanks.

At St. John's, Capt. Ervin was pointed out in the streets, as there goes the Salem Captain who defended his vessel so heroically. (Capt. Ernest A. Ervin was born Jan. 29, 1789, in Salem, and is still living.)

The whole number of the private armed vessels belonging to Salem during the war of 1812 was 40—making an aggregate of 3405 tons—mounting 189 cannons of different sizes from 3 pounders to 32 pounders, and manned by 2142 men.

The number of each class and its tonnage is as follows :

	Tons.	Guns.	Men.
3 ships,	880	54	395
3 brigs,	700	46	360
23 schr's,	1624	74	1130
4 sloops,	154	13	135
2 launches,	20	2	40
5 boats,	27	muskets	82
40	3405	189	2142

Guns—the number of each kind.

2	3	Pounders,	8	18	Pounders,
14	4	"	3	24	"
103	6	"	2	32	"
45	9	"			
12	12	"			
			189		

Of the whole number of vessels,

23	were built in Salem,
4	" " " Baltimore,
2	" " " Boston,
1	" " " Medford,
1	" " " Wiscasset,
1	" " " Chebacco, now Essex,

5	"	"	"	New York,
1	"	"	"	Braintree,
2	"			English built.

40

Of the whole number of square rigged privateers, 66 per cent. were captured.

Of the whole number of schooners, 80 pr ct. sloops, 50 pr ct. launches and boats, 30 pr ct.

It was in the beginning of the war that the Baltimore clippers were coming into particular notice, as the proper kind of vessels for Privateers, therefore, all the vessels built during the war were of that particular model, especially schooners. But it is worthy of notice that more vessels of this class were captured than any other.—80 pr ct. of those sailing out of Salem were captured, and this is the experience of all the other ports in the Union.

The sloops that sailed out of Salem, were remarkably successful as a class, and a smaller per centage of them were captured than any other, whilst they were found as fully effective as any other class and could keep the sea as well; the sloop Polly undertook as long cruises as any of the square rigged vessels and greatly distinguished herself in every cruise, as possessing all the good qualities of a first rate cruiser, and finally, she was only captured, but by being driven ashore by a English sloop of war—but if she had been in the open sea, nothing English of that day could have caught her. She was always most ably commanded. The sloop Jefferson was remarkably effective and successful, and was well commanded. The Polly and Jefferson were both old fashioned built vessels. The sloop Wasp distinguished herself as is related above.

None of the schooners distinguished themselves except the Fame, Dart and Dolphin and these were all built before the war and were very effective vessels, especially the Fame—the sch's Fame and Dart were both lost, getting ashore, in the Bay of Fundy.

The ship *America*, Alexander, Alfred and John, and the brig *Grand Turk* were all built before the war and were first rate vessels. They had no superiors.

NOTICES OF SOME OF THE BUILDERS OF PRIVATE
ARMED VESSELS.

David Magoun, son of Aaron and Mary (Church) Magoun of Pembroke, Mass. Born in Pembroke, Mass., 1779. Came to Salem in 1797. Married Sarah Hitchens, 1st wife; Mrs. Sally O. Franks, 2d. Died Dec. 7 1850, aged 71.

Retiah Becket, son of William Becket and Mary (Murray) Becket. Born in Salem, 1754. Married Rebecca Swasey. Died May 29, 1831, aged 77.

Samuel Leech, son of Samuel Leech and Sarah (Vickery) Leech. Born June, 1769. Married Lydia Becket. Died Oct. 19, 1846, aged 77 4-12.

Thomas A. Teague, son of John and Martha (Crookshank) Teague. Born 1769. Died Feb., 1822, aged 53.

Thomas Webb, son of John and Hannah (Phelps) Webb. Born July 6, 1776. Married Sarah Kilby. Died May 15, 1815, aged 38 10-12.

John Beadle, son of David and Lydia (Wiley) Beadle. Born Jan. 20, 1782. Married Lucy Robbins, now living (in Turner street,) aged 78.

Thomas Barker, born in Pembroke, Mass., 1780. Married Mary Hitchens. Died in Salem, Nov., 1856, aged 76.

Christopher Turner, born 1767. Married Sally Osborne. Died in Charlestown, Dec. 28, 1812, aged 46. Buried in Salem.—The Salem Cadets attended his funeral.

Enos Briggs, born in Scituate, Mass., 1746. Came to Salem, 1790, moved his family here 1791. Died in Salem, Oct. 10, 1819, aged 73.

William Hulin, son of Edward and Mary (Batton) Hulin. Born 1779. Died at sea, 1815, aged 36.

William Rowell, son of William and Hannah (Becket) Rowell. Born 1780. Married Rebecca Cloutman. Died Feb., 1823, aged 43.

EXTRACTS COPIED, SOME TWOSCORE YEARS AGO, FROM INTERLEAVED ALMANACS OF JAMES JEFFREY, ESQ., THEN IN POSSESSION OF GEORGE CLEVELAND, ESQ., BOTH LATE OF SALEM.

BY GEORGE A. WARD.

A. D. 1727.—This year more persons died suddenly than for many past years.

Jan. 19th.—Mr. Stevenson, Collector, came to Salem.

Apr. 27th.—Went to the Island with Col. Pepperrell.

May 3d.—Mr. Staunton, minister of our lower Parish, died.

“ 9th.—Mr. Francis Clark* died.

“ 19.—Mr. Hayes, dancing master, began his school.

Aug. 14.—News of the death of the King.

“ 24.—Went to Ipswich to proclaim the King, (George II.) J. Wolcott, Edw'd Kitchen, B. Lynde,† M. Sewall, the three Browns‡ and myself supped at Stanford's and came home at 2 o'clock in the morning.

Sept. 4th.—Monday at Winter Island, with Capt. Curwin, Geo. Campbell, Daniel Goff, James King, Amos Wood and Capt. Hicks.

“ 5th.—Officers sworn in at Pratt's tavern.

“ 10th.—Col. Brown's supper at Pratt's. B. Gerrish, Sam'l Barton, Ichabod Plaisted,

*Father of Mrs. Fairfax, who was the mother of Rev'd Bryan, 8th Lord Fairfax.

†Chief Justice afterwards.]

‡An opulent and distinguished family for several generations.

B. Lynde, J. Wolcott, Edw'd Kitchen, Eben'r Bowditch, Ben., Sam., and Wm. Browne, Capt. Beadle, Capt. Dove, Ed. Thompson, Milabell Sewall, John Cabot, John Clark, John Gerrish, jr., John Turner, Edw'd Flint, Wm. and Sam. Pickman* and myself there.

Oct. 25th.—At Pratt's. Theodore Atkinson there from Portsmouth, N. Hampshire

" 29th.—The most terrible Earthquake ever known in New England; the first shock two minutes—several smaller—(continued at times all the week)—all the people sat up most of the night. I was at Plaisted's and Lynde's, with a great many of the town.

Nov. 4th.—There was a meeting at Salem in the upper meetinghouse; the greatest concourse ever seen here at once.

" 8th.—At Mr. Pickman's; Ben. Pickman, young Teague and Benning Wentworth† of N. Hampshire there.

Dec. 21st.—Thursday, a General Fast throughout this Province; by reason of the earthquake.

1730.—Jan'y 11th.—Sunday—Deacon Osgood not at meeting—Nath'l Ropes set the Psalm and Mrs. Ruck read it.

" 30th.—Went to Ipswich with Joshua Ward.‡

Feb. 26th.—Earthquake about ten o'clock at night.

Mar. 3d.—People begin to inoculate for the small pox.

" 14.—Mr. Pratt of the Ship Tavern buried—bearers, Dea. Osgood, Mr. Orne, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Batters, Mr. West and D. Bacon.

May 13th.—Mr. Lynde and Mr. Walcott chosen representatives; at Pratt's, Walcott paid treat, being his first post.

" 20th.—At Pratt's with Capt. Atkinson.

" 27th.—Went to Uncle Gerrish's at Dover; called at Col. Pepperell's* at Piscataqua.

1733.—Jan'y.—This year Gov'r Belcher made Justices in Salem:

New Ones.

Old Ones.

Mr. Fairfax,† Mr. Walcott, Judge Lynde, Capt. Barnard, Col. Barton, Judge Lindall, Mitchell Sewall, Major Plaisted, Major Eppes, Capt. Higginson, James Lindall, B. Lynde, jr.

Feb. 1.—Boniferd Felt's wife brought to bed of three children.

Mar. 1st.—Thursday night the town house illuminated; all the gentlemen of the town there.

June 29th.—Church of England in Salem raised.

" 30th.—Mr. Addington Davenport came from England with orders as a church minister.

1734.—June 17th.—Mr. Fairfax sailed for Virginia.

1735.—Apr. 1.—Judge Plaxton died—buried in the churchyard; the first deposited there.

" 27th.—Rev. Wm. Fisk‡ headed a mob to get the pulpit from Mr. Mather, who was hired to preach.

May 2d.—Col. Wainwright, Col. Berry, Mr. Hale, Mr. Choate, Esquires Dutch and Abbott came here, by government order, to enquire into the disturbance on the Sabbath; a complaint being entered against Mr. Fisk, he was bound over to his good behaviour.

July 11th.—Very full Court. Mr. Fisk petitioned to have his bondsmen released, but the petition was not granted.

Dr. Cutler preached at the Episcopal Church.

*Gov. of Tortola afterwards.

†Gov. of N. Hampshire afterwards.

‡Headed the list of magistrates first appointed under the republican government.

*Afterwards Sir William Pepperell, Baronet.

†Hon. Col. William Fairfax, afterwards of Virginia.

‡ Father of Gen'l John Fisk of revolutionary fame.

Oct. 20th.—Snow four inches deep and very cold.

“ 31st.—Went a sleighing—very good.

1736.—Jan'y 12th.—Mr. Fisk, Kitchen, Orne and I went to the Governor at Boston to desire him not to sign the Report.

“ 16th.—Col. Brown brought home the Report signed by the Governor.

“ 23d.—Madam Sewall (Mitchell's mother) buried first in Boston—brought here at night and buried by the side of her husband.

1744.—Jan. 21.—Joshua Ward married the Widow Hawkes at his farm of Throgmorton Cove, South Fields.

March 23d.—Settled articles for the Fire Club.

May 14th.—Chose Capt. Pickman* representative.

June 3d.—Mr. Cabot preached in the morning and Mr. Burt in the afternoon. An earthquake at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10 A. M. and another in the afternoon, when the people in general screamed and ran out.

“ 5th.—The declaration of war against France proclaimed. Ingersoll enlisted hands for the privateer.

“ 18th.—Fought cocks in the Town House

“ 20th.—Lecture day; another earthquake; people ran out of meeting.

July 16th.—Took down Mr. Brown's† escutcheon from the front of the house.

Sept. 4th.—Training and trooping for the first time, Capt. Jno. Gardner's troops—D. Putnam his Lieutenant.

“ 10.—Went down and catch'd negroes, viz: (Cicero,) Lynde's, (James,) Ropes's, Gerrish's, Orne's, Barton's, Brown's and Fisk's and they were whipped next day.

Oct. 27th.—News that Whitefield had arrived at the Shoals.

*Afterwards the Hon. Col. Benjamin Pickman, Ch. Jus. of Com. Pleas for Essex.

†Father of Col. Wm. Brown, afterwards Governor of Bermudas.

Dec. 1.—Whitefield preached at the New North, Boston.

1745.—March.—Capt's Grant, King, White and Covell* embark'd with the troops bound for Cape Breton.

Oct. 26th.—Mr. Leavitt‡ ordained in Mr. Kitchen's orchard, under an apple tree.

1747.—Feb. 3d.—J. Turner tracked a bear in the North Fields.

“ 4th.—Deborah Thompson carried to the Common with small pox; the next day Wm. Brown's house in Ferry lane was fitted for a Pest house.

“ 11th.—Court of Sessions tried to stop the ferry to Beverly but did not succeed.

1747.—Feb. 22.—Rev. Mr. Sparhawk‡ preached and read an act against swearing.

Mar. 26.—Joshua Ward sent for by the House of Representatives, as a coroner, for serving a writ on Col. Hale, the Sheriff.

Rev. Wm. McGilchrist, minister for St. Peter's Church, came to town.

May 5th.—Sent a letter to my father by Benj. Pickman, Deputy Sheriff.

July 20th.—Went to Boston; dined at Gray's with Derby.

“ 21.—Returned—Derby, Joshua Ward and myself in a single chaise.

“ 22d.—Mrs. Porter, mother of Mrs. Sparhawk, dec'd; she was Major Stephen Sewall's daughter.

“ 26th.—Rev. Mr. Appleton§ of Cambridge preached.

Nov. 17th.—The Post brought news of a

*Part of the successful expedition against Louisburg commanded by Gen'l Pepperell.

‡Rev'd Dudley Leavitt of the Third Church; grandfather of the late D. L. Pickman Esq.

‡Pastor of the First Church and uncle of Sir Wm. Pepperell, Baronet. The loyalist mandamus Counsellor of 1775.

§Son of Hon. John Appleton of Ipswich and father of John Appleton Esq. of Salem.

riot in Boston, about Knolles's pressing men; Col. Pollard, High Sheriff, was wounded.

1749.—Jan. 12th.—The Bill passed for sinking paper currency, the Speaker to prepare it.

Sept.—Mr. Bollan, Collector of the Port of Salem, arrived with the money granted to this Province for the charge it was at for the expedition against Cape Breton.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 21.

John Kenney, 9 mo., 1670.

An Inventory of the estate of John Kenney, taken 18th 8 mo., 1670, by William Flint, Henry Bartholomew, John Pickering, Amount 214 19 0. Allowed at Salem 30 9 mo., 1670.

Frances Axy, 9 mo., 1670.

An Inventory of the estate of James Axy of Lynn, who departed this life the 7th of June, 1669, and taken by John Pearson & Andrew Mansfield as being desired to by Frances Axy, widow of the above, on the 16th of June, 1669, Amount ——. Allowed 29 4 mo., 1669. Frances, relict of ye deceased, appointed Administratrix.

Andrew Mansfield, aged about 49 years, Testifyeth yt In ye tyme of the sickness of James Axy: I being severall tymes with him, one off which tymes was, to my best memory, about three weeks before hee dyed, hee signifyde his desyrd to make his will, his wife being present, & hee began to Declare his intent toward John Pearson, declareing hee would leve him to have the greater Lott, and then his wife spoke as houlding out to my understanding yt she would have him to make noe will, saying can not you confide in me, yt I will perform what yeo mind is, but you will give awaye all. He answered I intend to give nothing

from you whilst you Live except some suche legasye, or Legasyces, shee then replyed hee might if he would make his will, but sayd I will not, you cannot consent to it, and I replyed, it was an Apoynted of God to sett his house in order, and instanted that of Heskiah: sett thy house in order for thou must dye, and did declare to him yt I hoped God would guide him in soe doing: but shee replying, hee alsoe replyed, saying I can dispose of none of my estate, &c.: and being troubled wee then gott him to bed, and I tarrying with him he then tould mee yt it was his mind that Joseph fiske should *should* have the lese of the Land, or, living for foure years after his wife's deasease. This flurder James Axye toulde mee about a year since that concerning his disposition of his land to John Pearson: as was expressed in a will drawne up by brother Cowdreye, that his intent was yt yt his wife should have liberty to sell part or whole for her comfort if need was.

Sworne in Court 30, 4, 69.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN.

Ye word *will* interlined where before it was *deed*, which was a mistake.

The testimony of Joseph Rednap, aged betwixt seventy and eighty years, and Samuel Johnson, aged aboute twenty-seven years, saith yt they Being att ye house of James Axy ten dayes before he dyed, the wife of James Axy asked him before us what he ment by those words which he spake the last night, which was you said I bequeath my spirritt to God and estate to John Pearson, and tooke him by the hand and said, Love, is not your mind as it was formerly agreed between you and I: and he said yes and hesed by my estate to John Pearson I meane he should looke after it for you and further saith not. Sworne by both the parties above named in Court at Salem, 29, 4 mo., 1669, by Mr. Hilliard Veren Cleriq.

The testimony of Samuel Tarbox, aged about twenty-two yeares, beinge in the house of James Axy about two nights before hee dyed and Nathaniell Kirkland and John Pearson

was there the same time, and Nathaniel Kirkland sd to John Pearson I marvell you doo not Ask your maister how hee hath disposed of his goods. And James Axey hearinge their discourse said, Brother Kirkland I will satisfy you concerning it; I had thoughts to have made a will and to have disposed of some things att my death but my wife was not willinge, for I would not crosse her but leave it to her, and further saith not. Sworne by Samuel Tarbox and Nathaniell Kirkland in court to ye above written 29, 4, 69. Attest, Hilliard Veren. only ye words leave it to her ye said Kirkland doe not remember.

Nathaniel Kirkland and Margerye Salmon: Testifyeth that they being with James Axey about two nights before hee dyed wee heard James Axey saye I bequeath my spiritt too the Lord and my estate to John Pearson, this is our best understanding. Sworne in court at Salem 30, 4, 69, by both ye p'ties above mentioned, and Nathaniel Kirkland doe further say ye next morning goody she told him, now Brother Kirkland my husband have interpreted those words which he spake last night, yt is to say the words above written. Attest upon the oath above given.

Ateste, HILLIARD VEREN, Clerke.

Will of Fransses Axey, the widow of James Axey, dated 18 October, 1670; probated 2 10 mo, 1670, mentions to Majr Dennison's eldest son £10, Rev. Saml Whighting, our Pastor, Sam'l Cobit, wife of Daniell Salmon and her daugh., Nathaniell Hanforth and wife, William Clarke, Goodman Armstaye and wife, Deborah Richards, Abbigail Richards, Daniell Richards, Saml Sillsbee a cow which is in the hands of his father, Sarah Rednape, Widow How, Samuel Tarbox, Sarah Rennalls of Salem, Sarah Ricker, the daugh. of Thomas Ricker, to his wife, wife of Chas Gold, Goody Davis widow, Rebeckah Tarbox, wife of Goodman Gowing, Goody Wright, wife of Andrew Mansfield and her daugh. Bethiah. I appoint Joseph Fiske my exsetitor. I appoint Joseph Armstaye,

Nathanell Hanforth, William Clarke, Henery Rhodds to see the will carried out.

An Inventory of the above estate taken October 28th, 1760, by Joseph Armstaye, Nathl Hanforth, William Clarke and Henry Rhodds. Amount 232, 09, 6; allowed 24 9, 1670.

Andrew Mansfield testifyeth that hee being with James Axey in the time of his last sickness, which was to the best of my memory aboute three weekes before his death, his wife and Joseph Fiske being present, his wife oposing the sd James Axey her husband in order to the making of his will, according as in my first testimony which is in Court, the said James Axey before his wife and Joseph Fiske solemnly Left it with mee that if any should aske why hee did not make his will I should tell ym hee would have donn it but his wife would not Let him and I was then to have written it. Sworne in Court at Salem 2 10 mo, 1670,

Atest, HILLIARD VEREN, Cleriq.

The Deposition of Thomas Fiske, aged about 40 years, sayeth that about three years agoe James Axey of lin told him that his perpose was to make Joseph Fiske his heire and said that he had another Servant that lived with him formerly that he had to consider also, but his study was for Joseph and he did intend to put all into his hands, for that he himself was grown aged. Sworn in court 2 10, 70.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN.

Eliz. Ruck, 9th mo., 1670.

An Inventory of the estate of Elizabeth Ruck, who was the wife of Mr. Thomas Ruck, taken by John Deakin and Samuel Pitman.— Amount 224, 14, 5. Allowed 3 10, 70. John Ruck appointed to see that the children were paid.

George Ropes, 9th mo., 1670.

An Inventory of the estate of George Ropes, taken 27 Jan'y, 1670, by Walter Price and Hilliard Veren senr. Amount 166, 03, 08; allowed 3 10, 70. Administration granted to Mary, relict of sd Ropes.

A Division of the estate mentions the Widow Mary, John, the eldest son, to have a double portion; signed by us the children, John Ropps, John Norman, George Ropps. Approved by the court 3 10, 1670.

Job Hilliard, 9th mo., 1670.

An Inventory of the estate of Job Hilliard, taken by Joseph Grafton senr, George Gardner, Thomas Faggett (?) Amount 123, 13, 00. Allowed 3 10, 70. Administration granted to Mary the relict of the dec'd, mentions the several children.

Susannah Pitts, 9th mo., 1670.

The Deposition of Thribrough Gaskell of Marblehead, aged fifty years or thereabouts, sworn, saith, that on the seventh day of this instant month I was sent for to Mrs. Pitts for to help tend her in her sickness, and when I came to her and asked her how she did shee answered mee, that shee was very ill, and sayd what shall I doe, I shall die. I answered shee must doe as Hsekiah did, you must sett youre house in order Mrs. Pitts; her answer was I have not done it, the Lord knowes I have not done it; then I answered her that now shee must doe it, then shee told mee as this, that I doe give the one halfe unto my Daughter, Mary Lattimore, then I said, that what shee had related I would take my oath of, if occation should serve, then shee said that I was not sufficient but should call for more wittness, then I called in one of her neighbors, being Henry Russell, to whome shee said I doe give the one halfe of all that I have to my Husband and the other halfe to my daughter Mary Lattimore, being in perfect sence and memory, and further said that shee had a will at Boston which should not stand but this her last will should stand, moreover she told her daughter Lattimore that shee had many good things in her chest at Boston and that the key of her chest which was in Boston was in the sill of her chest that was in the house and pointed to it with her finger, then shee desired her Husband to Give to George Porter 20 shill-

ings because he was a fatherless child, and to Jaine Williams her greene petticoat; his answer was I will wife; moreover shee desired her daughter Lattimore to give to Richard Hammon her best Apron; then shee called her Husband and told him that hee should receive of the tenant Robert Carver halfe a years rent and should give him a receipt for twelve months; these were the very words that Mrs. Pitts did relate upon her death-bed and further saith not. Dated 28 September, 1668. Taken upon oath 29th 7, 1668.

WILLIAM HATHORNE, Assist.

The Deposition of Henry Russell of Marblehead, aged 28 years, who testifieth in substance to the above and mentions Mrs. Susannah Pitts. Taken upon oath 29 Sept., 1668.

The Deposition of John Deveraux, 50 years, testifyeth in substance to the above; taken upon oath the 29th of September, 1668.

John Sanders, 9th mo., 1670.

Inventory allowed at ye court in Salem 2 10, 1670. John Newell administrator.

Joseph Grafton, 4th mo., 1671.

Inventory of estate presented by Elizabeth his wife 29 4, 1671, who is administratrix of the estate; she is daughter of John Browne.

Richard Dodge, 4th mo., 1671.

Will of Richard Dodge of Beverly, dated 14 9 mo., 1670; mentions wife Edith, sons Richard, Samuell, John, Edward and Joseph, dau. Mary Herrick, dau. Sarah. Edward and Joseph joint executors. Brother William Dodge sen. and Henry Bartholomew overseers. Inventory of estate taken by Thomas Lawthropp and John Rayment 27 June, 1671.

John Thorndike, 4th mo., 1671.

Will of John Thorndike, dated 29 of July, 1668; eldest dau. Anne, son Paul, dau. Mary, youngest dau. Alice and Mary; witnesses John Hill and John Black. Inventory taken by Thos. Lowthropp and Richard Brackenbury and rendered 29 June, 1671.

John Batson, 4th mo., 1671.

Inventory taken 25 April, 1671, and brought into court by Lieut. Ward.

Nathaniel Grafton, 4th mo., 1671.

Inventory of estate of Nathaniel Grafton of Salem, taken 26 4, 1671, by Richard Prince and Henry Bartholomew.

Thomas Browning 4th mo., 1671.

Will of Thomas Browning of Salem, dated 10 Feb., 1670, mentions grandson Thomas Towne, daughters Towne, Simons, Williams and Meachum; appointed his wife executor; witnesses, Joseph Grafton sen. and George Gardner; in court at Salem 28 4, 1671.

Samuel Hart, 4th mo., 1671.

Inventory of estate of Samuel Hart, lately deceased at sea, and appraised by Edmund Bridges and Richard Croade. Edward Flint and Jonathan Hart presented the above inventory and the court granted administration to them 28 4, '71.

Pasca Foot, 4th mo., 1671.

Will of Pasca foot senior of Salem, dated 21 Sept., 1670, mentions son —, daughters Elizabeth, Mary foot, sons Samuel and Pasco, dau. Abigaile foot, in court 30 4, '71.

John Aslet, 4th mo., 1671.

Will of John Aslet, dated 15 3, 1671, mentions son John and daughters; appoints wife Rebecca sole executrix; witnesses Francis Dane and Alexander Sessions; in court 27 4, '71.

Henry Harwood, 9th mo., 1671.

The return about Gov. Harwood's estate upon the difference between Matthew Nixon and Richard ffender.

Whereas we whose names are underwritten and who were desired and empowered by the magistrates of the county court and by the mutual consent of Rich. ffender and Jeremiah Butman, to Audit all accts and settle all differences relating to the estate of Henry Harwood deceased, as in order of Court, dated 4 mo, 1670, doth further appear—

And for the debts that doe at present appeare and now found due to Mathew Nickson £25; signed Edmond Batter, Henry Bartholmew, George Gardner.

George Early, 7th mo., 1671.

A List of George Earlye's Debts—amount 24, 16, 05½.

Thomas Jones, 7th mo., 1671.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Jones of Gloster who died the 15th September, 1671, taken by Robert Ellwell, William Briggs and Thomas Briggs. Amount 147, 05,00; allowed 26 7 mo., '71; mentions the widow is executrix mentioned in his will, which was proved in court at Ipswich the 26 7 mo., '71, also mentions his daughter Winslow of Salisbury.

John Symonds, 9th mo., 1671.

Will of John Symonds dated 16th 6th mo., 1671, proved 19th 7th mo., 1671, mentions Wife Elizabeth Symonds, sons James Symonds and Samuel Symonds, daug Kathren Towne, children of my deceased daughter Ruth Swinnerton, my servant John Pease, sons James and Samuell Symonds exors, mentions friends Major Hathren and Mr. Bartholmew as overseers, witnesses Henry Bartholmew, John Swinnerton and Samuel Ingals.

An Inventory of the estate of John Symonds taken by John Kitchen, John Pickering.—Amount 330, 14, 03; allowed 29 9 mo., 1671, mentions A Apprentice 17 years old who hath 3 years and 9 months and 2 weeks to serve.

Benj. Ager, 9th mo., 1671.

An Inventory of the estate of Benjamin Egar taken 4th 9th mo., 1671, by Walter Price and Henry Bartholmew. Amount 122, 2, 0; allowed 30 9, 1671. Administration granted to the relict of the deceased.

John Mansfield, 9th mo., 1671.

Will of John Mansfield of Lynn, dated 23 September, 1670, probated 30 9 mo., '71; mentions Cozen Daniel Gott, his own wife and his heirs lawfully begotten by his now wife, m

brother Andrew Mansfield and his children, my maide servant Elizabeth Brooks, Rev. Pastor Samuell Whiteing, Mr. Nathaniel Handforth, to my Brother Andrew Mansfield my great Bible after me and my wife's decease; appoint my wife executrix and Nathanili Handford and brother Andrew Mansfield overseers, witnesses, Andrew Mansfield, Mary Mansfield, Robert Potter.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 2d November, 1671, by John Fuller, Robert Potter. Allowed 30 9, '71.

Eleanor Robinson, 9th mo., 1671.

Will of Elinor Robinson, late widow, town of Salem, do dispose and give to Elinor Maskall and my brother's son, Robert Waldron, living in Chatford in Hampshire, near Andover in ould England, to be sent by some trusty master, mentions my friend Henry Bartholmew Executor; dated 5th 5 mo., 1671; witnesses, Richard Prince and Elizabeth Bartholmew; probated 28 9, '71.

Timothy Owen, 9th mo., 1671.

An Inventory of the estate of Timothy Owen taken 28 November, 1671, by Moses Mavericke and Samuel Warde. Amount 3, 13, 3; allowed 30 9, '71. Administration granted to Marshal Henry Skerry.

John Stacy, 4th mo., 1672.

An Inventory of the estate of John Stacy taken 28 of —, 1671, by Moses Mavericke, John Devereaux and Samuel Ward. Amount 144, 09, 00; allowed 27 4 mo., 1672. Administration granted to Elner relict of the deceased.

Thomas Caly, 4th mo., 1672.

Will of Thomas Caulie mentions eldest son Benjamin and two other sons, ment. his father, Benj. Purington, who with Sam'l Ward are to be overseers; men. his wife Mary and she is appointed administratrix. Allowed 28 4, '72.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Cauly taken 27 April, 1672, by Richard Norman and

James Dennes. Am't 139, 17, 6; allowed 28 4, '72.

Theodore Price, 4th mo., 1672.

An Inventory of the estate of Theodore Price taken 10 April, 1672, by Hilliard Veren sen'r and Edmund Batter. Amount 260, 1, 2d; allowed 29 4, 1672. Administration granted to Ann relict of dec'd.

John Wilkins, 4th mo., 1672..

An Inventory of the estate of John Wilkins, late of —, taken the 24th of June, 1672, by Nathaniel Putnam and John Putnam.— Amount 50, 1, 00; administration granted to the relict Mary Wilkins—Eliz., John, Mary and Abigail, children of the deceased, when they are of age.

Wm. Caseley, 4th mo., 1672.

An Inventory of the estate of William Caseley of Cockwood in Devonshire, found on board of Keatch Elizabeth and Hannah, (as we were at sea) who died about seven days before ye arrived in New England. Amount 10, 8, 3; allowed 28 4, '72. Administration granted to Abraham Bartholmew; the inventory was taken by Nathaniel Pickman and Zebulon Hill.

Daniel King, 4th mo., 1672.

Will of Daniel King of Swampscot, dated 7th of 12 mo., 1671, mentions son Daniel King, land bounded by Ralph King and Allen Broades jun'r land. My daughter Hannah Blanee and her husband, daughter Elizabeth Redden and her husband, daughter Sarah Nedem and her husband. I appoint my wife Elizabeth executrix; mentions land bounded by Robert Driver and John Witt and William Traske and Nathaniel Cortland and Theopilus Baylee; witnesses, Richard Walker and William Coweley; proved at Salem 26 4, '72.

An Inventory of the estate of Daniel King of Lynn, who died the 28th of May, 1672, taken by Richard Walker and William Crowley. Amount 1528, 09, 0d; allowed 26 4, '72.

Peter Comeu, 4th mo., 1672.

An Inventory of the estate of Peter Comeu that was left at Jacob Pudeters, taken 14 of February, 1672, by Joseph Grafton and John Grafton. Allowed 28 4, '72. Administration granted to Jacob Pudeater.

Testimony of John Massey, aged 41 years old, taken 28 4 mo., '72.

Testimony of Joseph Fowler, aged 31 years old, taken 28 4 mo., '72.

John Neale, 4th mo., 1672.

Will of John Neale of Salem, dated 3 May, 1672, mentions by the last will of my father-in-law, Francis Lawes, to Mary my beloved wife, daughter Lidda Hart, son Jeremiah Neale, to John, my son Jeremiah's son, when of age, my son John Neale, my two grandchildren, Mary and Sarah Neale, children of my son Jeremiah, when of age, my daughter Lidda's child Lidda, when of age, my son Jonathan Neale, my son Joseph Neale; I appoint my beloved wife and son Jeremiah executors, and my friends Major William Hathorne, Capt. Walter Price and Hilliard Veren sen'r overseers; witnesses are the three last mentioned persons. Allowed 28 4, 1672.

Inventory of John Neale taken 5 4, 1672, by Hilliard Veren and John Pickering. Amount 593, 14, 00.

John Fairfield, 9th mo., 1672.

An Inventory of the estate of John Fairfield of Ipswich, taken 20 of 9 mo., 1672, by Thomas Fiske and Richard Holten. Amount 241, 5, 6; allowed 27 9 mo, 1672. Administration granted to the Sarah relict of the deceased.

Bridgett Verney, 9th mo., 1672.

Will of Bridgett Verney of Gloucester, dated 10 November, 1671, mentions my son Humfrey Verney, £20 to be paid by my son Jeffrey Parsons of this town, my daughter Rachel Vinson, the wife of William Vinson, my son Thomas Verney. I appoint my son-in-law, William Vinson, my executor; witnesses, John Emerson, William Alley, William Vinton and John Row; probated 27 9, 1672.

Bridget Verney, 9th mo., 1672.

An Inventory of the estate of Bridget Verney. Amount £66, 11s, 0d; allowed 27 9, '72.

William Lord, 4th mo., 1673.

The Will of William Lord sen'r of Salem Cutter, dated 2 March, 1668, mentions Abigail my beloved wife, at her death my estate to be divided amongst the children of my kinsman William Lord only, my kinsman's son William and daughter Abigail shall have ye better portion or part, Mrs. Felton widow, Mr. Joseph Grafton sen'r and Richard Prince. I appoint Abigail my wife to be the executrix and Mr. Joseph Grafton and Richard Prince overseers; witnesses, John Rucke, Edward Norrice sen'r and John Cole. Allowed 24 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate; amount 367, 00, 00; allowed 24 4, '73.

John Gillow, 4th mo., 1673.

Will of John Gillow of Lynn, dated 20 of February, 1672, mentions wife —, son John when of age, my daughters Mary and Sarah, my wife is now with child, my eldest son John to have a double portion. I appoint my wife my executrix and I make my friends Robert Burges, Thomas Newhall and Robert Potter overseers; witnesses are the three last mentioned; probated 27 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 19 of March, 1672. Amount 346, 11, 00; allowed 27 4, '73.

Phineas Fiske, 4th mo., 1673.

Will of Phineas Fiske, dated 6 of 1 mo., 1673, mentions son James Fiske; I appoint my two sons John and Thomas Fiske my executors; I give my great Bible to my nephew Samuel Fiske; mentions Mara (torn) Fiske; witnesses, Samuell Fiske and Hannah Walden; probated 26 4, '73.

The Inventory of the estate of Phineas Fiske of Wenham, who died the 7th of 2d mo., 1673, taken by Hultn (?) and Mark Batchelder. Amount £214, 10s, 6d; allowed 26 4, '73.

PHILIP ENGLISH.

PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 32.

This examination took place at the time, but not perhaps at the place appointed. Sarah Good* appears to have been the first examined, to judge by her answers, and the examination seems to have taken place at the *Church in the Village*. The children before mentioned appear to have been present and alleged that she tormented them, and her own husband at last turned against her—admitting substantially that her “bad carriage” to him had made him afraid that she either was a witch, or would be one very quickly; and told Mr. Hathorne, on being questioned as to the truth of this, that he might “say with tears that she is an enemy to all good.” We herewith append this examination, and shall also give in turn those of Tituba and Sarah Osborn, for with this trio of examinations began the judicial investigation of Witchcraft in Salem in

*This Sarah Good is said to have been somewhat unsettled in her mind, and of a gentle, melancholy disposition. *Calef* says, “she had long been counted a melancholy or distracted woman.” Her husband could not manage her, and did not understand her, and evidently thought her under the influence of the Devil. The whole family was poor—half-dependent at least on charity, and had to bear all the ills and evils attendant on such a lot, were most probably crushed by them, and when fretful and irritable at none too good treatment, were suspected and believed to be avenging themselves through Witchcraft upon their neighbors. On her trial some 15 or more witnesses seem to have appeared against her, accusing her of bewitching and destroying cattle, &c. Diligent search was made at the first on her premises for images and the like—that is, the wooden or cloth representations of those she was desirous of afflicting—and which were then called “poppits” —and this search, though unsuccessful, shows perhaps the estimation she was then held in—poor, suspected, despised, and a witch.

1692, and as they form the basis of about all the subsequent examinations, and contain not a little of the philosophy of Witchcraft as expounded by Tituba, who appears to have fashioned and shaped to a degree certainly its imaginative character.

THE EXAMINATION OF SARAH GOOD BEFORE THE WORSHIPFULL ASSTS. JOHN HARTHORN, JONATHAN CURREN. {CURWIN}.

(H) Sarah Good what evil Spirit have you familiarity with.

(S G) none.

(H) Have you made no contract with this devil.

(Good answered no.

(H) why do you hurt these children.

(G) I do not hurt them. I scorn it.

(H) Who doe you imploy then to doe it.

(G.) I imploy nobody.

(H) what creature doe you imploy then.

(G) no creature, but I am falsely accused.

(H) why did you go away muttering from Mr. Parris his house.

(G) I did not mutter but I thanked him for what he gave my child.

(H) have you made no contract with the devil.

(G) no.

(H) desired the children all of them to look upon her and see if this were the person that hurt them, and so they all did looke upon her and said this was one of the persons that did torment them—presently they were all tormented.

(H) Sarah Good doe you not see now what you have done, why doe you not tell us the truth, why doe you thus torment these poor children.

(G) I do not torment them.

(H) who doe you imploy then.

(G) I imploy nobody. I scorn it.

(H) how came they thus tormented.

(G) what doe I know, you bring others here and now you charge me with it.

(H) why who was it.

(G) I do not know, but it was some you

brought into the meeting house with you.

(H) we brought you into the meeting house.

(G) but you brought in two more.

(H) who was it then that tormented the children.

(G) it was osburn.

(H) what is it that you say when you go muttering away from person's houses.

(G) if I must tell I will tell.

(H) do tell us then.

(G) if I must tell I will tell, it is the commandments. I may say my commandments I hope.

(H) what commandment is it.

(G) if I must tell you I will tell, it is a psalm.

(H) what psalm.

(G) after a long time she muttered over some part of a psalm.

(H) who do you serve.

(G) I serve God.

(H) what God do you serve.

(G) the God that made heaven and earth.

though she was not willing to mention the word God. her answers were in a very wicked, spitefull manner; reflecting and retorting against the authority with base and abusive words, and many lies shee was taken in, it was here said that her husband had said that he was afraid that she either was a witch or would be one very quickly; the worsh. Mr. Harthorn asked him his reason why he said so of her, whether he had ever seen anything by her, he answered no, not in this nature, but it was her bad carriage to him, and indeed said he I may say with tears that shee is an enemy to all good.

Salem Village, March the 1st, 1691-2.

Written by Ezekiel Cheevers.

Salem Village, March the 1st, 1691-2.

[Manuscript vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 11, 13.]

[NOTE.—The Ezekiel Cheevers above named was deputed by the Assistants to take down in writing the examination. He did the same in several other cases. The magistrates made also their Records of the Examinations, which, however, appear usually

This whole examination shows that the magistrate and the spectators had prejudged her, and that at last, unsupported, overborne by the array of accusation, prejudice and authority against her, she charged Sarah Osburne with tormenting the children. Tituba in her turn at first denied tormenting them, and after some denial admitted the fact and charged Sarah Good and Sarah Osburne with the same. Sarah Osburne denied the charge, though the children accused her to her face—professed to be grievously tormented by her—that she pinched and hurt them, &c., though at a distance personally from them—and though moreover she was told that Sarah Good, one of her accused companions, had accused her. During her examination, which yet remains in detail on the Records, she denied her guilt. The Confession of *Tituba*,* however, with all its concomitant supernaturalisms and diabolisms, (drawn in part very likely from Indian superstitions,) together with the admission of Sarah Good herself and

to have been only abstracts in general terms. Mr. Cheevers, as also Rev. Mr. Parris, were deputed as Scribes to detail sundry examinations in writing.—This examination took place evidently at the “meeting-house” (church) at the Village (Danvers).]

*It is historically true that Tituba at first denied the charge of witchcraft. She afterwards confessed and was put into prison, where she lay until sold for her fees, (the charges of her maintenance in prison). *Calef* says this of her, page 186-7: “The account she since gives of it [her confession] is, that her master did beat her and otherways abuse her to make her confess and accuse (such as he called) her sister-witches, and that whatever she said by way of confessing or accusing others was the effect of such usage; her master refused to pay her fees unless she would stand to what she had said.”

This statement of *Calef*'s we have never seen contradicted, and it bears terribly against the validity of all the witchcraft evidence. Tituba's confession of guilt was one legal starting point of the affair at Salem, and if her confession was thus obtained from her, was not such or similar means employed to wring confessions from the others? If the *foundation* upon which the *structure* of our Salem Witchcraft rested was unreliable, was the superstructure less so?

the accusations of the children, determined the Magistrates to commit all three of the accused to the County jail, "there appearing in all their examinations sufficient ground to secure them all," and they were accordingly committed.

We herewith give also the Examinations of Tituba and Sarah Osborne, March 1, 1692.

THE EXAMINATION OF TITIBE INDIAN.

(H) Titibe what evil spirit have you familiarity with.

(T) none.

(H) why do you hurt these children.

(T) I do not hurt them.

(H) who is it then.

(T) the devil for ought I know.

(H) Did you never see the devil.

(T) The devil came to me and bid me serve him.

(H) Who have you seen.

(T) Four women sometimes hurt the children.

(H) Who were they.

(T) Goode Osburne and Sarah Good and I do not know who the other were. Sarah Good and Osburne would have me hurt the children but I would not—shee further saith there was a tall man of Boston that shee did see.

(H) when did you see them.

(T) Last night at Boston.

(H) What did they say to you.

(T) they said hurt the children.

(H) and did you hurt them.

(T) no, there is four women and one man, they hurt the children and then they lay all upon me, and tell me if I will not hurt the children they will hurt me.

(H) but did you not hurt them.

(T) Yes, but I will hurt them no more.

(H) are you not sorry that you did hurt them.

(T) Yes.

(H) and why then doe you hurt them.

(T) they say hurt the children or wee will doe worse to you.

(H) what have you seen.

(T) an man come to me and say serve me.

(H) what service.

(T) hurt the children and last night there was an appearance that said kill the children and if I would not go on hurting the children they would do worse to me.

(H) What is this appearance, you see.

(T) sometimes it is like a hog and sometimes like a great dog, this appearance shee saith shee did see 4 times.

(H) what did it say to you.

(T) it and the black dog said serve me but I said I am afraid, he said if I did not he would doe worse to me.

(H) what did you say to it.

(T) I will serve you no longer. then he said he would hurt me and then he looked like a man and threatens to hurt me, shee said that this man had a yellow bird that kept with him and he told me he had more pretty things that he would give me if I would serve him.

(H) what were these pretty things.

(T) he did not show me them.

(H) what also have you seen.

(T) two rats, a red rat and a black rat.

(H) what did they say to you.

(T) they said serve me.

(H) when did you see them.

(T) last night and they said serve me, but I said I would not.

(H) what service.

(T) she said hurt the children.

(H) did you not pinch Elizabeth Hubbard this morning.

(T) the man brought her to me and made me pinch her.

(H) why did you goe to Thomas Putnam last night and hurt his child.

(T) they pull and hall me and make me goe.

(H) and what would they have you do.

Kill her with a knife.

Left. Fuller and others said at this time when the child saw these persons and was tormented by them that shee did complain of a knife, that they would have her cut her head off with a knife.

[H] how did you go.

[T] we ride upon sticks and are there presently.

[H] doe you goe through the trees or over them.

[T] we see nothing but are there presently.

[H] why did you not tell your master.

[T] I was afraid—they said they would cut off my head if I told.

[H] would you not have hurt others if you could.

[T] they said they would hurt others but they could not.

[H] what attendants hath Sarah Good.

[T] a yellow bird and she would have given me one.

[H] what meat did she give it.

[T] it did suck her between her fingers.

[H] did you not hurt Mr. Currin's child.

[T] goode good and goode osburn told that they did hurt Mr. Curren's child and would have had me hurt him too, but I did not.

[H] what hath Sarah Osburn.

[T] yellow dog. She had a thing with a head like a woman, with 2 leggs and wings. Abigaill Williams that lives with her Uncle Parris said that she did see the same creature and it turned into the shape of Goode Osburn.

[H] What else have you seen with Osburn.

[T] another thing, hairy, it goes upright like a man, it hath only 2 leggs.

[H] did you not see Sarah Good upon Elizabeth Hubbard last Saturday.

[T] I did see her set a wolfe upon her to afflict her, the persons with this maid did say that shee did complain of a wolfe.

T. shee further saith that shee saw a cat with good at another time.

[H] what cloathes doth the man go in.

[T] he goes in black cloathes, a tall man with white hair I think.

[H] how doth the woman go.

[T] in a whitewhood and a black whood with a top knot.

[H] doe you see who it is that torments these children now.

[T] yes it is Goode Good ; she hurts them in her own shape.

[H] and who is it that hurts them now.

[T] I am blind now, I cannot see.

Salem Village. March the 1st, 1694.

Written by Ezekiel Cheevers.

Salem Village. March the 1st, 1694.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 40-46.]

SARAH OSBURN HER EXAMINATION.

[H] what evil spirit have you familiarity with.

[O] none.

[H] have you made no contract with the devill.

[O] no I never saw the devill in my life.

[H] why doe you hurt these children.

[O] I doe not hurt them.

[H] why do you imploy them to hurt them.

[O] I imploy nobody.

[H] what familiarity have you with Sarah Good.

[O] none. I have not seen her these 2 yeares.

[H] where did you see her then.

[O] one day a going to town.

[H] what communications had you with her.

[O] I had none, only, how do you doe or so, I did not know her by name.

[H] what did you call her then.

Osburn made a stand at that, at last said she called her Sarah.

[H] Sarah good saith that it was you that hurt the children.

[O] I doe not know that the devill goes about in my likeness to doe any hurt.

Mr. Hathorn desired all thee children to stand up and looke upon her, and see if they did know her, which they all did and every one of them said that this was one of the women that did afflict them, and that they had constantly seen her in the very habit, that shee was now in, theire evidence do stand that shee said this morning that shee was more like to

[Note. This examination also appears to have been conducted altogether by Justice Hathorne. The Mr. Currin mentioned is most probably Curwen the magistrate.]

be bewitched than that she was a witch. Mr. Hathorne asked her what made her say so, she answered that shee was frightened one time in her sleepe and either saw or dreamed that she saw a thing like an indian all black which did pinch her in her neck and pulled her by the back part of her head to the dore of the house.

[H] did you never see anything else.

[O] no.

it was said by some in the meeting-house that shee had said that shee would never be tied to that lying spirit any more.

[H] what lying spirit is this, hath the devil ever deceived you and been false to you.

[O] I do not know the devill I never did see him.

[H] what lying spirit was it then.

[O] it was a voice that I thought I heard.

[H] what did it propound to you.

[O] that I should go no more to meeting, but I said I would and did goe the next Sabbath day.

[H] were you never tempted further.

[O] no.

[H] why did you yield thus far to the devil as never to goe to meeting since.

[O] alas. I have been sick and not able to goe. her husband and others said she had not been at meeting this yeare and two months. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft pp. 32—34.]

On the 2d of March Sarah Osborne was again examined, also Tituba. The latter again confessed and also accused the other two. On the 3d of March, Sarah Osborne and Tituba were again examined and Tituba persisted in her story. On the 5th of March, Sarah Good and Tituba were again examined and Tituba acknowledged the same as she had before, and accused the other two. On the 7th of March, therefore, all three were committed to the jail in Boston.

The examination of March 5th is not on Record, only the fact; but there remains sundry evidence given in at that time by *other* parties against the accused. The delusion was now rapidly spreading. William Allen and John Hughes saw certain supernatural sights

on the 1st March, which they attributed to the prisoners; Wm. Good, the husband of Sarah, testified, that the night before his wife's examination, he found a "wart or tett" upon her body a little below the right shoulder, which he never saw before—which "wart or tett" in those days, let us say, in passing, was a sure sign of suckling* imps and devils. One Sam'l Braybrook swells the testimony still further against Sarah Good at this time. All this came in corroboration of the first accusation, and on the 7th of March the prisoners were committed, as we have said, to the jail in Boston—already prejudged by popular and judicial prejudice.

This appears to be the judicial history of the affair thus far—to judge by the papers yet remaining on the Court Files. Some papers are perhaps missing. It has been said that several accused were committed on the 2d March to prison, though the Court Records, so far as they can be found, do not show it. Up to the 7th March, Sarah Good, Sarah Osborne and Tituba seem to be the only parties accused and arrested. On the 19th March a warrant is issued for Martha Cory,|| wife of Giles Cory

* "Among the Ghastly Instances of the *Success* which those Bloody Witches have had, we have seen even some of their own *Children* so Dedicated unto the Devil, that in their Infancy, it is found, the *Imps* have sucked them and Rendred them Venemous to a Prodigy." Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, page 51. We shall have occasion to refer to this subject of Witch Marks again.

|| "March 9th.—Mr. Lowson (who had been formerly a preacher at Salem Village) came thither, and has since set forth in print an account of what then passed, about which time, as he saith, they complained of goodwife Cory and goodwife Nurse, members of Churches at the Village and at Salem, many others being by that time accused." *Calef*, page 187. "This Mr. Lowson being to preach at the Village in the latter part of March was boldly interrupted while preaching in church and questioned by two or three of the afflicted—Abigail Williams, Mrs. Pope and Ann Putnam—the latter of whom saw "a yellow bird" (one of the Devil's gifts) on his hat as it hung on the pin in the pulpit. *Calef*, page 200.

of Salem Farms, on suspicion of witchcraft, &c., "unto ye bodys" of Ann Putnam, wife of Thomas Putnam, of Salem Village—Anna Putnam, daughter of said Thos. Putnam, Mercy Lewis, singlewoman, living in said Putnam's family—also Abagaile Williams, one of Mr. Parris's family, and Elizabeth Hubbard (Hubbard) Dr. Grigs' maid. Edward Putnam and Henerey Keney entered the complaint, and the warrant was returnable on the 21st, at the house of Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll of Salem Village, &c. There appears to have been one deposition taken April 10 against Martha Cory: and it seems very probable that the excitement was maintained by evidence taken in this way, from time to time, and perhaps in the absence of the prisoners themselves. During all this time, moreover, there were private fasts, and a public fast, and religious consultations in reference to such an alarming state of things, so that the facts and the excitement were wide-spread, seen and known of all men. On the 21st March the Magistrates met at Sa-

It would appear by this that Rev. Mr. L. narrowly escaped being cried out against for Witchcraft.

* Calef says (page 187) that Martha Cory was examined March 21st before the Magistrates of Salem, at the Meeting House at the village, and before a throng of spectators. Rev. Mr. Noyes began with prayer, after which the prisoner was called upon for her answer, *and she desired that she might go to prayer*, and was answered by the Magistrates, that they did not come to hear her pray, but to examine her.—Calef further states that about this time the number of the afflicted were about ten. Calef also states that Elizabeth Parris, daughter of the Minister, Abigail Williams, his niece, and Ann Putnam, "were not only the beginners, but were also the chief in these accusations," (pages 187-8). He means, we presume, the first accusations. Calef gives a somewhat detailed account of Martha Cory's examination (on pages 188-9). He appears to have obtained much of his information from a Rev. Mr. Lowson, who had formerly been a preacher at the Village, and who went thither when the delusion began, and wrote and printed an account of what then passed. We have never seen this account, even if in existence at this present day.

† This meeting of the 21st March was most prob-

lem, and Rev. Mr. Noyes opened with prayer. On the 24th they met at the village, and Rev. Mr. Hale prayed. On the 26th they met again in Salem, and kept the day in fasting and prayer. On the 23d March a warrant (it appears) was issued for the arrest of Rebecca Nurse and Dorcas Good, of the Village, and the former was examined on the 24th—the day when the magistrates met there.—John Proctor was arrested and examined, it appears, on the 11th of April, his wife Elizabeth and Sarah Cloyce having been arrested the 8th, and who were examined, it would appear, on the 11th also. On the 12th April, John Proctor and Elizabeth, his wife, Sarah Cloyce, Rebecca Nurse, Martha Cory, and Dorothy (Dorcas?) Good were sent to Boston jail in charge of Marshal Geo. Herrick. On the 19th of April a warrant was issued for Giles Cory, Mary Warren of Salem Farms, Abigail Hobbs, the daughter of Wm. Hobbs

ably, judging from Calef's account, at the examination of Martha Cory.

† The meeting of March 24 was, to judge by Calef, (page 189) at the examination of Mrs. Nourse.

‡ Sundry new accusers now begin to appear, showing that the circle of these persons was beginning to enlarge.

¶ To show of what public importance this witchcraft matter was deemed, it appears upon the Court Records that on the 11th of April—the day of the examination of these two women,—they were brought before a Council held at Salem, and which was composed of no less personages than Thos. Danforth, Esq., Deputy Governor, and five others of the Council. See Salem Records of witchcraft, pages 108-9. On the 12th April, these women, with Rebecca Nurse, Martha Cory, and Dorothy Good, were sent to the jail in Boston, and probably for security. We thus see the high officers of Massachusetts sanctioning the proceedings against the accused, and considering the crime as of the most weighty and public importance. Calef, (pages 201, 2,) gives some account of this examination before the Magistrates, and it is evident from that account that the Magistrates themselves were already believers in the whole affair—that their reason and wisdom had, for the time, departed.

of Topsfield, and Bridget Bishop, wife of Edward Bishop, of Salem, sawyer. The examination of one or two of these parties seems to have taken place the next day—with subsequent examinations of a few of them in prison. On the 21st April a warrant was issued for the arrest of William Hobs and Deliverance his wife, Nehemiah Abbot, Mary Easty, wife of Isaac Easty, Sarah Wilds, wife of John Wilds, all of Topsfield or Ipswich, Edward Bishop, husbandman, and Sarah his wife, of Salem Village, Mary Black, a negro of Lt. Nath'l Putnams of Salem Village also—and *Mary English*, the wife of Philip English, merchant in Salem. On the 22d there appears to have been an examination of the accused. On the 30th a warrant was issued for the arrest of Philip English of Salem, Sarah Murrell, and Dorcas Hoare of Beverly, widow. Mr. E. was not, however, *arrested* until the 30th May, and on a second and general warrant, as he kept beyond the reach of the Court. The arrests made after the 30th April, though frequent, do not come within the purview of this article.

The usual legal steps taken against the accused seem to have been—accusation or complaint before the Assistants, made often by the friends of the sufferers, who at the first were mere children, or girls—then warrants for arrest—then examinations, which occurred, in some instances several times, and in prison as well as out of it—then commitments—then presentations before the Grand Jury, in which the depositions and written complaints of the sufferers seem to have been taken,—and then indictments by the Jury. Some of the accused have several indictments on the record against them. Sarah Good had no less than *three* indictments found against her. Bridget Bishop had *four*. John *Proctor, a man of stubborn

honesty, (the expression of whose opinions on the subject of witchcraft, and particularly on the conduct of Mary Warren, one of the sufferers, who was a servant at the time in his house, and who turned against him, and seems to have been one cause of his accusation) had no less than *three* indictments found against him. The more firm the accused, the greater the effort made to break him or her down. Whoever opposed the current of fanaticism and credulity, but accumulated and strengthened its tide of evil. The firmness of innocence became the obstinacy of guilt. Insensibility to the torments of the accused became the hard-heartedness of crime. The Devil had indeed come, for all the foundations of reason,

this time the number of the accused and accusers being much increased, was a public examination at Salem. Six of the Magistrates (the Deputy Governor and five others of the Council) being present, there appeared several who complained against others with hideous clamours and screechings. Good-wife Proctor was brought thither, being accused or cried out against; her husband coming to attend and assist her, as there might be need, the accusers cried out of him also, and that with so much earnestness, that he was committed with his wife.—About this time, besides the experiment of the afflicted falling at the sight, &c., they put the accused upon saying the Lord's prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition [*Deliver us from evil*] she expressed it thus (*deliver us from all evil*) this was looked upon as if she prayed against what she was now justly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating those words *hallowed be thy name*, she expressed it, *hollowed be thy name*, this was counted as depraving the words as signifying to make void, and so a curse rather than a prayer, upon the whole it was concluded that she also could not say it, &c."

Repeating the Lord's Prayer *correctly* was a sign of *innocence*—*incorrectly* of *guilt*—in those accused of witchcraft.

It will be seen, and *ought to be noted*, that at the examination of April 11th, various high dignitaries of the *State* were present, who must have sanctioned the proceedings against witchcraft. This proves that the matter was considered of *public*, and not more *local* importance.

* We will give here what *Calef* says of the commitment of Proctor, which was most probably done by the sanction of the *Council*, which met on the 11th April.

Says Calef (pages 201-2) "April the 11th. By

prudence and humanity were removed from their place, and naught remained but their ruins, piled together in chaos and confusion.

As is well known, a Special Court* of Oyer and Terminer was appointed to try the Witches and Wizards, and several were executed by it. It has been stated, (See Washburn's Judicial History of Mass. Chap. 8,) and doubtless with reason, that this Court was illegally appointed—an illegal body—doing terrible mischief.—Under the strong excitement of that day, the Government acted with a precipitate decision, and consequent illegality and injustice.

To return, however, to our immediate subject. Up to the 21st of April some 13 persons had been arrested for this crime, the greater part by far of the accused being residents of Salem Village or Farms. The accusers, once having broken through the bounds of the Village, scoured† the county for victims. Of those

* This Court was composed of seven of the most prominent citizens and lawyers of the Colony, (the Lt. Gov. Stoughton being at its head) who were especially commissioned and constituted a Court to try the witchcraft Cases. They held their first term on the 2d of June, 1692. Mr. Saltonstall—one of the principal citizens so commissioned—declined to act in the matter, thereby proving himself humane and wise. The appointment of this special Court, and the rank of its officers prove the *then* public estimate of the importance of the witchcraft affair at Salem.

† It is very probable that some of the afflicted children were taken into neighboring towns to detect the witches or wizards therein, as those afflicted were supposed to be able to detect the causes of any evil works of witchcraft. We know, historically, that this was the way in which the delusion spread into Andover, and accusations commenced there, and the same may be true of most, if not all of the other towns involved in it. Says *Cotton Mather*, in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," article "Enchantments Encountered," (page 6,) speaking of those afflicted with witchcraft,—“These our poor, afflicted neighbors, quickly after they become *Infected and Infested* with these *Demons*, arrive to a capacity of discerning those which they conceive the *shapes* of their troubles, &c.” These very afflicted

for whom warrants were issued on the 21st., Wm. Hobs of Topsfield or Ipswich seems to have rendered himself obnoxious, in part certainly, for not having attended public religious meetings, for which he excused himself on examination by having “had a distemper that none knows.” He was accused by his own daughter (Abigail) to two persons of going away when there was any reading of the Scriptures in his family, which he denied. It is evident from the questions asked him and answers made by him, that he was, and had been considered as one who “put away God’s ordinances.” Hobbs seems to have stoutly denied his crime, though it is uncertain what finally became of him. His daughter Abigail had been arrested before him (April 19) and had confessed herself a witch on the 20th in Salem Prison—that she had been instrumental in afflicting the accusers—that the Devil in the shape of a man had appeared to her and brought sundry images of the afflicted, made in wood, and like them, and gave her thorns, and bid her prick them into those Images, which she did accordingly into each of them, and then the Devil told her they were afflicted, which accordingly they were, and cried out they were hurt by Abigail Hobbs. Such was the tale of this Abigail Hobbs, ere her father was arrested, and all she confessed then or after was solemnly believed. On her subsequent examination, May 12, she accused the Rev. Mr. Burroughs, and was solemnly asked by the Magistrates, among other questions, “Have any vessels been cast away by you?” to which she answered, “I do not know.” She appears to have been an unruly, rude, disobedient, strange acting girl, who on being asked by one of her young acquaintance, “how she durst lie out a

persons, however, soon became capable of discerning the shapes of all those who troubled others through Witchcraft, and were sent for, far and near, to discover those who were supposed to be the causes of various troubles and mischiefs in various families out of Salem. By this way the illusion or delusion soon spread beyond the limits of Salem.

nights in ye woods alone?" told her, "she was not afraid of anything, for she had sold herself boddy and soule to ye old boy." (See Records of Salem Witchcraft.)

Whether Wm. Hobbs maintained his innocence to the last, is not now traceable. His wife Deliverance at first stood firm in asserting her innocence, but finally gave way, as had her daughter before her, and so, by confession, escaped death; though the daughter was condemned, but not executed. On the 22d April, Deliverance was examined at Salem Village, and, after asserting her innocence awhile, accused Sarah Wilds, (who had been arrested with her) Mercy Lewis, and Sarah Osborn (one of the three arrested 29 Feb'y.) At her examination in prison, she accused several of those already arrested, and also the Rev. Mr. Burroughs. She acknowledged herself to be "a *covenant witch"—that she was warned to

a witch meeting the morning before—stated who were there, and that Mr. Burroughs was among them and officiated as their Preacher—that he prest them to bewitch all in the Village, telling them that they should do it gradually and not all at once, assuring them they should prevail—that he administered the Sacrament unto them at the same time, with Red Bread and Red Wine like Blood—that they sat seemingly at a table—and that a man in a long crowned White Hat (the Devil) sat next the Minister—that the meeting was held in the pasture by Mr. Parris's House—that Goody (Sarah) Wilds gave her notice of this meeting—and that Prætor and his wife, Goody Nurse, Giles Coty and his wife, Goody Bishop, alias Oliver, were present—all partaking of the Sacrament, and some of them distributing the bread and wine.

This terrible confession of Mrs. Hobbs—implicating as it did various parties already accused, who were supposed to be able, *though already in Prison*, to send their apparitions* or

* This term "Covenant Witch, or Wizard," was of fearful import in the days of 1692. *Calef*, in his "More Wonders of the Invisible World," says (page 67) that this is "the only witch now enquired after"—and describes as "one said to become so by making an' explicit covenant with the Devil, i. e., the Devil appearing to them and making a covenant mutually, promising each to other, testified by their signing his book, a material book, which he is said to keep, and that thereby they are intitled to a power, not only to afflict others, but such as is truly exorbitant, &c."—pp. 67-8. The Rev. Mr. Hale evidently believed in such a description of witches after 1692. *Calef* says that such an explicit covenant was considered essential "to compleat a witch" at that day, (page 68.) He could find no warrant for such a witch in Scripture. It was then, moreover believed that "Covenant" witches had power to *commission the Devil* to perpetrate mischief against individuals and the community. See *Calef*, page 313.

Cotton Mather, in his "Enchantments encountered," evidently refers to this description of witches, as well as to the grand plot they contemplated, when he says, (page 7) after speaking of the confessions of the accused, that it is agreed, "That these witches have driven a Trade of commissioning their confederate spirits to do all all sorts of mischiefs to their neighbors, whereupon there have ensued such

mischievous consequences upon the Bodies and Estate of the Neighborhood as could not otherwise be accounted for; yea, that at prodigious *witch meetings* the wretches have proceeded so far as to concert and consult the methods of rooting out the Christian Religion from this Country and setting up instead of it, perhaps, a more gross *Diabolism* than ever the world saw before."

In this extract we have additional proof as to the then estimation and importance of the Salem Witchcraft in the belief of prominent men in the Colony.

* A quotation from Cotton Mather—"Wonders of Invisible World," (pages 49-50-51)—will perhaps explain this "apparition" matter better than any comments of our own.—"The things confessed by *witches* and the things endured by *others*, laid together, amount unto this account of our affliction: The Devil, exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small *Black man*, has decoyed a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious creatures to list themselves in his horrid Service by entering their names in a *Book* by him tended unto them. These *Witches*, whereof above a Score have now confessed and shewn their *Deeds*, and some are now tormented by the Devils for confessing, have met in Hellish *Rendezvous*, wherein the Confessors do say, they

shapes to such meetings and to torment the afflicted ones, only of course added horror and indignation to the persecution, the more especially as a reputed Minister of Christ was now revealed as the leader and the preacher of this unholy league—caught too with his unallowed companions in the very act of partaking of the awful Sacrament of Hell—the very Devil himself sitting with and by them the while. Here too was this Burroughs, the wolf of wolves in sheep's clothing, instigating his abominable audience to destroy Salem Village—body and soul—and that not at once, but gradually—slyly—secretly—surely—and assuring them they should prevail! Such a confession as this must have stirred up the indignation of our fathers from the very depths, for it was believed, and that earnestly, seriously, solemnly. There is a deposition of one witness remaining on the Court Records, taken very probably after this confession of Mrs. Hobbs, stating that there were some three hundred or more witches in the country, and that their object was the destruction of Salem Village. The horror, alarm and rage which must have then followed such confessions can only indeed be *imagined* by those who know the religious tendencies and convictions of the Puritans at that day. Such confessions, moreover, were supposed to reveal the secret of the Devil's campaign in the war—his plan of attack—and consequently Salem Village became the very point and centre of the battle. *There* the Devil and his emissaries were perhaps to wage their most furious fight—that was the place to

have had their Diabolical Sacraments, imitating the *Baptism* and the Supper of our Lord. In these Hellish Meetings these Monsters have associated themselves to do no less a thing than to *destroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in these parts of the World*; and in order hereunto, First, they each of them have their *Spectres*, or Devils, Commissioned by them, and representing of them, to be the Engines of their Malice. By these wicked *Spectres* they seize poor people about the Country with various and bloody *torments*; and of those evidently preternatural torments there are some who have dy'd. They

strengthen against him, and his followers there as elsewhere must be exterminated at all hazards.

It is in this light, that Salem Village, and the witchcraft there, excited such a portentous interest in the religious fancies, imaginations and beliefs of our fathers. It accounts in good part for the frenzy and madness which centred there, and which scoured the land to secure the hellish conspirators against its safety and peace, and the safety in fact of the Colony. The accused of witchcraft had generally indeed many crimes to answer for, but they were often individual ones, but the destruction of the village was a systematic plot and plan—the beginning only of the destruction of the State—a grand conspiracy against man and God—with its agents and ramifications throughout the County, if not the whole State. Silence, darkness, mystery, diabolism, all brooded over it, and lent

have bewitched some, even so far as to make them *self destroyers*; and others are in many Towns here and there languishing under their *Evil Hands*. The People thus afflicted are miserably scratched and bitten, so that these marks are most *visible* to all the World, but the causes utterly *invisible*; and the same *invisible* Furies do most visibly stick *pins* into the bodies of the afflicted and *scald* them and hideously distort and disjoint all their members, besides a thousand other sorts of plagues beyond those of any natural diseases which they give unto them. Yea, they sometimes drag the poor people out of their chambers and carry them over *Trees and Hills*, for diverse miles together. A large part of the persons tortured by these diabolical *Spectres* are horribly tempted by them, sometimes by fair promises and sometimes by hard threatenings, but always with felt miseries, to Sign the *Devil's Laws* in a Spectral *Book* laid before them; which two or three of these poor sufferers, being by their tiresome sufferings overcome to do, they have been immediately released from all their miseries and they appeared in *Spectre* then to torture those that were before their fellow sufferers. The Witches, which by their Covenant with the Devil are become owners of *Spectres*, are oftentimes by their own *Spectres* required and compelled to give their consent for the molestation of some which they had no mind otherwise to fall upon, and cruel depredations are then made upon the vil-

their aid. The Devil was abroad in person to lend it his sanction and assistance. His Sacrament* was administered to his followers in that very village, in all the solemnity of iniquity, as the final stimulant and consolation, perhaps, for the hour of battle. That hour indeed was upon our fathers, and they aroused of a sud-

den to the terrible strength of the enemy—their near presence—and their own weakness and wants. These things have conspired to give the Village a name and reputation as enduring as History, and as unenviable as enduring. Still, the blame or the stain does not belong to Salem entirely. The delusion* was a wide spread

vinage. In the prosecution of these *Witchcrafts*, among a thousand other unaccountable things, the *Spectres* have an odd faculty of cloathing the most substantial and corporeal instruments of torture with *invisibilty*, while the wounds thereby given have been the most palpable things in the world," &c.

Those who read Mather should also read Calef, who disposes of some of these "unaccountable" cases, which Mather describes, in a totally different manner. Calef states, that in some cases where the afflicted of witchcraft were bitten, *they were seen to bite themselves* and could not have been bitten at times by the accused—as in the instance where the accused *had not a tooth in his head* wherewith to bite. See Calef, pages 312-3. That some of the Witchcraft Supernaturalism was *deception*, may appear before we conclude our article. Calef came to the conclusion that Witchcraft was "a work of the flesh."

* "March 31, 1692, was set apart as a day of solemn humiliation at Salem, upon the account of this business, (witchcraft) on which day Abigail Williams said that she saw a great number of persons in the village at the administration of a mock sacrament, where they had bread as read (red) as raw flesh, and read (red) drink." Calef, page 200. This Sacrament was the Devil's, and as Abigail Williams was one of those gifted with *spectral* sight, her story was undoubtedly and implicitly believed. This seems to be the commencement of the accusations of attending the Devil's Church.

It seems most probable that Abigail Williams could not have originated this story, as she was a girl of only 11 years of age. She now appears to be revealing (in part, at least,) the *plot*, which Cotton Mather states was foretold some forty years before against the Church. Did not this young girl hear conversations in Rev. Mr. Parris's family, (of which she was a member) and perhaps between some of his brother ministers and himself as to the *establishment of the Devil's Church*, and thus catch at and shape her charges accordingly? Sundry of those accused in 1692 accused themselves of joining the Devil's church, but then we know historically, that

confessions were *extorted* from the accused of that day by persistent importunities, by threatenings, and even *punishments*, and we also know that some of the clergy were first and foremost in these efforts to extort confessions. These stories of the Devil's church—its forms, ceremonies and sacraments—seem like the imaginations of *clerical* minds—their ideas shining through the confessions of others. Unconsciously, perhaps, they (some of the clergy) moulded the persecution into a religious shape and form, and then quoted the works of their own minds (the confessions of guilt they zealously elicited) as *proof* of the sin and plot and shame which had been foretold, or which they themselves dreaded! Was not Cotton Mather one of this class, and did not he and others mould the illusion of 1692, unconsciously yet fanatically, into the shape acceptable to their own imaginations and credulities?

* We apply the term *delusion* to the tragedy of 1692, since we find no *proof* of the crime of those accused of witchcraft at that day. Those then accused were neither professed witches nor wizards, as the Indian Powaws for instance—never exhibited previously any *proofs* of any mysterious occult power—were many of them blameless members of churches, or of good repute and conversation. The Jewish law which condemned witches and wizards to death, perhaps had especial reference to *notorious* witches and wizards—those who *practised* witchcraft as a profession, and were so known and reputed. The Biblical witch or wizard was one who forsook the true God to worship false Gods or the Devil, and in consideration of some power or benefit to be gained from such sources, and whose idolatrous *example* was therefore deadly and pernicious. The base of their crime was Idolatry—a heinous offence for the Israelites, to whom the true God was revealed, and whose chosen people they were. What *power* the Jewish witches or wizards received from the false Gods or Devil they worshipped is a difficult question to answer—perhaps, however, the same kind of power as that recorded of the Egyptian Magicians who withstood Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, as mentioned in

one, and the burden of it must be borne by the general opinion of men at that day. Salem Village was indeed the centre in 1692, but the circumference could alone be found on the borders of the Colony, yea, even the borders of New England.

The name of Nehemiah Abbot, jr., weaver, of Topsfield or Ipswich, who was also to be arrested on the 21st, does not appear on the Records, save in the warrant. Whether some mistake was made in the man, or he was released, or whatever be the cause of his non-appearance, we are ignorant. The next person named in the warrant of that day, Mary Easty, wife of Isaac Easty of Topsfield, [or Ipswich] was arrested and examined at a Court at Salem Village, April 22, before Judges Hathorne and Curwin. She behaved with great dignity and firmness at this examination and denied her guilt. Her firmness, her good character, and perhaps the recommendations of her neighbors, evidently caused the magistrates to hesitate in her case, since on the 20th of May she was set at liberty, all her accusers clearing her, save Mercy Lewis, who, moreover, was immediately so afflicted and tormented by Mary Easty for the space of two days and a night, that she had to be arrested again; nor was Mercy L. quiet until she understood Mrs. Easty was put in irons! Mary E. was therefore again examined May 23d, and at this second examination, which took place at the village, Mercy Lewis, Exodus. Whether that power, however, was diabolical, or only apparently superhuman, is a question involving all the capabilities of human wiles and the spiritual power of false Gods or the Devil. It is, however, evident that the sufferers of 1692 were not *professed* witches or wizards, and that the greater part certainly were not in the Jewish sense witches or wizards at all—not being forsakers of God, but on the contrary, calling Him to witness their innocence—not a few of them even being church communicants! They were condemned moreover on *spectral* testimony and by the *belief* in their guilt, rather than on any *visible proof* of their being engaged in witchcraft. They were, therefore, convicted of an *imaginary* crime under the *belief* (which was an illusion or delusion) that they were really guilty.

Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam, Mary Warren and Abigail Williams were choked in such a grievous manner when Mary Easty came in “that the honred magistrats could not proceed to her examination untill they desired mr. haile (Rev. Mr. Hale) to go to prayer, and in prayer time and sumtime after it they remaned in this sad condition of being almost choked to death, and when they were abul again to speak they all with one Consent Charged her that she did them that mischief.” (Records Salem Witchcraft, page 342.) That same day Mary E. was sent for security to Boston jail. A Sam. Smith of Boxford also appeared against her, probably at a subsequent date (by deposition) and with some fanciful evidence. Margaret Redington, aged about 70, also told a marvellous and ridiculous tale of Mrs. E.’s causing her to fall “Into a most sollom condision”* by her magic. Such evidence, in such a day, sealed the fate of Mary Easty, and thereupon she was condemned and executed.

While arraigned, Mary Eastey† and Sarah

* From the not very honorable mention of this old woman, as gathered from what is said of and about her by Ephraim Wildes, she may have been put into this “most sollom condision” by having been detected and exposed by Mrs. Eastey in some gossiping lie.

† According to *Calef*, Mary Easty was condemned on the 9th of September, together with Martha Cory of Salem Village, Alice Parker and Ann Pudeator of Salem [proper], Dorcas Hoare of Beverly and Mary Bradberry of Salisbury:—and that she was executed on the 22d of September, in company with Martha Cory, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator and four others, (page 225). *Calef* devotes a page or two to her, (226–7–8) showing how eminently Christian she was. After her execution (with the other seven) the Rev. Mr. Noyes of Salem, blinded with the delusion then prevalent, turning to the bodies, said, “what a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of Hell hanging there.” *Calef*, (page 258). He (Noyes) himself was evidently impressed with the idea that these witches were aiding the *plot* for the overthrow of the New England Church, and laboring under the fanaticism of that day, stigmatized them in such language.

Cloyce, (her sister)—also a prisoner for witchcraft—humbly petitioned the Court, that, as they were not able to plead their own cause, and as *Counsel was not allowed to those in their condition*, the Judges would act as Counsel for them when they stood in need of Counsel; that as they themselves were not conscious of any guilt as to the crime accused, or any other scandalous evil or miscarriage inconsistent with Christianity, those who had known them the longest and best—being persons of good report—might be suffered to testify upon oath what they knew concerning each of them, viz:—Mr. Capen the Pastor and those of the Town and Church of Topsfield, “who are ready to say something which we hope may be looked upon as very considerable in this matter”—and lastly, “that the testimony of witches, or such as are affected, as is supposed, by witches, may not be improved to condemn us without other Legal evidence concurring. We hope the honoured Court and Jury will be soe tender of the lives of such as we are who have for many yeares lived under the unblemished reputation of Christianity as not to condemne them without a fayre and equall hearing of what may be sayd for us as well as against us.” Unfortunately for Mary Easty, the Court, like the Public, were beyond the Law and the Evidence. Judges and juries were alike engulfed in the sea of madness—saw in the prisoners only the destroyers of the Church and State—and the petition alone was heard by the Judge of Judges, and the sufferer granted in his own time the perfect liberty of the children of God.

RECORDS OF OVERSEERS OF THE POOR
OF THE OLD TOWN OF DANVERS,
FOR THE YEARS 1767 AND 1768, BY
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD,
CAPT. ELISHA FLINT, WITH NOTES.

BY S. P. FOWLER.

Danvers, March ye 9th, 1767. A Book of Records.

Notice is hereby Given to the Inhabbataunce

of Danvers, that the Overseers* will meeete at

* The overseers of the poor chosen in 1767 were Capt. Elisha Flint, Gideon Putnam and Sam'l Holten. The town voted at their annual meeting in March to give their overseers 40 shillings each for their services during the year. But at the adjournment of the meeting it was voted to reconsider the vote of giving ye overseers a reward for their services. The maintenance of the poor at the public charge very early engaged the attention of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Their greatest difficulty in those days, as at the present time, was the settlement and disposal of such poor persons as did not belong in the towns where they received aid. The perplexity arising from determining the settlement of paupers was felt in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay as early as 1639, for we find by their records of June 6 for that year the following:—“It is ordered that the Court, or any two magistrates out of Court, shall have power to determine all differences about a lawful settling and providing for poor persons and shall have power to dispose of all unsettled persons into such townes as they shall judge to bee most fitt for the maintenance of such persons and families and the most ease of the community.” The power thus given to fix the residence of paupers appears to have given great dissatisfaction and they were constantly petitioning the Court for relief. Accordingly in June 15, 1645, the Court appointed “Mr. Shepheard, John Johnson and Capt. Wiggin a committee to consider of ye lawe for ye disposing of inmates and settling inpotent aged persons or vagrants and either to rectifye it where it is defective, or draw up and prefer a bill yt may ansyer ye expectation of each towne and ye whole country, yt every toune may know wt may be their owne burdens and prevent multiplying of petitions to ye Courte hereabouts and present their thoughts herein to this house.” There does not appear to have been any special provision made by the Colony for the relief of poor strangers or paupers and consequently the several towns were continually striving with each other to relieve themselves of their support. Some of them failing to do this, they petitioned the Court to grant them permission to prevent strangers from residing in town and thus gaining a settlement. The Court passed on the 11th of May, 1695, a law whereby the several towns could order any stranger coming within their limits to reside to leave immediately. Should he refuse to do so, the Selectmen could petition the County Court for relief and it became their duty to investigate the case and determine the settlement of the pauper.—

the House of Saml Endicott, Inholder in Danvers, on monday ye thirteenth day of April at two o'clock after Noon, to put out the poor to Such persons as will tak and keep them the Cheapest, or as the Overseers and they Can agree.

Danvers, March ye 30, 1760.

By order of the Overseers, ELISHA FLINT.

An account of the poor that was put out April ye 13th, 1767, and the places where and with what the persons were to have For Keeping them:—

Elizabeth Moar, a poor child, to Israel Che-

Should it be found that his residence could not be settled in any town in the County, the County Court could give him a settlement in any town they saw fit to designate, and the town thus providing was reimbursed in their expenses by the County. Should the town neglect to warn the stranger to depart within three months from the time he became a resident, or to petition the County Court for relief, the pauper gained a settlement in the town where he was residing. This appears to be the first law passed in Massachusetts to relieve the town from foreign paupers. This law or others similar to it was in force for many years in the State and were known as the warning-out laws.

We have before us an order served upon an inhabitant of Danvers more than sixty years ago to quit the town. This person, however, remained here long enough to acquire an estate of twenty thousand dollars, become one of the Selectmen of the town, and obtained other distinguished honors.

It was the duty of householders to inform the Selectmen if strangers came to reside with them, to enable the board, if they saw fit, to order them to quit the town.

The following is an order of notice sent to the Selectmen with the endorsement "Ezra Putnam's Letter"—
—Warned out Isaac Peabody and wife, 1763:—
To the Selectmen of Danvers:—

Gentlemen:—these are to inform you that I have taken into my House Isaac Peabody and Sarah Peabody, his Wife, Molley, Sarah, Isaac, Huldah and Rachel, their Children; they came from Middleton the 22d of December, 1768; their Surcumstances very Low in ye World.

EZRA PUTNAM.

December ye 20th, 1763.

ver for one year to Ceep from the 13th of April, 1767, at £6, 18, 8.

Sam'l Boyce, one of ye Poor, to John Waters one year at £2, 0, 0.

Hannah Haibord, one of ye Poor, to John Waters from ye 20th of March, 1767, to next March, at £6, 13, 4.

Margaret Royal, one of ye Poor, to Sam' Putnam one year to Ceep from ye 13th of April, 1767, at £5, 10, 11.

Sarah Croel, a poor child, to Johathan Tarbell for one year from ye 13th of April, 1767, at £6, 11, 9.

Jean Woicat, one of ye Poor, to Ezra Batchelder one year to Ceep from April 13th, 1767, at £5, 10, 11.

Bridget Weabe, one of ye Poor, to Elisha Flint to Ceep one year from ye 13th of April, 1767, at £6, 18, 8.

Thomas Neallson, one of ye Poor, to Elisha Flint to Ceep one year from ye 2d day of June, 1767, at £8, 8, 0.

Isaac Pecas, one of ye Poor, to David Putnam to Ceep one year from ye 2d day of June, 1767, at £6, 18, 8.

Joseph Vearey, one of ye Poor, to Elisha Flint to Ceep one year from 2d day of June, 1767, at £6, 18, 8.

At a meeting of the Overseers, April ye 19th, 1767, concluded to use ye followiug form in letting out ye Poor:—

Agreed with A. B.—For the said A. B. to take and keep C. D. at Three Shillings per week £ Money, from the 2d day of June Next to the 18th day of April, 1768, he Being one of the Poor of the said Town of Danvers, with all the necessaries of Life if he Live so Long, Except Clothing and Extraordinary Sickness, or the want of a Doctor, which the Town will Provide if timely Notified—And said A. B. is to have the Improvement of said poor C. D.'s bed for him to Lay upon, and said A. B. is to return Said bed and Clothing to the Town

again at the End of Said Term, Be he alive or be he Dead—Agreed upon and Consented By us the Subscribers—

A Meeting of the Overseers was holden at the House of Sam'l Endicots, April ye 20th, to put out ye Poor of Danvers under the following Notice:—

Notice is hear By Given to the Inhabitance of Danvers, that the Overseers will meet at the House of Sam'l Endicots on Monday ye 20th of April at five o'clock, to put out William Henfield and his wife to that Person that will take them and keep them the Cheapest.

Danvers, April 17th, 1767.

By order of ye Overseers,

ELISHA FLINT.

Danvers, April 20th.—At a meeting of the Overseers to put out Wm. Henfield and his wife it was omitted at that time. Agreed to give Caleb Wallis and his wife three Pestereens pr week for their Support till further order.

Agreed to Give the wido Abigall Cutler 2 shil. pr week for Keeping Abigall Marsh till further orders.

Agreed to do Something to Thomas Nelson's Clothes—And to git an under Jacket and aporn and a pare of stockings for Isaac Peeas.

Agreed with the Rev. Peter Clark to hire his House, which Paul Hayward livid in, and a garden spot at £2, 0, 0 Pr year.

An Inventory of what the Poor of the Town has this present year, March ye 2d, 1767, and Taken by the Overseers of the Poor of Danvers:—

Sarah Veary, aged 75 years, hath one good feather Bed, one Bolster, one Piller, one Piller Case, one Coverlead, one Blancoat and Sheet and very Comfortably on it for wairing apparil.

Thomas Nelson, aged 98 years, no Bed or Bedding and Comfortably of for Clothes, Except Shoes.

Joseph Veary, aged 66 years, No Bed or

Bedding, but Comfortably of for Clothes Except Britches and Shoes.

Elizabeth Mooer, aged 2 years.

Samuel Boyes, aged 47 years, hath an under Bed, fether Bed and 2 Rugs.

Hannah Harberd, aged 87 years, hatha good feather bed and other household Stuf and well Clothed.

Margaret Royal, aged 65 years.

Jean Waiat.

Briget Weabe, aged 98 years.

Isaac Peeas, aged 69 years, with a Bed and Bedding.

Joseph Peeas at Salem.

William Henfield, aged 80 years, and his wife, aged 68 years, hath Beds. Bedding. Clothing and household Goods and weiring apparil.

Caleb Wolles, aged 64 years, and his wife, aged 68 years, hath No Bed, nor Bed Clothes and very Poorly on't for Clothing.

Abigail Marsh, aged 87 years, hath a fether Bed, Bolster and Rug and Clothing.

John Croel.

Abigall Wooding.

Hannah Croel.

Ruth Tarbox, aged 79 years.

Martha Magery.

Abigall Endicot.

Mary Holman.*

At a meeting of ye Board of Overseers,

*Among the twenty-one paupers mentioned by the Overseers in 1767 we notice two, Thomas Nelson and Bridget Webb, who were 98 years of age. Hannah Harberd and Abigail Marsh; both of them 87 each. William Henfield 80, Ruth Tarbox 79, Sarah Very 75, Isaac Peease 68. The average of these individuals is upwards of 84 years. The great age of these persons would be surprising to many, but not so to Overseers of the poor, to whom it is well known that a simple diet and regular habits tend to promote longevity. Of the eighteen persons now sud ported by the town of Dauvers, one is 87, one is 86, one is 85 and one 70 years of age.

May 1st, 1767, John Shelton presented his account as follows:—

John Shelton's account of what he has Done for his Mother Magery, from the first of March to the 11th of April, 1767:—

To 2 galons New Eng. Rum	32 shil.
& 1 galon West End. Rum at	28 shil.
1 quart of West inde.	7 shil. 6d.
& 2 quarts of New Rum	7 shil. 6d.
to bisket 5 shil.—to plums 2 shil. 5d.—to 2 ounces of tea 4 shil. 9d.—for bisket agia 1 shil. 6d.—to 6 ounces of tea 14 shil. 3d.—to 7 pounds of Shugar more 22 shil. 6d.—to oat-meal 5 shil.—to Bisket again 2 shil. 6d.—to 9 pounds of Beef 16 shil. 6d.—to 7½ lbs. Beef 15 shil.	

Jonathan Putney jun. presented his bill for supplies furnished Samuel Boye's one of the poor of Danvers.

Danvers, April 30th, 1767.

For Cloth for a pair of briches,	£1 11 6d
and makeing and Lying and But-	
tons and mohair,	1 7 0
28th Day, to 2 quarts of west inge	
Rum,	0 17 0
May the 7th, 2 quarts of west inge	
Rum,	0 15 0
do pound of Sugar,	0 4 0
for a pair of Shoes,	2 10 0
for Cloth, Buttons and making a jacket	2 5 6
and for nursing,	2 5 0

£11 15 0

Nursing cut down and not allowed, 2 5 0

£9 10 0

1767—To the Town of Danvers,	Dr.
In ye month of Jan'y delivered to William Newman's wife 12 qts. of milk, 12 shil.,	£0 12 0
In ye month of April 30 qts ditto 30 shil.,	1 10 0

In ye month of May 23 qts of ditto 23 shil.,	1 3 0
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Old Tenor,	£ 3 5 0
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Lawful money,	8 8
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RICHARD WHITTREDGE JUN.

At a meeting of the Overseers June 1st, 1767, Gave an order to Caleb Wallis for ten shillings and ninepence hapeny for he and his wife's support last past, £0 10 9½

Gave an order to Cornelius Tarbell for keeping Margaret Royal two weeks and a half, that is from the 26th of March to ye 13th of April, 1767, £0 6 8

Gave an order to Gideon Putnam, it being as a gift to the French Neutrals, to send them of, or support them upon their passage,*

Gave an order to Richard Tuckberry for one pound thirteen shillings and four pence, it Being for supporting Hannah Harbord, one of

* One thousand of the French Neutrals, who were expelled from Acadia in 1755, came to Massachusetts and became a public charge and were distributed among the several towns in the Commonwealth, according to their population and valuation. They were placed under the care of the Selectmen and Overseers of the poor and the expense of their subsistence was reimbursed from the Province treasury. Among their greatest privations was the absence of their priests and their usual mode of worship. They were permitted to meet for this purpose in private houses, but were not allowed the exercise of public worship by Roman Catholic Priests: There was but one or two families of the French neutrals in Danvers, and we have ben unable to ascertain their names or residences Whether they were related to Evangeline or her lover Gabriel tradition does not inform us. During the year 1767 the town gave these injured and unfortunate people 9 pounds to support them on their passage to Martinico.

the Poor of said Town, Three
Months Last Past, £11 13 4

This Colem cast up amounts to £11 13 94

Danvers, November ye 10th, 1767.—Publick Notice Being Given for selling Sundery Things which was Elizabeth Moors, one of the Poor of said Town, deceast, at the Houses of Mr. Sam'l Endicotts—where a Red Cloke was Struck off at Six Shillings and ten Pence; a Poplin Gound at Eleven Shillings—a Riding Hood at four shillings and three pence—a Red Cote at Seven shillings and sixpence—a Hood at one Shilling and five pence—a Platter at one Shilling and Seven pence—a pair of Rufels and caps at Eleven pence—a pair of Stockings and other Small things at one Shilling and sixpence—a Chest at three Shillings—The hole amounting to £1, 18, 0.

Cr. to the Town for the Poplin Gound,
which was Struck of to me, Elisha Flint,
for £0, 11, 0.

The Rest Remaining in Gideon
Putnam's hands, which is £1, 07, 0.

January ye 4th, 1768.—at a meeting of ye Overseers—Gave an order to Gideon Putnam upon the Treasurer For thirteen pound two shillings and ten pence, For Cash which he Dis Busted for Clothing and Other Neassaries of Life, that he found for the Support of the Poor, from the First Day of April, 1767, to the Fourth Day of January, 1768, £13, 02, 10.

Gave an order to Doct. Sam'l Holten upon ye Treasurer for two shillings and ten pence, it Being Meddicons and Doctring of ye Poor one year last past, £0, 02, 10.

A memorandum of what ye Poor wantes, Namely—Isaac Peeas 2 wollen Shirts, one pair of Shoes, Hat, Cote, or Great Jacket, a pare of Britches. Ye wido Gloyd 2 cords of wood at hir houses.

An Invoice of what ye wido Walet hath, one Good fether Bed and Blankot and Cover-

lead, one Bolster, one Piller, three Piller Cases, &c., and wants one gound for winter.

Feb. 4th, 1768.—At a meeting of the board of Overseers, received an account from Sam'l Holten for keeping Breget Weab and funeral charges:—

To keeping Bredget Weab,	
38 weeks and a half at 3s 4d per weeks	£6 8 0
To three weaks Extrodny charge,	0 18 0
Bording the nurs one week and a half,	0 5 0
fire and light one week and a half	
and keeping the watchers,	0 1 4
to five pear of men's gloves,	0 10 0
to Rebeker Sweneirton for one weak	
and a half nursing,	0 8 0
two pear of gloues for laying her out,	0 4 0
	£8 14 4

SAM'L HOLTEN.

Danvers, Sept. ye 22d Day, 1767.—An Account of what ye Wido Abigai Cutler provided for Abigall Marsh tord hir Funeral:—

One Sheft,	£0 02 8
A Winding Sheat to lay her out and	
neecloth and Cap and liker 3 quarts,	0 9 6
and Due tords Supporting Abigall	
Marsh,	0 10 8
and for laying out ye woman after her	
Discece,	0 5 0
to Extrordy charges for looking after	
her in Sickness,	
	£2 2 10

Received an account from Doctor Amos Putnam:—

1767—The Town of Danvers to A. Putnam,
Feb. 1st to December 4th, Dr.
For 1 visit to John Crowell, Jun., and
medicines adminis'd 4s, £0 4 0
to medicines adminis'd to Jos. Very, 0 4 0
to sundry medicines for Mrs. Coes 3s 6d,
Cath. Rhei, &c., for Margaret Royal 1s, 0 4 6

Adminis'd to Caleb Wallis's wife
sundry medicines and six visits.

1 1 0
£1 13 0

Excess Receipt.

Anna Putnam.

Feb. 4th, 1768.—Rec'd of Capt. Elisha Flint in behalf of the Overseers of the Poor an order on James Smith, Treasurer, for the above mentioned sum of £1, 13. Rec'd by me,
Wm. Putnam.

The form of an indenture used by the Overseers of Danvers in binding out a minor child 100 years since was as follows:—

This Indenture Witnesseth, That Thomas Flint, Cornelius Tarball, James Gould and James Prince, all of ye District of Danvers in ye County of Essex, being ye greater part of ye Overseers of ye Poor of ye same District, Do in their said Capacity, with the assent of two of his Majesties Justices of ye Peace in and for ye same County, put and bind out as apprentice Ezra Very, a minor son of Desire Very of s'd District, Singlewoman, being a poor Boy belonging to said District, whose parent in the Judgment of ye said Overseers is unable to maintain him, and is not eased to public Taxes or assessments for ye Province, Town or District charge, unto Elisha Flint of s'd District, Wheelwright, and Miriam his wife, to learn his ye said Elisha's Trade, and with them the said Elisha and Miriam to dwell and them faithfully to serve after the manner of an apprentice, for ye term of sixteen years three months and sixteen days, next ensuing, at expiration of which Term ye said Ezra will come of age to twenty-one years. And the said Elisha Flint and Miriam his said wife in consideration thereof for themselves and each of them do hereby covenant, promise and agree to and with ye Overseers above named and likewise with such persons as shall from time to time be ye Overseers of ye Poor of said District, and also with the said Ezra Very in manner following—That is to say, That they will

teach ye said Ezra or cause him to be taught the Art, Trade or Mystery of a Wheelwright and to Cypher to the Rule of Three (if he be capable to learn) and to find and provide for him ye said Ezra good and sufficient apparel, Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging and all necessaries in sickness, and in health fitting for him during ye said term of sixteen years, three months and sixteen days, commencing as aforesaid, and at ye expiration of that term to dismiss him with two suits of apparel, one new suit for Holy Days and ye other proper for Working Days.

In Testimony whereof the said parties to these present Indentures interchangeably set their hands and seals this fourteenth day of February, in ye thirtieth year of his Majesty's Reign, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered
in presence of us.

This paper being
Stamp't with ye two
penny stamp.

Thomas Flint, L. S.
Cornelius Tarball, L. S.
James Gould, L. S.
James Prince, L. S.

Jasper Needham,
Thomas Gardner.

Essex, ss. We assent to ye binding out as apprentice the aforementioned Ezra Very as by these Indentures.

DANIEL EPES, } Justices of
DANIEL EPES, JUN. } the Peace.

At a meeting of the Overseers of the Poor,
Feb. 11th, 1767:—

It was agreed with William twist to keep Sarah Very for 11 shil. 3d, old tenor, pr week.

The following bill againsts the town was presented by Tarrant Putnam:—

1767—Capt. Elisha Flint to Tarrant Putnam,
March 26—To $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Tea 9s 6d, 6 Biscates 2s 6, 2 qts. Rum 8s, To 1 pint W. I. 3s 9d, To Biscates, 3s 4, £1 7 0
April 1—To 7 lbs. Shugar 20s, 2 qts. N. E. Rum 8s, To 1 qt. Brandy

11s 3d,	1 19 3
8—To 2 qts. N. E. Rum 8s, To 1 doz. Biscates 5s,	13 0
To Biscates 10s, To 1 oz. pepper 1s 8d, To Biscates and Gingerbread 3s 4,	13 0
12—To 1 qt. W. I. Rum 7s, To 1 nutmeg 1s 3,	3 3
18—To 7 lbs. Shugar 18s, To ½ lb. Tea 10s,	1 8 0
25—To ½ pint W. I. Rum, 5s 7d, To ½ doz. Biscates 2s 6, To 2 qts.	
26—W. I. Rum 13s 6, To ½ doz. Biscates 2s 6,	1 4 0
May 2d—To ½ lb. Tea 10s, To 2 qts. W. I. Rum 13s 6d, To ½ doz. Biscates 2s 6,	1 6 0
13—To 1 lb. Shugar 6s 8d, To ½ lb. Tea 9s,	15 8
24—To 5 lb. Shugar 18s 6,	18 6
30—To 7 lb. Shugar 24s, To ½ lb. Raisins 1s, To 3 gills Brandy 5s,	1 10 0
June 14—To 2 qts. Molass 7s, To 1 qt. W. I. Rum 7s,	0 14 0
16—To 1 qt. W. I. Rum 7s, To 7 lbs Shugar 25s, Rice 10s,	2 2 0
July 8—To 1 doz. Biscates 5s, To 2 qts. W. I. Rum 13s 6d,	18 6
13—To 2 qts. W. I. Rum 13s 6d,	13 6
25—To 1 qt. W. I. Rum 7s,	7 0
Aug. 5—To 7 lb. Shugar 25s, To 2 qts. W. I. Rum 7s,	1 12 0
To ½ doz. Biscates 2s 6,	2 6
Sept. 14—To 6 lb. Shugar 12s, 28th—3½ lb. do. 13s,	1 5 0

Old Tenor, £19 7 7

is L money, £2 11 8

Errors Excepted. TARRANT PUTNAM.
the Above Articles Delivered to the
Widow Magery.*

* The Widow Magery appears to have been well furnished with liquor by the overseers, however remiss they may have been in providing other supplies. For we find by the bills presented by John Shelton and Tarrant Putnam, that she used during

Capt. Elisha Flint, chairman of the board, presented the following bill:—
1767.

April 13—Do'tr to 4½ feet of oke wood,	£0 8 3
Do. to Ceeping Thomas Nelson, one of ye poor, one year,	8 8 0
Nov. 19—Do to 8½ feet of wood to the Wild Abigail Cutler tord supporting Abigail Marsh, one of ye poor,	0 14 2
Dec.—Do to 12 yards cloth and 6½ yards Red Bays for Thomas Nelson and Joseph Very a Cote, Jacet and Britches, Mohair and Batons,	2 11 ½
and Do to making the Clothes up for a Taler,	0 8 0
Do to 3½ yards of New Cloth for a Shurt for Mr. Nelson and making,	0 8 0
To 2 pare of New Stockings for Mr. Nelson and for patches and mending his old clothes,	0 7 0
Do To 1½ yards of wolen Shirt-ing for Joseph Veary and making,	0 16 0
and 1 pare of New Stockings for him,	0 4 8

Danvers, Feb. 22, 1768—At a meeting of the Board of Overseers, it was agreed to present the following report to ye town:—

An Account of ye Number of poor put out ye year Past at the Loest Rate that ye Overseers Cood Git them out and at the Best places that were to Be found when put out:—

Elizabeth Moar, a poor Child, at	£6 18 8
Sam'l Boyce, one of ye poor, at	2 0 0
Hannah Harbord, one of ye poor, at	6 13 4
Margret Royal, one of ye poor, at	5 10 11
Sarah Crowel, a poor child, at	6 11 9
Jean Weielt, one of of ye poor, at	5 10 11

the year 9 gallons, 1½ pints of rum and 1 qt. and 3 gills of brandy, at a cost of £9, 13 shil., 7 pence, old tenor.

Bridget Weabe, one of ye poor, at	6	18	8
Thomas Nelson, one of ye poor, at	8	8	0
Isaac Peas, one of ye poor, at	6	18	8
Joseph Veary, one of ye poor, at	6	18	8
For the Rev. Mr. Clark's House,	2	00	00
Abigail Marsh, one of ye poor, at	5	14	8
Sarah Very, one of ye poor, at	3	15	0
Abigail Wooding, one of ye poor, at	2	00	0
Wm. Henfield, one of ye poor, at	5	06	8
	£81	6	11

The Hole of the poor as put out
the Year past By ye Overseers
Amount At L. money £81, 6s, 11 pence.

Orders Drawn and Given out upon ye Treasurer for the Support of the poor, that was put out to those persons that would Ceep them the Chepest, By Order of the Overseers:—

An Order to wido Abigail Cutler to ceep Abigail Marsh,	£0	8	0
Do to Rich'd Truckbury to Ceep Hannah Harbord,	1	13	4
Do ye wido Abigail Cutler to ceep Abigail Marsh agin,	1	6	8
Do to Rich'd Truckbury to ceep Hannah Harbord agin,	1	13	4
Do to Nath'l Pooding for ceeping Joseph Veary.	1	12	11
Do to ye wido Abigail Cutler to ceeping Abigail Marsh,	1	8	8
Do to Abigail Cutler to ceeping Abigail Marsh agin,	1	6	8
Do to Elisha Flint for Joseph Very agin,	3	11	1
Do to Ellpelet Taylor for ye Support of Mis. Wooding,	1	6	10
Cast up amounted to	£14	7	6

Orders Drawn on the Treasurer
Exclucief of the poor that is put out
By the year:—

An order to Caleb Walles for his and his wife's Suport 4 weeks,	£0	10	9½
An order For the French Nuterls,	9	00	0
Do to Curnelius Tarbel for ceeping M'gt Royall,	0	06	8

Do Caleb Walles and his wife agin,	0	18	0
James Upton to mending shoes,	0	02	0
Do Caleb Walles for his Suport,	0	12	0
Do Caleb Walles for his Suport 5 weeks,	0	15	0
Do Caleb Walles for his ———,	0	12	0
Do Caleb Walles his ———,	0	12	0
Joseph Brown to wood,	1	01	4
Do Caleb Walles for his and his wife's Suport,	0	14	0
Gideon Putnam for clothing for ye poor,	13	02	10
Do Caleb Walles for his and his wife's Support agin,	1	14	0
Lydia Nurse for Supporting Sara Very,	0	16	0
James Prince, jun., for wood,	1	06	8
Doctr Sam'l Holten for medesons for ye poor,	0	02	0
Gideon Putnam for other Nesesaries,	2	19	11
Elisha Flint for clothing,	5	12	11
Do Caleb Walles for his and his wife's Support,	0	15	0
Caleb Nurse to wood,	0	06	8
Jacob Goodell to ceeping John Croell,	0	11	0
Doct. Amos Putnam for doctering the poor,	1	13	6
Wido Abigail Cutler for what she provided for Abigail Marsh in her last sickness and tord her funeral,	2	2	10
Tarrant Putnam's bill for Suplies,	2	11	8
Sam'l Holten's bill for keeping Bredget Weab in her last sickness and 38 weeks board,	8	2	10½
	£58	8	8

The amount of orders drawn for the Support of the Poor from March ye 1st, 1767, to March ye 1st, 1768, were £154, 2 shil., 1d. L money.

The cost of supporting the poor of the old town of Danvers for the year 1859 was \$6059 43. Of this sum South Danvers paid 4318 50 —Danvers paid 1740 93.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 44.

George Early and and Abigaile Foot were married ye 15th 8th mo., 1670; their daughter Abiall borne 1st 7th mo., '71; the said George Early dyed 4th 7th mo., '72.

Mrs. Mary Emory, the wife of Mr. George Emory, 1673, about 9.

Moses Ebborne and Sara Haines were married 9th 7th mo., 1671; son Moses borne 14th 12 mo., '72; son Joseph borne ye 24th 2d mo., '74; daughter Sara borne ye 26th 8th mo., '76. Sarah his wife deceased 1st 9th mo., '76.

Phillip English and Mary Hollingworth were married the 1st 7th mo., 1675; their daughter Mary borne 21st 12th mo., 1676; their son William borne the 23d May, 1679; daughter Susana borne the 5th July, 1682; Philip born 4th Sept., '84; Susana 11th Feb., 1686; Wm. born 7th 2d mo., 1689-90; Ebenezer born 21st April, 1694.

Clement English, his son Benjamin borne by Mary his wife 19th 8th mo., 1676; their daughter Abigaile borne the 6th of December, 1680; their son Clement borne the 7th March, 1682-3; the sd Clement the father deceased 23d 10th mo., 1682.

Frances Everitt deceased at the house of John Procter the 22d May, 1680.

Sam'l Elson his daughter Mary borne by his wife Mary ye 10th of November, 1686; sone Samuel born 27th July, '89; Sarah born 7th Octobr, 1692.

Thomas Elkins, his daughter Sarah borne by Sarah his wife the 5th June, 1674; their son Thomas borne the 11th January, 1676; their daughter Liddea borne 12th June, 1679; their son John borne 17th May, 1681; Margett borne 26th April, 1683; Mary borne Decembr 1st, 1686; Magdalen born 28th April, 1689;

Robert borne March the 2d, 1695-6: Henry born 16th July, 1691.

Doct'r George Emory dyed 20th Feb'y, 1686-7.

Samuell Endicott, his sone John borne 18th Oct'r, 1685; his sone Samuel borne 30th August, 1687.

Thomas, sone of Oliver Elkins, born 30th 7 ber, '89.

Francis Ellis, his sone Francis borne by his wife Sarah Feb'y, 1691-2; son William born June 7th, 1701-2.

Abigail Ellinwood, daughter of Ralph Ellinwood and Martha his wife, borne the 22d January, 1695-6; ye son Ebenezer borne August 29th, 1697.

Abigall English, daughter of Clem't and Mary English, disceased the 16th October, 1697.

Benjamin Elson, son of John Elson and Joanah his wife, borne at Salem 20th May, 1683.

John Elkins—

Nath' Felton, his da'r Eliz'h borne by Mary his wife 18th March, '52; their son Nathaniel borne 15th August, '55; their da'r Mary borne 15th 11th mo., '57.

Robert Follet married to Persis Black 29th 9th mo., 1655; there da. Mary borne 16th March, '56; son Rob't borne 20th 7th mo., '59; da'r Susana 1st June, '62; da'r Hana borne 23d 10th mo., '64; da'r Ruth borne 17th 10th mo., '67, and died 2d May, '68.

Edward Flint married to Elizabeth Hart by Major Denison; their son John borne ye 26th 1st mo., '60; son William borne 12th 6th mo., '61; son Tho's borne 1st 12th, '62.

Jon. Foster, his son Jonathan by Martha his wife borne ye 20th 10th, '60; son Benjamin born ye 3d 5th, 1658; son Jonathan born 22d 9th, '62. (Jonathan, the first son, died 28th March, '62.)

Thomas Flynt, his da'r Eliza by Ann his wife born ye 30th 4th, '50; their son George borne 6th 1st, '52; son John borne ye 3d,

10th, '55; da'r Ann borne 25th 12th, '55—da'r Ann died April, '63. Th's Flint dyed 15th April, '65.

Thomas, son of the above said Flint, married to Hanna Moulton by Major Hathorne the 22d May, '66; da'r Abigail borne 21th June, '68; son George borne in April, 1672. Hanna his wife deceased 26th March, '73.

Richard Flinder and Jane Ladd were married by Major Hathorne the 12th of July, 1668; their son Richard was borne ye 18th May, '64—deceased 30th July, '64; son James borne ye 27th August, 1665; son William borne the 5th January, 1667; daughter Jane borne 15th 12th mo., 1669-70.

Edmond Feveryear married to Tabitha Pitman by Major Hathorne the 30th 6th mo., '64; their da'r Priscilla borne ye 7th 2d mo., '65, and died in June following; da'r Elizabeth borne 20th January, 1666; son Edmond borne ye 15th 12th mo., '68—died in ye 6th mo., '70; son John borne ye 15th January, '70; Mary borne 22d 3d mo., '73.

John Foster, his son David by Martha his wife borne ye 16th October, '65; son Jonathan deceased ye 6th 9th mo., '67; da'r Eliza borne 22d 9th mo., 1667; their son Ebenezer born 5th August, 1677.

Pasca Foot deceased 28th 9th mo., '70.

Pasca Foot Jun'r and Martha Ward were married the 2d 10th mo., 1668; son Mallechi borne 18th 7th mo., 1669; Martha borne 14th 12th mo., 1671; son Pasca borne the first day of September, 1674.

Robert Follett, his son John borne by Peers his wife, ye 10th July, 1669.

Isaack Foot and Abigail Jegles were married ye 2d 10th mo., 1668; their son Isaack borne 4th 2d mo., '70, and deceased the latter end of June; da'r Abigall borne the 21st 9th mo., '71; son Samuel borne 29th April, 1673.

John Felton and Mary Tompkins were married the 29th 9th mo., 1670; their son Nathaniel borne 8th June, 1672; daughter Mary born 30th March, '73-74; son John borne 22d

March and dyed 6th April following, 1676; daughter Hannah borne 18th April, 1677; Elizabeth borne 27th February, 1679.

Robert Follett, his son Abraham borne by Peers his wife the 23d of December, 1672; their children Isaac and Rebecca, twins, borne the 20th July, 1674.

William Flint deceased 2d 2d mo., 1673.

John Foster the younger married to Mary Stuard the 18th March, 1672; son John borne the 27th July, 1674; daughter Mary borne 12th 7th mo., 1675; daughter Ann borne the last of April, 1677; daughter Sarah borne 27th 9th mo., 1678.

Richard Flinder, his daughter Hanna by Jane his wife 10th July, '72; their son John borne the 28th 10th mo., 1674.

John Ferman, his daughter Elizabeth borne by Elizabeth his wife the 11th 12th mo., 1674.

Thomas Flint and Mary Downto were married 15th 9th mo., 1674; their son Thomas borne 2d August, 1678.

Edward Feveryear, his son Edmond borne by Tabitha his wife the 22d 2d mo., 1676.

David Fogg, his daughter Susana borne by Susana his wife the 18th 2d mo., 1675-6.

Samuell Foster and Sarah Steward were married the 14th May, 1676; their son Samuell borne the 18th 3d mo., '77—the said Samuell the son deceased February following; their son John borne the 30th 9th mo., 1678; son Samuell borne 26th July, 1680.

William Frost, his daughter Mary borne by Mary his wife 31st 5th mo., 1677.

Thomas Fuller, his son Thomas by Ruth his wife borne ye 3d 2d mo., '71; their son Jonathan borne ye 19th 7th mo., 1673; their son John borne the 22d 11th mo., 1676; son Joseph borne 12th August, 1679; their son William was borne 30th November, 1685.

Richard Friend and Anna Curtice were married 19th 2d mo., 1677; their daughter Mary borne 28th 2d mo., 1678.

John Fuller, the son of Thos. Fuller and

Rebeck Putnam, were married 22d 2d mo., 1672; their daughter Elizabeth borne 22d 6 mo. '73; daughter Bethiah borne ye 22d 1st mo., '76. John Fuller the father deceased 26 6th mo., '75.

Thomas Flint and Elizabeth Johnson were married ye 12th 6th mo., 167—; their daughter Ruth borne the 11th May, 1679; son Timothy borne the 30th of September, 1680; ye son John borne 21st June, 1684; son Joseph borne 1st August, 1687; daughter Abigaile borne 8 August, 1692.

John Foster Jun'r, his 2d son John borne by Mary his wife ye 15th 9th mo., 1680; theirown John the eldest deceased the 14th 7th mo., 1680; their youngest sonne Jonathan borne 14th June, 1683; yr sone Eben borne 22d Feb'y, 1685; son Benjamin borne 11th March, 1687; daughter Mercy borne 15th July, 1689; son James borne by Mary his 2d wife 12th 2d mo., 1693.

Joseph Foster married ye 21st November, 1683, to Anna Wilson, relict of Robt. Wilson; his daughter Ruth born by her October 18th, 1684.

Benj. Foster, son of Sam'l and Sarah Foster, born May 24th, 1689.

Richard Foster, son of Sam'l Foster and Margery his wife, born Dec. 19th, 1693; their daughter Mary born Nov. 8th, 1695; their daughter Margaret borne Feb'y 3, 1697; their son Jona. born 1699; Bartholemew born Feb'y 23d, 1701-2.

Thomas Feild was married to Mary Leache March 2d, 1680; his son Thomas born 17th January, '81; his daughter Mary born 4th 7th mo., '83; 5th December was born his son Samuel.

Benja. Fuller, the sone of Benj. Fuller, was borne ye 25th day of Feb'y, 1686-7.

John Felton, sone of Jno. Felton, his daughter Elizabeth borne ye 28 Feb'y, 1678; sone Sam'l borne Jan'y 1st, 1682; son John borne 22d August, 1686; his wife Mary dyed 12th December, 1688.

Jacob Fuller, sone of Thomas Fuller, his daughter Eliza borne by Mary his wife 19th Feb'y, 1687: their daughter Mary borne 20th 8th mo., 1684.

Abigail Felton, daughter of Nath'l Felton Tert and Eliza his wife, born at Salem 12th May, 1699; son Sam'l born Aug. 7th, 1701; their son Malachy born May 14th, 1705; daughter Mary born March 16th, 1707; daughter Eliza born May 17th, 1709; son Nath'l born Dec. 29th, 1710. Nath'l deceased Aprill 3d, 1712; son Benja. born Sept. 9th, 1712; son Nath'l 2d born May 9th, 1714; their son Isaac born March 6, 1716-17; their son Sam'l died Feb'y 2d, 1717-18.

Sam'l Foster, his daughter Anna borne July 26th, 1683; daughter Sara bo. Oct. 9, 1685; Joseph born 14th March, 1687.

Margery Foster born Feb'y 4th, 1705-6.

Jno. Flint, sone to Thomas Flint and Eliza his wife—yr sone Samuel born 12th 10th mo., 1679: his son John borne 8th Feb'y 1687: Hanah borne 4th April, 1685; Stephen born 29th December, 1687; Joshua borne 28th 10th, 1689; their daughter Ledia borne the 20th July, 1696—Joseph borne—their daughter Sarah born Aug't 18th, 1700; Eliza born Jan. 10th, 1702-3.

Sam'l Fraye married to Mary Carrell in ye year 1678. Daughter Mary borne 21st Aprill, 1680; son Samuel borne 27th March, 1682; his wife Mary died in ye year 1682. Married again unto Ann Upton in Aprill 4th, 1684.—Hanah borne by his wife Ann 5th May, 1685; Elizabeth born 19th October, 1686; daughter Ann born 20th June, 1688.

David Foster, son of David Foster and Hanah his wife borne 19th March, 1688-9; son Jonathan borne 10th Jana., 1690-1; their son Sam'l born 24th December, 1692; their daughter Hanah born 3d Decem'r, 1694; daughter Eliza December 27th, 1696; son Joseph 1st February, 1698-9.

George Felt, his daughter Mary borne by his wife Hana at Casco baye 13th October, '87;

his sone George borne 10th May, '90; his sone Jno. borne 8th May, '92; his son Jonathan borne on the 21st day of March, 1693; his daughter Jemimah borne 19th Feb'y, 1696-7.

Mary Flint, daughter of Thomas Flint and Mary his wife, was born the 11th November, 1680; their son Ebenezer born the 6th Aprill, 1683; their son William borne the 17th July, 1685; their daughter Elizabeth Flint borne the 30th August, 1687; their son Jonathan borne the 8th November, 1689; their daughter Ann Flint borne the 29th Sep'r, 1691; their son Samuel Flint borne the 29th Sept., 1693; their daughter Ledia Flint borne the first day of June, 1695.

Alice Flint deceased October 5th 1700.

Mary, dau'r of Sam'll Gardner, bo by Mary his wife 5th 6th, '58, and died 3d April, '62.

Joseph Graften maryed to Hasina Hubbard at Hingam by Capt. Hubbard, 29th 8th, '57; Joseph there son bo 17th 6th, '58, and dyed the 11th July, 1709.

Jo'n Green maryed to Mary Warren by Maj. Hathorne the 7th 10th mo., 1659; their daughter Abigaile borne ye 22d 12 mo., 1660; da. Mary borne 1st March, '63; Sara borne 14th August, 1666; Elizabeth borne 20th February, 1667; son John borne the 28th June, 1672.

Mr. John Gedney maryed to Susana Clearke by Major Hathorne the 4th May, 1659; their son John borne 5th March, '59, -'60; da. Sara borne 6th 5th, '62, and dyed 19th of ye same month; da. Susana borne the 4th March, '63; da. Sara borne ye 12th April, 1666; son William borne the 25th May, 1668.

Mary, da'r of Robert Gray by Elizabeth his wife, borne ye 3d 2d mo., 1661. Robert Gray deceased ye 23d, 11th, '62, the father.

George Gardner, his da'r Bethiah borne by Eliza his wife ye 3d 4th, '54; da'r Hittabell borne ye 23d 2d, '59, and dyed ye 8 May, '59; son Ebenezer born ye 16 6, '57; son George dyed 21, 6, 62.

John Grafton and Seeth his wife were maryed by Major Hathorne 1st 10, '59; da. Mary

borne 7th 7 mo., '60; da'r Seeth 28 April, '65; da'r Abigaile borne ye 12th August, 1667.

Joshua Graften, ye son of Joseph Graften, borne by Hana his wife ye 9th 2d, 1660; their daughter Martha borne ye 7th 6th, 1658.

William Galt deceased 1 2d, '59.

Rich'd Gardner, his da. Deborah borne by Sara his wife ye 12th 10th, '58; their son Rich'd born 23d 8, '53; son James born ye 19th May, '62; da. Damorice dyed 25th, 9th, '62.

Robert Gray, his son Thomas by Eliza his wife born 12th 3d, '56; their son Edward borne ye and deceased May, '57; son Robert borne ye 10th 3d, '59.

Reuben Guppy, his son John borne by Ellin his wife 12th 8th '48; their son Ruben borne ye 6th 11, '50.

John Grover maryed Sara Barney 13th May, 1656; their da'r Sara born 28 10 mo., '59; Hana b 9th 9 mo., '62. Sara dyed 26th 9 mo., '62.

Mr. John Gardner, his son John borne by Priscilla his wife ye 20th 12th mo., '53; their son Joseph born ye 8 5, '55; da. Priscilla borne 6th 9th, '56; son Benjamin born 3d 12th, '58, and dyed 23d 6, '62; da'r Rachell born 3d August, '62; their 2d son Benjamin borne 17 May, '64; da'r Ann borne 30th 12, 1667; son Nathaniell borne 24th 7 mo., 1668; da'r Mary borne 27th May, '70.

Bartholmew Gale married to Martha Lemon by Major Hathorne 25 5 mo., '62; ye sd Martha dyed 23d 10 mo., '62; said Bartholmew married to Mary Bacon 1st 12—their son Abraham borne 18 9 mo., 1666.

Bartholomew Gedney maryed to Hana Clearke ye 22d, 10 mo., '62; had his first child, Bartholmew, born ye 4th 2 mo., '64, and dyed 12th August following; son Jonathan borne 14 4, 6—and died 14th, 6, '65; 2d son Bartholmew borne 2d 6, '66, and dyed 2d 7 mo., '66.

Mr. Sam'l Gardner, da'r Eliza borne in May, 1660, ye 30th daye.

Eleazer Gedney married to Elizabeth Turner by Major William Hathorne ye 9th June, '65; theire son Eleazer borne 18th March, 1665-66; da'r Elizabeth borne ye 2d 4th mo., 1669; Ruth borne 24th May, 1672; Mary borne ye 27th August, 1674.

Nathanyell Grafton and Elizabeth Maverick were married by Major William Hathorne the 6th Aprill, 1665; theire da'r Elizabeth borne ye 18th 10th mo., 1667; dau'r Remember borne ye 29th 7th mo., 1669; Priscilla borne ye 12th March, 1670; the said Nathanel Grafton deceased at Barbadoes 11th 12th mo., '70.

REV. JOHN HIGGINSON'S ADVICE TO HIS CHILDREN, CALLED HIS DYING TESTIMONY.

The paper of which the following is a copy has been in the family of the transcriber for four or five generations. It is either the original or a very early copy, bearing upon it the marks of time, but is still very distinct and legible. Mr. Felt alludes to this (I think) when he says, page 348 of his Annals, that Mr. Higginson writes in 1708 "advice to his children, called his dying testimony;" but I cannot learn that it has ever before been published. It is now in possession of Mrs. Sarah Narbonne of this city, who, like myself, descends from Mr. Higginson through Nathaniel Andrew, who married Mary, the daughter of Nathaniel Higginson, son of Hon. John H., who was son of Rev. John. B. F. BROWNE.

MY LAST WORDS TO MY CHILDREN.

1st May, 1708.—2^d Samuel 23, 1.—Now these be the last words of David. I Chronicles 28, 9,—And thou Solomon my son, know thou the god of thy fathers and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind, for the Lord searcheth all hearts and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts, if thou seekest him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off forever.

Genesis 18, 19. For I know him that he will command his children and his household

after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do Justice and Judgement that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.

I came over to New England in the year 1629 with my honoured Father and was acknowledged to be a member of the Church of Salem and upon Examination by the pastor was received to full Communion and admitted to the Lord's Supper and I give thanks to God for his wonderful mercy to me all my life, especially for his giving me a grounded hope of my Salvation by Jesus Christ according to the blessed Gospel.

1. Make concienes of secret prayer by yourselves.

Matthew 6, 6, but thou when thou prayest enter into thy closet and when thou hast shut the door pray to thy father which is in secret and thy father which seest in secret shall reward thee openly.

2 Timothy 1, 3. I thank god whom I serve with my forefathers with a pure conscience that without ceasing I have remembrance of thee in my prayers night day (yt is) morning and Evening.

2. Keep up family religion, family prayer and reading the Scriptures and family catechising in Mr. Cotten's Chatechise, teaching all in the family that are capable to read, asking what they remember of the chapter yt is read and the sermons yt they have heard, there should also be writing and repeateing of Sermons as a help unto that end.

Genesis 21, 33. And Abraham planted a grove in Bersheba and called thereon in the name of the Lord, the everlasting god.

Deuteronomy 17, 18, 19. And he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priest and levites—and it shall be with him and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his god, to keep all the words of his law and these statutes to do them.

Zachary 12, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. And I will pour upon the house of David and upon the Inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace

and of supplication and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first born, in that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of hadarimon in the valley of Megidon, and the land shall mourn every family apart, the family of the house of David apart and their wives apart, the family of the house of Nathan apart and their wives apart, and the family of the house of Levi apart and their wives apart: the family of Shimei apart and their wives apart, all the families that remain, every family apart and their wives apart.

Psaln 79, 6. Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name.

Jeremiah 10, 25, pour out thy fury on the heathen that know thee not and on the families that call not on thy name.

Eph. 6, 4. And ye fathers provoke not your children to wrath but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

Proverbs 22, 6. Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it.

3d. Remember to keep holy the Lord's day forever according to the fourth commandment.

4. having been baptized and so Engaged unto God the father, Son and Holy Ghost and unto Jesus Christ and the true Christian Religion forever, you and yours also as they grow up and that you solemnly and personally own the Covenant of God.

Acts 2, 42. And they continued steadfast in the Apostle's Doctrine and fellowship and of breaking of bread and in prayer.

Dutr. 26, 17, 18, thou hast avouched the Lord this day to be thy God and to walk in his ways and to keep his Statutes and his Commandments and his Judgements and to hearken unto his voice, and the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people as he

hath promised thee, and that thou shouldst keep all his commandments.

Dutr. 29, 12, that thou shouldst enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God and into his oath which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day.

Nehemiah 10, 28. And all they that have separated themselves from the people of the lands unto the law of God, their wives their sons and their daughters every one having knowledge and having understanding.

Isaiah 56, 4, 6. For thus saith the Lord unto the Eunuchs that keep my Sabbaths and choose the things that please me and take hold of my Covenant, also the strangers that join themselves to the Lord to serve him and to love the name of the Lord to be his servants, every one that Keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it and taketh hold of my Covenant.

That you seek admission to the Lord's Supper in the way of the Gospel so as to observe the Commands of Christ in doing this in remembrance of him.

5. That you seek the Lord while he may be found; and therefore to seek earnestly to God in the use of all the means of grace (but not in your own strength) that you may obtain mercy and win Christ, and that he would pour his Spirit of grace upon you, working faith and repentance in you, and that you may be sincere and upright in all that you do.

Isaiah 55, 6. Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near.

Matthew 16, 26. For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and loose his own Soul, or what shall a man give in Exchange for his Soul?

Phillipians 3, 9. And be found in him not having my own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness of which is of God by faith.

Hebrews 4, 16, let us come boldly unto the throne of Grace that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need.

1 Chron. 29, 17. I know also my God that

thou tryest the heart and hast pleasure in uprightness.

Isaiah 44, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Yet now hear O Jacob my servant and Israel whom I have chosen, Thus saith the Lord that made thee and formed thee from the womb which will help thee; fear not O Jacob my servant and thou Jesurun whom I have chosen. For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty and floods upon the dry ground. I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed and my blessing upon thy offspring and they shall spring up as among the grass as willows by the water courses. One shall say I am the Lords and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord and surname himself by the name of Israel.

6. That you be of some private Christian Meeting once a month.

7. I am of opinion that the singing of psalms in harmony is too much neglected.

8. That amongst other good books I desire you to read often my little book of making your peace with God, it contains the substance of all saving truth, and so the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen!

Your dying Father, J. H.

NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY—No. 3.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

Massachusetts as a colony was the first to issue silver money in 1652, and copper, as an independent State, in 1776. The wants of Massachusetts for a circulating medium led to the establishment of a mint, where the various coins of other nations, which their trade had introduced, could be converted into coins of less value than the sterling of England—thus hoping to obtain a currency which would remain with them. This project of a coinage was probably agitated some time before it actually took place, inferring from the fact that shillings have lately appeared dated 1650; these, if not the work of modern artists, must, I think, have been patterns struck in England.

They are of superior workmanship to those adopted in 1652, and might have been rejected on account of the expense attending their execution.* That experiments were made with a view to copper coinage is evident, as I have one of Massachusetts dated 1652, of pure copper, presenting no appearance of being a counterfeit, and is the only one that I ever saw.†

During the long period that the New England money was struck little change appears in the inscription or type, most of the variations, if any, arise from the multiplicity of the dies used and the slipping of the coin in stamping. The New England money does not appear to have circulated much out of Massachusetts, but notwithstanding the wish of our fathers to have it retained here, it soon found its way to England, where, from its being struck lighter than the English money of the same names, continual objections were made to its coinage by the merchants of England; this was the principal difficulty which the Mint in Massachusetts encountered, together with the objections made by Charles II. and James II., who considered it an infringement of their royal prerogative and finally caused its operations to cease about the year 1686.

An order for a coinage and the preparation for it was made by Massachusetts on the 31st of May, 1652.‡ The coins were to be shillings, sixpences and threepences—to have their

* A pine tree shilling of 1650 is in the collection of H. M. Brooks, Esq., of Salem; that one, however, is not nearly so well executed as one which Mr. Brooks informs me was once in his possession, and which, he now thinks, is in a collection in Philadelphia. I understand that there is one also in a collection in New York.

† This coin I obtained in Salem more than twenty years ago. Coins were then of but little value and counterfeits were not made.

‡ Hutchinson says in his History of Massachusetts that the Mint was established in 1651, but gives no authority for the statement. Snelling has copied the same without any remarks. And also Ruding, but he thinks that Hutchinson must have been mistaken. In this opinion I concur.

value on one side and N. E. on the other; but owing to their being hammered out to the size of the same coins of England and being of less weight, were thinner and consequently subject to clipping and washing, their coinage was stopped on the 19th of Oct., 1652. The short period allowed for erecting the buildings and procuring everything necessary for carrying on a coinage left but little time for striking coins and only a few pieces could have been struck, as is shown by their extreme scarcity, none but the shilling and sixpence are known to exist; the threepence, though ordered, was probably never struck. The scarcity of these coins is shown by a letter written to Thomas Hollis, April 18, 1768, by Dr. Elliot, in reply to one requesting him to procure some of these coins. He informed him that he could find no one who had ever heard of the Massachusetts Samaritan coin, and he considered it a medal. The N. E. sixpence and the penny of 1652 some had seen, but he could not procure them—that the other New England coins were plenty and the shillings of four or five different dies. June 12, 1771, he sent him the N. E. sixpence, and remarked that it was the only one he ever saw. The first coinage of the Mint was the N. E. shillings and sixpences, both of which are in my collection and weigh 72 and 36 grains each. This is the full weight they were ordered to be struck, being twenty grains less than the shilling of the Commonwealth of England and five grains less than the English two pence; thus it ap-

§ The abbreviated character and the rude appearance of the coins makes it somewhat probable that they might have been an imitation in some respects of a coin struck before and after that period by the Spanish provinces of South America for currency, and which appears to have been circulating here at that time under the name of Cobb money; they were irregular pieces of silver hammered down sufficiently to receive an abbreviated inscription and date, with an imperfect device of the arms of Spain; they were of the exact weight of the piece of eight and its lower denominations, and had on them their value in Arabic numerals.

pears instead of coining it two pence in a shilling of less value than the English coin, as it was enacted, it was found to be two and a half-pence. When these coins were struck Massachusetts was on the most friendly terms with the Parliament of England. Some of her most powerful friends were members, and it is likely the proceedings of Massachusetts were known to them and met their approval, as no objection is found to be made by them at that time. || The Parliament commenced their coinage in 1649, and appeared to have been willing that Massachusetts should do the same, in 1652, if they thought it would accrue to their benefit.

MISCELLANEA.

JOURNEY FROM BOSTON TO SALEM.

The following letter, written by an esteemed resident of Salem at that date, will give your lady readers an idea of the perilous undertaking in those days of a winter's journey home after paying a visit to Boston. Fortunate for "Peggy" that crinoline was not in fashion at that period.

J. C.

Boston, March, 1860.

Salem, Feb. 18, 1790.

Brother N.

I arrived at my house about 2 o'clock, but met with a disaster upon the road which has lamed me a little. Passing the Sluice the ice lay so sidling I was afraid to ride over lest the slay should run over the Bridge. Peggy got out to walk over and I set on the side of the slay to drive over and got over safe. Peggy in passing was taken by the wind and must have gone over the Bridge if she had not set

|| The system of coining then was very simple compared with that at the present time. The gold or silver of the hammered money was first cast from the melting pot into long bars; these bars were cut into square pieces of exact weight for coins, which with the tongs and hammer were forged into the round shape and blanchied in boiling water and then stamped with a hammer to make them perfect money. This method of coining was introduced into England by Edward I. and continued until the year 1662.

herself down. Seeing that I went to help her and left the horse—he set out after I had assisted Peggy; I pursued after the horse and ran till I was very much spent and finally got hold of the slay but my strength was spent and I was not able to get forward to get hold of the bridle; I slipped and fell but was loth to lose my hold of the slay and suffered myself to be drawn upon the ice, I suppose, twenty rods, at length I worked myself forward got the bridle and stopped the horse, but found myself extremely spent and much bruised and faint with my exertions. I feel pretty comfortably now; one of my ankles is very much swelled, but I hope it will go off soon. I now send by B— Mrs. ——— mogisons and the green cloth—am obliged to her for them—all my family are well—my regards to your family from your affectionate Brother.

FORMATION OF THE BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.
GROWING INTEREST IN THIS COUNTRY IN COLLECTING COINS, ETC.

On Saturday, March 3, a number of gentlemen interested in coins and medals met at the rooms of the N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society in Bromfield street, Boston, and proceeded to organize themselves into an association to be called the Boston Numismatic Society. The following persons were elected officers:—

Dr. Winslow Lewis, President.
Jeremiah Colburn, Esq., Vice President.
Henry Davenport, Esq., Treasurer.
W. S. Appleton, Esq., Secretary.

The formation of this society and similar associations in other parts of the country within a year or two indicates the growing taste among our people for collecting and studying the history of coins and medals; a department of historical research hitherto greatly neglected.

It is well known that in Europe numerous collections of coins were made centuries ago and great numbers of books were published on the subject of Numismatics. In this country, until within a comparatively short period, the subject has received but little attention from

any one; hence it is now exceedingly difficult to procure fine specimens of our early coinage; indeed, the United States coins of only ten years back, can rarely be found in fine condition. Strange as it may appear to “outsiders,” early American coins in fine condition, or some particular dates in any condition, are harder to procure and command vastly higher prices from collectors than coins issued by the Greeks and Romans centuries before Christ. A glance at the reports of late sales in New York and Philadelphia will confirm the truth of this. A specimen of the Tribute money of Tiberius Caesar, struck in the time of our Saviour, can be imported for about two shillings and sixpence, while an American half dollar of 1797 has recently been sold, at auction, for \$23!

In this city there are several fine collections which contain many specimens of rare and unique coins. The late venerable Dr. Holyoke (who died in 1829 at the age of 101 years) was, we believe, the first coin collector in this vicinity; but we think his cabinet contained chiefly foreign coins. M. A. Stickney, Esq., has been, for many years, engaged in this pursuit and has an immense and exceedingly valuable collection of the coins of all nations.

H. M. B.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE DEAN
FAMILY IN SALEM, BY E. S. W.

November ye 5th; 1731, we were married by the Reverend Mr. William Jennison.

Mary Dean, our first child, was born May ye 16th, 1733.

Hannah our 2d child, was born feb'ry ye 16th, 1735, and Died in December, 1736.

Hannah, our 3d child, was born March ye 19th, 1737, and Died June ye 30th, 1738.

George Dean, our 4th child, was born October ye 3d day, 1738.

Hannah Dean, our 5th child, was born June the 8th day, 1741.

John Dean, our 6th child, was born Aprill the 24th day, 1743.

Benj'n Dean, our 7th child, was born March ye 3d, 1747.

From an old manuscript in handwriting of Capt. Thomas Dean, who died Aug. 24th, 1759, æt 61 yrs 6 mos. He mar'd

1st Martha Gillingham, who died Dec. 24, 1729, in her 31st year.

2d Mary, dau. of Benj'n? Ward.

By Martha Gillingham he had issue, Thomas, who m'd 1st Sarah Phippen and 2nd Mary Cash.

Martha, who m'd Joseph Searle, Jr.

Mary Dean, the first of his children by his second wife, mar'd 1st, Nov. 28, 1754, George Ropes, and 2nd, May 1st, 1760, Sam'l Waters.

George Dean, the 4th child, died at Greenwich, Eng'd, probably unm'd.

Hannah, the 5th, mar'd Stephen Mascoll and died Oct. 18th, 1834.

John, the 6th, died at Martinique, a young man.

Benj'n, the 7th, m'd Susannah Collins Sept. 28, 1769, and d Dec. 10, 1826.

Thomas Dean² by his wife Sarah Phippen (who d Mch 18, 1752) had one child, Sarah, b Mar. 3, 1752, d Nov. 5, 1834; she mar'd John Becket, but had no issue.

By his second wife, Mary Cash, (who d Feb. 20, 1794) he had Mary, Martha, Thomas, Mary, William, George, William, George, Christina and George.

Of these Thomas m'd Lydia, dau. of Benj'n and Esther Waters.

Mary m'd Joseph, son of Benj'n and Esther Waters.

Christina m'd John, son of John and Beethiah Ward.

George m'd Sarah, dau. of Joshua and Hannah? Phippen.

Martha Searle had one or more children.

Mary Dean by George Ropes had one child probably; by Samuel Waters she had Samuel, George, Mary and Hannah. Of these

Samuel m'd Sarah Leach and d abt 1795.

George d at the Cape de Verd Islands May 13, 1789, unm.

Mary d Aug. 19th, 1839, unm.

Hannah m'd William Becket and d.

Hannah Dean by Stephen Mascoll had Hannah, Mary, Stephen and Sarah. Of these Hannah, b Aug. 20, 1768, d May, 1859, mar'd 1st Jesse Kenny of Middletown,

" 2d Philip Cottle of French extraction.

Mary mar'd Thomas Robbins and had no issue.

Stephen mar'd Nancy Thorndike of Beverly and d 1846.

Sarah mar'd George Sinclair and d May 30th, 1802.

Benjamin Dean by Susannah Collins had Benjamin, John, Susan, Elizabeth, Mary, Sarah, William Collins. Of these

Benj'n, John and Susan died unm'd, Sarah and William d infants, and Elizabeth mar'd Benjamin Chandler and d June 5, 1837,

Mary mar'd William Hunt and d April 11, 1855.


FROM AN OLD NOTARIAL RECORD BOOK IN CLERK OF COURTS' OFFICE, SALEM.

Beverly, January, 1742-3.

Martha Williams of Beverly in the county of Essex in new England widow aged about eighty-five years, Testifieth and saith that she was very well acquainted with John Knight late of said Beverly, mason, and that she heard him say that his Father William Knight was a mason and a Deacon of a Dissenting Congregation in England, and that he came over with one Hathorne and others for the Enjoyment of the Liberty of his Conscience and died at Lynn in New England, and that said William had a House plaistered on the outside with plaister of Pelis and an Estate in Lands in England also the Liberty of Killing Deer and Rabbitts in a certain Park there, and that he the sd John was born in England, came over into New England with his Father, went into England again in the Time of the civil wars Listed himself

under one Colo. Blundel in the service of the Parliament, was at Abington when Prince Maurice entered the Town but was beat out by Blundel, that he continued in the service of the Parliament for years, that he then married and came into New England, where he had Issue John his Eldest Son, William and Joseph, Emma and Martha. He also saith that he went again to England about anno 1772 to get the Estate which his Father left there, (as he said) where she heard he married again and died. She alsoe saith that she knew John Knight the reputed Eldest Son of sd John and that he had Issue, John his reputed Eldest Son, who now lives at Manchester in the County aforesd, a Carpenter by trade and that [she] knows of no other John Knight at Manchester aforesd and further saith not.

her

MARTHA  WILLIAMS.
mark

Essex, ss. Beverly, January 17, 1742-3.

Then Martha Williams made oath to the truth of the within Deposition to which she has put her mark and the same is taken to by in perpetuum rei memoriam.

Jurat Coram,

BENJAMIN LYNDE, JUNR. } Jus. of Peace.
ICHABOD PLAISTED, } Quorum unus.

John Porter of Wenham in the county of Essex in New England, aged about eighty-five yeares, Testifieth and saith that he knew John Knight late of Beverly in said county mason, that he was a tall man, that he went to England about A Domi 1672 and left behind him his Eldest Son who is now dead, Joseph, William, Emma and Martha his other children, that it was said by people in the neighborhood that sd John was gone to England for an Estate left there by his Father and that he had married a Second wife in England and said John Porter's father saith that he knew sd John Knight reputed Eldest Son John dead, and that he had issue, John his reputed Eldest Son who now lives in Manchester in said county, a Carpenter by Trade, and that he knows of no other John

Knight at said Manchester and further saith not.
JOHN PORTER.

Essex, ss. Beverly, January 17th, 1742-3.

Then Mr. John Porter made oath to the truth of the above Deposition to which he hath put his hand and the same is taken to by in perpetuum rei memoriam.

Jurat Coram. BENJA. LYNDE, JUN.
ICHABOD PLAISTED, Justice Peace
Quorum unus.

THE ONCE FOREST COVERED ISLANDS OF SALEM HARBOR.

"We appoint and empower John Clifford, Edward Woodland and Joseph Phippen Sen'r to take care for the preservation of the wood and timber upon Baker's Island and Moulton's Misery, and to seaz upon and bring away such wood as they find cut by men of Marblehead; and alsoe to informe the Selectmen of any such trespass which they find done att any time, by any person of any other towne; and to have the wood they soe seaz for their own use, and themselves and all other persons are prohibited from falling any trees on said Islands, without license from the Selectmen, only have liberty to cut up the wood already ffallin; and hereby francis Colins is dismissed from having any power or care of these islands." (Selectmen's Records, Salem, 27 Dec., 1673.)

THE FIRST CONNEXION WITH NORTH SALEM.

"The Petition of Jas. Symonds with his Northfield neighbors and others concerning making a causeway over ye North River at Symond's Point (so called) sufficient for horses and carts to go over, provided ye causeway or way be made not higher than low water mark and yt ye town shall not be at any charge thereabout from time to time nor att any highway leading to it, with this proviso the Petition is granted." Town Rec. Salem, March 25, 1705.

"Ordered yt Doctor Barton have a note on ye Town Treasurer 17s 10d, being for Disbursements on people yt wr sick of ye small pox att ye Misery" [island.] Salem Rec , Aug. 16, 1705.

A CAVEAT TO THE STEAM FIRE ENGINES OF OUR DAY.

"Order to the Treasurer to pay Nathaniel Phippen 48s for 24 water buckets for the Town's use in case of fire." (Twenty-four water buckets and two stout leather ones had been previously ordered. The water buckets were undoubtedly wooden pails.) From Salem Records, Feb'y 2, 1729-30.

INDIANS TAKING SALEM FISHING VESSELS.

1677, July 25. The Lord having given a commission to the Indians to take no less than thirteen of the Fishing Ketches of Salem and captivate the men, (though divers of them cleared themselves and came home,) it struck a great consternation into all the people here. The Pastor moved on the Lord's day, and the whole people readily consented, to keep the Lecture day following as a Fast day; which was accordingly done, and the work carried on by the Pastor,—Mr. Hale, Mr. Cheevers and Mr. Gerrish, the neighbor ministers, helping in prayer. The Lord was pleased to send us some of the Ketches on the Fast day, which was looked on as a gracious smile of Providence.

Also there had been nineteen wounded men sent into Salem a little before. Also a Ketch with forty men sent out from Salem as a man of war to recover the rest of the Ketches. The Lord give them good success.—*First Church Records.*

WINTER ISLAND.

"1637, Feb. 16, granted by the town of Salem to M. Jackson, 2 others, Pasca Foote and 4 others, each half an acre of land at 'Winter Harbor,' for fishing trade and to build upon." *Original Town Book as quoted by Felt.*

[The following is quoted from the original, in possession of M. A. Stickney, Esq.:]

Salem, May ye 4th, 1732.

The Day Aboue Mentioned Having a Meting, all ye Shoareman upon Winter Island have Agreed Amongst themselves to keep their own Horses and them that are to be lett in and upon Winter Island for this present year to Harbage to begin ye 10th of May to Enter them upon said Iland at Twenty Shellings to be paid at thier Entryes to Samuel Foot per Each and To be Tatered During ye Hole Time he or They Keep them upon ye said Iland and If they Break loose by Neglect aboue Twenty-four Hours at Each Time to forfeit and pay vnto ye Proprietors of sd Iland from Each person soe offending ye Sum of Twenty Shellings from ye Time of Entryes to ye Time of Taking them of. Witness our Hands,

SAM'L FOOT,
PAUL MANSFIELD,
JOSEPH ENGLISH,
MALACHY FOOT,
RICHARD PALMER,
JOHN TOUZEL.

ERRATA.

On page 24 of preceding number, for "an only accident" read "only an accident."

On page 47 of preceding number, 11th line from top, for "Mrs. Whillingly" read "Mrs. Whilloughby."

On page 58, of this number, insert Barker and Magoun as builders of the Frolic.

On page 58, for "Samuel C. Hardy," commander of sloop Polly, read "Samuel C. Handy."

On page 58, for "William Huliss," builder of sloop Scorpion, read "William Hulin."

On page 76 of this number, in Sarah Osburn's examination, for the question "why do you imply them to hurt them" read "who do you employ then to hurt them."

On page 86, line 7th from top, for "1769," read "1767."

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Abstracts of Wills, Deeds and other documents which are deposited in the offices of the County of Essex; Records of Births, Marriages, Deaths, Baptisms, etc.; gleanings from Town and Church Records, in said County; also, such other material of a kindred nature as may be obtained from other sources, will be inserted in its columns.

It will be issued in Bi-Monthly numbers of about fifty pages each, under the direction of a committee of the Institute.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.]

June, 1860.

[No. 3.]

HISTORY OF THE SALEM AND DANVERS AQUEDUCT.

BY C. M. ENDICOTT.

"Where water, clear as diamond-spark,
In a stone basin fell.
Above, some half-worn letters say,
'Drink, weary pilgrim, drink, and pray.
For the kind soul of Sibil. Gray.
'The built this cross, and well.'"
[Scott's Marmion.]

It is conceded by all medical men, that pure water, equally with pure air, is among the first requisites to the health of a city; and it is also generally acknowledged that analysis has demonstrated our city to be supplied with as pure, if not the purest water of any place in the Union—that it is no figure of speech to say it is as "*clear as diamond-spark*," and so free from vegetable decomposition and acids, that it exerts no action upon lead, or any other deleterious substance, with which it comes in contact.* All visitors, as well as our own citizens who have left for a residence elsewhere, are usually impressed with the conviction, that a glass of cold water from the springs which supply Salem, or in other words, *Salem Aqueduct water*, is as exhilarating, and to them more refreshing

than a draft of England's ale. And those far seeing men who contributed to confer this inestimable blessing upon our city are worthy, like our motto, of perpetual remembrance as the benefactors of our race. The late Dr. Holyoke expressed the opinion that the health of our city was much improved by the introduction of such pure water; and that several agonizing complaints, such as stone in the bladder, troubles in the kidneys, and bowel complaints generally, were much lessened, and in some instances almost wholly eradicated since that period.—Our Puritan fathers were not insensible to its excellence, which is thus spoken of by a recent pleasant writer: "*Even the common spring water in the country was averred to be superior by those zealous historians whose pens were dipped in rose water. Wood says 'it is farre different from the water of England, being not so sharp, but of a fatter substance, and of a more jettie color; it is thought there can be no better water in the world.'*" It was probably from the consideration of the benefits thus con-

* A piece of lead through which the water had coursed upwards of twenty-five years in Barton Square was found as fresh and free from any corrosion as when first laid down; and this has been found the case throughout the city.

ferred that the town of Salem did not, until within a few years, tax the real estate of the Company.

Several small individual enterprises had been simultaneously undertaken for supplying a small portion of the inhabitants bordering on Danvers by means of an aqueduct; for instance, a fountain was built and logs laid down in 1796 to supply Frye's Tavern and the inhabitants in the immediate neighborhood. It was incorporated under the name of the "*Proprietors of Frye's Aqueduct*" in 1807, but was operated several years before by private individuals.—The fountain was situated in the Horse Pasture. Also another, under the name of the "*Union Aqueduct*," which had its fountain in the Pickman land, and was incorporated in 1801; the first consisting of only five individuals, viz: Daniel Frye, Eleazer Pope, Jacob B. Winchester, John Stimpson, James Brown; and the last of only six, viz: Caleb Low, Rob't Shillaber, Sam'l Purinton, Step. Larrabee, Amos Purinton, Lydia Trask.

But the first concerted plan, however, of laying down an Aqueduct on a grand scale and supplying the inhabitants *generally* of Salem and Danvers with pure spring water from the grounds in the neighborhood of Spring Pond was first conceived in the year 1796. Salem in particular had suffered much inconvenience from a want of a sufficient supply of good, wholesome water for drinking, culinary and laundry purposes. Their works were then and have ever since continued to be situated upon the southerly side of the old Boston road, just this side of Brown's Pond and about half a mile in a North-Easterly direction from Spring Pond—the ground here being very spungy and most of the year full of water. No water within a circuit of six miles from Salem was found so pure as in these grounds. Their operations were at first very primitive and simple, consisting of a large size fish hoghead for a fountain, sank into the earth, and *saplings* of *three inches* bore for the main pipe. As might be expected these did not long continue. In fact, all their precautions indicated a want of

confidence in the undertaking from the beginning, which probably arose from doubts as to the quantity of water the grounds would supply.

The first meeting held was on the 30th December, 1796, at the Sun Tavern, when Jacob Ashton was chosen Chairman and John Jenks clerk; which meeting resulted in the choice of a committee, consisting of Edward Southwick, Wm. Gray, Jr., and Joshua Ward, to procure an ACT OF INCORPORATION, and to purchase the necessary logs, contract for boring the same and also to contract with the owners of land through which the Aqueduct is to pass for that privilege, and also to do whatever they may think proper to forward the business as the season and circumstances may require. It may be interesting at this time to recount the names of such public spirited citizens of Salem and Danvers as attended that preliminary meeting, all of whom have passed "to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns," viz: Abel Lawrence, Wm. Gray, Jr., Sam. Gray, Joshua Ward, Icha. Nichols, Wm. Orne, Jerath. Peirce, Wm. Lang, Nath. West, Jacob Ashton, Squiers Shove, John Jenks, Edw. Southwick, Jona. Dean, Jos. Fenno, Benj. Carpenter, Abner Chase, Philip Chase, Aaron Wait, Jacob Crowninshield, Jos. Aborn, James Bott, Edw. Pulling, Folger Pope, John Gardner, Jr., Sam. Derby, John Norris, John Daland. Besides these were the following persons interested in the undertaking who did not attend this preliminary meeting, viz: Elias Hasket Derby, Wm. Prescott, Benj. Pickman, Benj. Pickman, Jr., Benj. Goodhue, George Dodge, E. A. Holyoke, John Gardner, David Nichols, Sylvester Osborne, Wm. Stearns, Benj. Watkins, Eben. Putnam and Zadock Buffinton.

The memorial subsequently submitted by this committee to the Legislature was as follows:

To the honourable Senate and the honourable House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:

The memorial of William Gray, Jr., of Salem, in

the county of Essex, Merchant, Edward Southwick of Danvers, in said county of Essex, Merchant, and Joshua Ward of said Salem, Merchant, for and on behalf of themselves and others, their associates, respectfully show:

That the Inhabitants of the said Town of Salem are in general but poorly supplied with water, and at no time with water that will wash, and that at this time there are many wells in that town which are dry—that there are within a few miles of that Town many ponds and springs, from which the Inhabitants of said Town may be abundantly supplied with good water by means of an Aqueduct. And that many persons of that and the neighboring towns have associated themselves together for the purpose of Petitioning this honourable Court for a charter of incorporation, and for this intention have appointed your memorialists a committee to obtain such charter of incorporation,

Wherefore your memorialists pray this honourable Court that they and their associates in said business may be incorporated with such powers and under such restrictions as your honours may judge proper, for the purpose of bringing fresh water from said ponds and springs into the said town of Salem. And as in duty bound will ever pray.

Signed, WILLIAM GRAY, JR.,
EDW'D SOUTHWICK, } Committee.
JOSHUA WARD,

January, 1797.

A charter was accordingly obtained, dated 9th March, 1797, under the style of the "PROPRIETORS OF THE SALEM AND DANVERS AQUE-DUCT, for the purpose of conveying fresh water by subterranean pipes into the towns of Salem and Danvers," but designated no particular place from which they should bring it. It authorized the proprietors to hold real estate not exceeding thirty thousand dollars, and gave them liberty to enter upon and open any part of the streets, highways or townways in Salem and Danvers for the purpose of placing such pipes as may be necessary for the building and completing or repairing such Aqueduct. It was also provided that the towns of Salem and Danvers severally shall have the privilege of placing conductors into the pipes for the purpose of drawing such water therefrom as may be necessary when any Mansion House or Barn or other building shall be on fire without pay-

ing therefor. It further provided for a protection of the logs so laid, "that if any person shall maliciously or wantonly injure said aqueduct, he or she upon indictment and conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding three hundred dollars, one-half to go to the proprietors and the other half to the use of the town; and shall be liable to pay treble damages to said Proprietors, to be recovered by action of the case."

The proprietors organized under this charter on the 7th April, 1797, by the choice of Wm. Gray, Jr., President, Jacob Ashton Vice President, John Jenks Treasurer, and Joshua Ward, Edward Southwick and John Norris, Directors, and on the 19th Oct. of the same year Thomas Nichols was chosen Agent. The number of shares were ordered to be one hundred of one hundred dollars each, making a capital of TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS. On the 14th day of Nov. they "established rules and regulations for the direction of those persons who take water." The next year (1798) the company built a reservoir of 10 feet deep and about 24 feet square on Gallows Hill, and agreed with the Proprietors to pay them six dollars per year for the term of seven years. They completed their works and began to supply water to the inhabitants in the spring of 1799, and paid the first dividend of profits in Nov. of that year. On the 14th March, 1799, Wm. Gray, Jr., bought, in his own right, of Wm. Shillaber 11½ acres of land in the Horse Pasture, contiguous to the Aqueduct Fountain; and 21st Feb'y, 1800, the President and Directors were authorized to purchase the land where the fountain was situated—which had been already anticipated by Mr. Gray. Mr. Gray conveyed to Jona. Shillaber, March 30, 1800, all but one acre, which he reserved probably for the use of the Aqueduct. They continued to make dividends until Feb'y, 1804, and divided in all forty-one dollars per share in seven years, being a fraction less than six per ct. on their capital. On the 21st Feb'y, 1800, the income was found inadequate to the necessary repairs and expenses attending the

Aqueduct, and the price for consumers was increased from five dollars per family to 60 cents per month. In August, 1802, the old fish hogshhead fountain gave out and it was found necessary to build a new fountain, when the Company bought of Caleb Low 5 acres of land, belonging to the estate of William Shillaber, and erected a new fountain under the supervision of Wm. Gray President, Joshua Ward and John Norris Directors, to the Southward and Westward of the old one, and voted "to cover it with a roof to keep out the filth that had injured the water." In June, 1803, the agent was directed to open the pipe that led to Wm. Gray's wharf and dispose of water at twelve and a half cents per hogshhead. In Feb'y, 1804, it was discovered the saplings which constituted the main logs were also giving out, which discouraged many of the undertakers, and the project appeared likely, at this time, to be abandoned—the stockholders were perfectly aghast when it was proposed to lay down a new log of five inch bore, and the question was asked, "who could be expected to find sufficient funds for that purpose?" Our highly respected townsman, the late Jos. Peabody, who had but recently become a stockholder, enquired how much would be required for the purpose, was answered at least \$20,000, replied, "*I will be answerable for it.*" This gave new impulse to the drooping energies of the company and it was immediately "Voted That a new log be laid down for the Aqueduct of a bore not less than five inches, and that the President and Directors be and they are hereby authorized to assess such sum and sums of money to carry the business of laying down the new log into execution." In June, 1803, Eben'r Moulton was appointed to oversee and take care of the Aqueduct. He is to attend to the Fountain, Cistern, principal pipes and the branches, to see that they are in order and to keep them in repair and that no person wastes the water. If he can obtain fifteen branches in Norman Street he is to carry the Aqueduct into that street, beginning at Capt. Wm. Orne's house in Summer Street and Mr. Excleth's in Nor-

man Street and continue both ways until he meets at or near the common sewer in Norman Street. Between the years 1804 and 1807 the company assessed two hundred and sixty-five dollars a share, as authorized by the vote of February, 1804, making altogether 26,500 dollars. In 1804 the Directors thought best to employ some person to contract for the logs and engaged Capt. Asa Towne, who was immediately despatched for that purpose.

In July, 1805, the Proprietors "Voted That the logs of 5 inch bore be continued down Essex Street as far as Richard Ward's, if there be logs enough for that purpose, and that two logs of 3 inch bore be carried on each side of the pavement as far as John Gardner's corner leading to the common." In this month the Directors reported to the Proprietors "that they had endeavored to obtain what information they could respecting the rent proposed for the use of the water from the Aqueduct, and among others they had procured the rates that the Boston Proprietors had for the water they supplied," which after being read they

Voted to adopt the Boston prices as the rate for the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct, and that for the use of the water from the Aqueduct the following sums shall be paid annually:

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| 1st For a family of five persons..... | Eight dollars. |
| 2d For a family of six persons and less than twelve..... | Ten dollars. |
| 3d For a family of twelve persons or upwards..... | Twelve dollars. |
| 4th For a Public or Boarding house..... | Twelve dollars. |
| 5th For a West India Goods Store from Eight to Twelve dollars. | |
| 6th For a Mansion house and West India Goods Store under the same roof to be supplied from one tube only, not to exceed | Sixteen dollars. |

On the 26th Nov., 1805, the Proprietors met at the Sun Tavern, to determine into what streets and how far the main tube of the Aqueduct shall be further laid, when they "Voted that Mr. James Bott, the Superintendent, be and hereby is authorized to procure such a quantity of logs and of such sizes as he shall think necessary for the Aqueduct for the next season, for carrying it further into the lower part of the town and for branches."

Between Feb'y, 1804, and November, 1807, the Company made no dividend of profits, their earnings being wholly absorbed in the outlay of laying a new log and extending their works, besides the \$26,500 assessed upon the Proprietors. The Company had now expended on their works \$44,100, including lost dividends, making the shares stand at 441 dollars each.

In Jan'y, 1810, Wm. Gray, Jr., resigned his office as President of the Corporation, having removed to Boston during the past year, and Jacob Ashton, Esq., was chosen in his place. In 1813 the Company bought from the heirs of Lydia Proctor, who was the daughter of Wm. Shillaber, 4 acres of land, and on the 6th September, 1813, they bought of Wm. Gray, Jr., the one acre of land reserved by him in the sale to Jona. Shillaber in 1801. In Feb'y, 1811, a suit was settled with Wm. Gray, Jr., one of the Company's earliest patrons, for money he represented as having paid Capt. Asa Towne, his agent, for James Gridley, on account of machinery for boring logs for the Company, which cost the corporation some 1230 dollars. Of the merit of this demand the records make no mention, but we have the guarantee of the officers, Jacob Ashton, Joseph Peabody and Joshua Ward, with their counsel, William Prescott, that it was not considered a fair claim and therefore was resisted.

On the 14th June, 1814, a meeting was called of the Proprietors in consequence of the frequent complaints of the failure of water, when it was voted "that a committee of three persons be chosen to superintend the business of the Aqueduct Fountain and to devise means for the increase in the supply of water," which committee consisted of Jerath. Peirce, Ichabod Nichols and John Derby. At the same time it was voted "inexpedient to sell any of the land owned by the proprietors and that the President and Directors be authorized to lease such part of the land as they may think best for a term not exceeding *ten* years." In Sept., 1814, the Company paid for building and repairing the Fountain *seven hundred and sixty-one* dollars, also suspended the collection of rents, and

hired of John Jenks *twelve hundred dollars*, which was to be paid by vote "out of the first money which may be collected for rents on account of the Corporation." In 1814 the Proprietors bought two rights in the Sheep Pasture of Eben'r Jacobs, and in December of the same year they petitioned the C. C. C. Pleas for a partition of the said Sheep Pasture, "*as they hold it in common with others unknown*," and they are desirous of holding the same in severalty. This petition was not granted until the year 1840.

In 1816, in consequence of great complaints having been made by persons who have branches of the Aqueduct that they have not been supplied with water sufficient for the use of their families, the proprietors were instructed at their meeting in January to order that from and after the 1st day of May next all branches leading to manufactories, such as distilleries, tan-yards, tallow-chandlers, soap-boilers, brewers, curriers, bathing-houses and stables, be discontinued, and further "*Voted*, That every man who has a branch of the Aqueduct, and shall refuse or neglect strictly to comply with the rules established by the company, shall be deprived of the use of it; and the agent of the corporation is hereby required to give notice to every individual who takes the water, that the branch of any one, who shall waste or give away the water, or allow the drawing place to be left so exposed as that his neighbors may come and take it, shall immediately be cut off; and that every person, whose drawing place is not in his dwelling-house or out-house, shall, within fifteen days, inclose it in a box, the door of which shall be locked, so that no person shall draw water but for the use of the families that pay for it; and any person who shall refuse or neglect to comply with this regulation shall, at the expiration of the fifteen days from and after this seventh day of May, 1816, be deprived of the use of the water."

In 1816 the Corporation paid B. C. Gilman eight hundred dollars for instruments and machinery to discover leaks in the Aqueduct—this

proved an unnecessary and dissatisfactory expenditure.

In 1817 the Proprietors bought of Arch. Rea, Ezra Northey and Sam'l Holman, Jr., Executors of the estate of Jonathan Mason, a lot of land on Sewall street, where they subsequently built a reservoir of 22,000 gallons capacity and erected some small buildings for their own use. In Sept., 1817, John Jenks being through indisposition incapable of attending to the duties of Treasurer and Clerk, the books of the Corporation were surrendered to the President, Mr. Ashton. In Nov., 1817, Benj. Blanchard was chosen Agent of the Proprietors, and was also chosen Clerk of the Corporation at a subsequent meeting.

The company went on smoothly from 1807 until 1818, making regular semi-annual dividends, passing during that period only three, amounting to about *four thousand dollars*, which were absorbed in the outlay on the works. At this time (1818) a want of water began again to be experienced, and a committee was chosen, consisting of Jacob Ashton, E. H. Derby, Jos. Peabody, Joshua Ward and John Osgood, "to take the subject respecting the Aqueduct *generally* into consideration, and to make a report of the state of the same at an adjournment." The supply to manufacturers had been stopped two years previous, and yet the supply for families was not sufficient. Also, voted—in anticipation of a large outlay, "that the Treasurer be authorized to hire three thousand dollars for the use of the Aqueduct." On the 10th Nov., 1818, a meeting of the Proprietors was called, "to receive of the Directors and Agent of the Corporation such information respecting the present state of the Aqueduct as they may be able to give, and to adopt such measures for procuring a greater and more regular supply of water as the Proprietors may think expedient." This Committee did not report at this meeting, but the Proprietors, never tiring in their endeavors to satisfy the public, "*Voted unanimously*, that the Directors be authorized to lay a range of

further if necessary, and that the expense thereof be defrayed, as far as practicable, from the income of the Aqueduct, and that they also be authorized to hire money or raise it by assessment on the Proprietors, if they should find it necessary." In 1819 the Proprietors made an arrangement with the Salem Iron Factory Corpo. to erect a boring mill at such place and on such terms as the directors and agents of the parties shall agree. The first logs were bored by hand, in various places, and proved very imperfect, and were not bored by machinery until this time. The officers of the Corporation were now Jacob Ashton President, Jos. Peabody Vice President, E. H. Derby, Joshua Ward and John Stone, Directors. Nov. 11, 1818, "The Directors requested the Agent, Benj. Blanchard, to proceed to Manchester in New Hampshire and elsewhere, to ascertain on what terms he could procure *15,000 feet of yellow pine for logs*, to be 11 inches heart at the small end." The cistern or reservoir being situated in the horse pasture, [known as the Gallows Hill reservoir] and in case they have occasion to place another there, in December, 1818, the Proprietors bought of the estate of Curtis Searl one right and a half in that division of common lands in Salem formerly known by the name of the *horse pasture*, afterwards a part of *Gallows Hill Pasture*. Feb'y 8, 1819, the Directors authorised the President to procure at the Salem Bank a loan of one thousand dollars and give his note for the same on account of the Proprietors of the Aqueduct. On the 19th April, 1819, "the Proprietors of the Gallows Hill Pasture agreed that the Proprietors of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct may occupy the cistern or reservoir they now have in the pasture, with liberty to pass to and from, repair, rebuild, or enlarge the same, on condition of their relinquishing to the Proprietors of this pasture the use of a right and a half, or cow lease, being the land bought of the estate of Curtis Searl, to this Proprietary, so long as the said parties are satisfied therewith." On the 12th Oct., 1819, the Proprietors bought the right of 26 persons, resident

in Salem and Danvers, "to enter into their lands and there dig up the earth to a sufficient depth and of sufficient width, for the purpose of laying and sinking one or more pipes or logs for an Aqueduct from the Fountain of said proprietors at Spring Pond, so called, in Salem, or elsewhere, into the settled parts of said towns, so as to supply the inhabitants of those towns with fresh water. This was preparatory to laying down what was afterwards known as the *Pond Log*—for which the Company bought the 15,000 feet of yellow pine.

On the 28th July, 1820, "John Osgood, Esq., with the Agent, Benj. Blanchard, was requested to visit the Fountain to ascertain whether it is necessary to make any alterations and repairs, and if it should be found necessary the said Agent be authorized to agree with any person or persons to make such repairs and alterations." The Company did not make any dividends of profits from Nov., 1818 to May, 1821, all their earnings being expended in laying down the new log. On 22d March, 1822, Benjamin Blanchard was sent to Boston to ascertain what he could obtain iron castings for, to unite the aqueduct logs. In Oct., 1829, the Company bought of Eben'r and Sam'l J. Shillaber a lot of land back of Federal street, from the middle of Carpenter street to the channel of the North River, for a convenient place to store logs, and built there a building to protect them from the weather. They also bought a lot of land situated near their fountain, of Jacob Gallucia, containing about one acre. The office of President became vacant by the death of Mr. Ashton in the winter of 1829-30 and on the 14th Jan'y, 1830, Jos. Peabody, Esq., was chosen to supply his place. Mr. Peabody was an efficient officer, took great interest in the Company, and continued its President until his death in 1844, having been some 40 years associated in the direction of the Corporation. The Company from 1821 made regular dividends semi-annually and went on smoothly for several years. No complaints were made of a deficiency of water; but the greatest obstacle they had to encounter during that period

was in 1834, when a project was in contemplation for laying down a *new* aqueduct, which originated in the *common misapprehension* of the immense profit of the present one, and a misunderstanding with one of the water-takers, who violated with impunity and insult the Rules and Regulations established by the Proprietors. Thus does the private spleen of an individual often work its way prejudicially on the public mind. An Act of Incorporation was obtained and most of the stock subscribed for, when they opened a negotiation with this corporation; and on the 10th of October, 1834, a meeting was held in consequence by this company, who always have been the servants of the public and willing on all occasions to hear any complaints, whether reasonable or otherwise. They chose at this meeting a committee of nine stockholders, "to examine into the state of the affairs of the corporation and the expediency of altering any of the by-laws, or establishing new ones, and making any regulations as to the price at which the water is furnished, and of adopting any measures which the present circumstances may require, with instructions to report at a future meeting of the Corporation." This Committee reported on the 23d of October, and the result was a considerable deduction in the tariff of prices, but with such modifications that the income of the Company was not materially diminished and they were still able to hold their heads *above water*. The officers of the Company at this time were Jos. Peabody President, E. H. Derby Vice President, John G. King, David Perkins, Wm. F. Gardner, Nathan Robinson, Directors. The consequence of this alteration in the tariff of prices was the abandonment of the new aqueduct and all proceedings on the part of the new company. Thus ended this unjust and cruel warfare upon a company to whom the city, in its beginning, was under the heaviest obligations—which came to it with healing on its wings, and the opposition to which it was subjected had its origin in such an unworthy and mercenary motive.

During this year (1834) the Company laid

down the first iron pipe of six inches bore, from North street down Essex street as far as Newbury street, or what *was* formerly called John Gardner's corner, and which still continues in a very fair state of preservation.— This outlay of five thousand dollars was also paid for out of the earnings of the Company. The want of water was now apparent, and it had now become necessary for water takers generally to affix pumps to their branches to enable them to get any water, and in the year 1839 the Corporation applied to the Legislature "for such additional powers as will enable them so far to extend and improve the works of the Corporation as to provide a full and constant supply of water for the use of the inhabitants of Salem and Danvers, and for power to increase the number of shares of said Corporation if the same shall be necessary." They obtained such power from the Legislature, dated April 6, 1839, which was accepted by the stockholders at their annual meeting on 2d of May, at which time a committee of nine stockholders was appointed "to consider whether any additional measures ought to be taken by the Corporation to furnish a more adequate and constant supply of water, and whether it is practicable and expedient to enlarge the number of shares for that purpose, and to consider of and recommend any improvements in the management of the affairs of the Corporation which they may deem for the interest of the Proprietors." This committee subsequently reported, "That from representations made and from their own investigations, they are fully satisfied that the quantity of water brought into the city by the present main pipes is inadequate to furnish the inhabitants who depend upon the Corporation for their supply of water, and this deficiency is probably owing to the following causes—*first*, extensive leaks and serious obstructions which it is impossible to discover before the season is far spent. *Secondly*, that the number of new branches added since the main was laid down in 1819 reduces the head of water so fast, that with the pipes in good repair they would but imperfectly furnish the amount

of water required. Your committee therefore recommend that the corporation cause a new wooden pipe without branches, for the supply of customers, and connected with iron joints, to be laid down from the fountain to the reservoir on Gallows Hill; they also advise that a committee be authorized to procure on loan the funds requisite to pay for said pipes, and to apply one-half of the water rents (after providing for the annual disbursements) to the liquidation of the principal and interest of said loan, until the same shall be fully paid." At a subsequent meeting the report was accepted, and that the Directors with Gideon Tucker and Ephraim Emmerton constitute the finance committee. Nine thousand dollars were subsequently hired of the Savings Bank for the purpose of laying down this pipe, which was paid for out of the earnings of the Aqueduct. On the 5th Nov., 1839, it was voted "expedient to connect the logs lately laid down from the *new* Fountain to the reservoir on Gallows Hill to the main iron pipe near Summer street, and that the same be immediately carried into effect." In Nov., 1840, in consequence of the want of water experienced at this time, a log was "laid from the Pool to the lower fountain, so that a portion of the water may be drawn from the pool to the fountain." A deficiency of water was still experienced, and the Directors had at one time in contemplation to conduct the waters from Brown's Pond to the present fountains on the land of the Corporation, and for this purpose appointed a committee of three persons to consider the expediency of it. This was, however, never adopted. In September, 1843, that old and faithful officer of the Corporation, Benj. Blanchard, died, much lamented by his associates, the President and Directors of this Corporation. Mr. Blanchard was thought not always to have sufficiently combined the *fortiter in re* with the *suaviter in modo*; but his duties were perplexing and onerous, while keeping a watchful eye for the interests of the Corporation. The Company continued to reserve one-half the rents arising from the use of the water to liquidate

the loan of 1839, but in Nov., 1844, omitted one dividend altogether. At this time the expenses of the Corporation were uncommonly large, by removing and repairing the Boring Mill and putting up a steam engine for boring logs. It was estimated up to this time the Company had expended one hundred thousand dollars on their works, or \$1000 per share. The Company from this time until 1849 were evidently failing in the quantity of water, with the pleasant prospect of its soon giving out altogether; and were groaning under the constant new applications for water, feeling the supply was not *then* adequate to the demand; when, fortunately for the Company as well as for the town, the Steam Cotton Mill was suffering for the want of pure water for its boiler and turned its attention to the Aqueduct, the Proprietors of which commenced to buy up the shares, evidently with a view to get the control of the Corporation. This, while it alarmed many timid stockholders, was the most fortunate circumstance which could have befallen the Company—for while the energies and confidence of the old stockholders were evidently drooping, and they were doubtful what course was best for them to pursue, believing all they had left was their franchise, and while they were considering by a committee the power of the Corporation for procuring an adequate supply of water for the purposes contemplated by the charter, and the expediency and feasibility of increasing those means by laying down other and larger pipes, also of increasing the capital stock of the Corporation, they were relieved from further anxiety by the action of the new stockholders, who addressed a letter to the Directors, requesting them to call a special meeting for the following purposes, viz: “to determine if the stockholders will vote to bring a larger supply of water into the city, and to ascertain if they will extend their pipes and water into South Salem, and to determine if they will increase the number of Directors to nine, and to consider if they will issue four new shares of \$100 each for each old share, and to ascertain if they will make four hun-

dred new shares in addition, of \$100 each, to enable them to lay down an iron pipe of 12 inch bore from the present fountains to near the head of Federal street.” This meeting was called on the 28th Nov., 1849, and the stockholders voted to adopt all the above suggestions and the Corporation was thrown completely into new hands. Nearly the whole old Board of Directors having resigned, a new organization of the company then took place, consisting of Wm. D. Waters Pres’t, Eben’r Sutton Vice President, Joseph S. Leavitt, John Lovejoy, Wm. Lummus and C. M. Endicott Directors. One of the first acts of the new organization was to authorize the Treasurer to hire, from time to time, an amount of money not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, and to give his note or notes in behalf of the Company for the same. They immediately laid down an iron pipe leading through Union street to the Steam Cotton Mills in South Salem, and the Company gave permission to the Factory to draw water therefrom during the night time. Under the impression of some informality at the meeting of Nov., 1849, on the 9th of March, 1850, at a special meeting, the Corporation “voted to choose five Directors to fill vacancies,” when David Pingree, Philip Chase, Wm. D. Waters, Sam’l B. Walcott and Rob’t Peele were chosen. At this meeting the Proprietors so far altered the By-laws as to make the whole number of shares in the corporation one thousand, and that the par value shall be one hundred dollars. The new stock was eventually all taken up, but it dragged heavily for some time, under the impression that the whole undertaking was likely to prove a failure; that the grounds would not furnish a sufficient supply for the increased demand, and for which the engineers would give no encouragement; and the Company at this time applied to the Legislature for liberty to lay a log to the waters of Spring Pond, and for increasing their capital to \$200,000, which was granted May 2, 1850 and which the stockholders accepted at their annual meeting in May, 1851. The new organization now made strenuous efforts in laying down an iron pipe of 12 inch bore from the

fountain to the head of Federal street, and revised the tariff of prices, making, however, no alteration in the price at which families had been formerly supplied. The main pipe of 12 inches, measuring 16,165 feet, was all completed in the most perfect manner in the summer of 1850, under the charge of George W. Drury of Groton, Mass., with the able superintendence of the President, Wm. D. Waters, Esq.; and when it was ascertained there was sufficient water to fill the pipes, the Proprietors began once more to breathe easy. They also built a new reservoir or cistern, on their own grounds, capable of holding some 652,000 gallons of water.

But the President's work was not completed as to laying down the branches until the autumn of 1851, when, on the 3d of November of that year, the following preamble and vote was passed by the board of Directors, viz: "The important work of laying down a 12 inch iron pipe from the fountain to the entrance of the city, and also substituting and laying down pipes of the same material in most of the streets in place of the old wooden logs, thereby furnishing an abundant supply of water—the same having been completed under the able superintendence of our President, Wm. D. Waters, Esq., to the entire satisfaction of the Directors—therefore voted—That in addition to such compensation as may be satisfactory, that a piece or pieces of silver plate, not exceeding in value the sum of five hundred dollars, be presented to Mr. Waters by the Directors of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct Corporation, as a token of their respect for the acceptable manner in which he has executed the undertaking." In addition to this the Directors voted, Nov. 1, 1852, "That a compensation of twenty-five hundred dollars be allowed the President for his services during the progress of the works, embracing a period of three years."

The Company went on harmoniously and satisfactory to the public and to themselves from this time, making a fair dividend of profits, extending their works into North and South Salem, where they had not been before, and re-

laying the streets with iron pipes, as the old wooden logs decayed. They had an abundant supply of water for all purposes, and no complaints of a deficiency reached the Directors until 1859, when the business of Tanning and Currying had so much increased that these manufacturers demanded a larger supply of water than they had heretofore received. They laid their complaints before the city government, and a committee was chosen to confer with the Aqueduct Company. The impositions heretofore experienced, it was thought, from this class of consumers as to the quantity of water used had always caused them to be looked upon with suspicious eyes; but whether unjustly or not is not the province of the narrator to comment upon, but merely to state the fact, that as far back as 1813 it was considered "the price of the Aqueduct water to the Tanners was too low for the quantity they used, *therefore* Mr. James Bott, the Agent, was directed to make a new agreement with them." In proof of this supposition, it was found the quantity was abundantly sufficient for all domestic purposes on such days as these manufacturers did not make use of it, as Sundays and holidays. Always desirous, however, of serving all classes of customers, and particularly such a useful class to the prosperity of the city as the Tanners and Curriers, the Directors laid down, under the able superintendence of their President, Wm. D. Waters, Esq., an additional 6 inch iron pipe, from the main pipe at the head of Federal street, in Boston street, down Essex street to the head of Summer street; and also at the same time extended the main pipe of 12 inches into Spring Pond, as authorized by the Legislature in 1850. They however first built a most substantial filterer of two boxes, the outer one 16 feet square and the inner one of ten feet square, and had the space filled with some forty tons of rotten rock for the water to pass through before entering the pipe; also affixed a gate of 12 inches diameter to graduate the quantity of water taken from the pond, and have never as yet had occasion to raise it beyond *one inch*. The cost of lay-

ing down these pipes, together with the amount expended beyond the sum raised by creating new stock in 1850, induced the Directors to look into the whole cost of the Aqueduct, or *the construction account* since its first formation, which, after a careful analysis of expenditures, was ascertained to be 246,200 dollars, or 246³⁰/₁₀₀ per share, and the Company thereupon doubled their stock in November, 1859, and it now consists of two thousand shares at one hundred dollars each, equal to two hundred thousand dollars, on which their dividends will be hereafter predicated. The Corporation have now some forty miles of pipes, including all the branches; and the number of water takers has swelled from 500 to 3600.

The duties of the Agent and Collector are comparatively onerous and perplexing, and can be appreciated only by those who are conversant with them. The shifts and turns at deception in the use of water are manifold, and prove how sadly we have departed from the standard of truth as demonstrated by Jennie Deans in the Heart of Mid-Lothian—but

"When *self* the wavering balance shakes
'Tis rarely right adjusted."

As the Agent has principally to rely upon the water takers in one case to render a true and accurate account of the number in a family, and in the other the quantity of water used, he has all sorts of people and all sorts of consciences to deal with, from the strictly honest and reliable, to those who appear preposterously to acknowledge no property in water, which is a gift in the providence of God, forgetting that the providence of God does not lay down pipes or convey water through them to their doors, and therefore believe it a venial offence to deceive in the use of it.

The height of the fountains is 57.3 feet above medium high water, and Spring Pond 63.6 feet. The quantity of water is now equal to supply an indefinite population. The reservoirs and fountains are capable of holding some 1,100,000 gallons, besides the great and inexhaustible reservoir of Spring Pond, containing

59 acres, which at present is scarcely used, but is merely a *corps de reserve* in case of need.—Ten thousand pounds of this water contains only ¹⁰⁰/₁₀₀₀th of one pound of solid foreign matter—this consists of silicious earth, sulphate of soda and common salt, the proportion of salts being about one-half; the evaporation of 20,000 pounds of this water will leave only *one pound* of these.

The perplexing lawsuits and various impositions this Company have experienced throughout its whole existence, we have forborne to recount or comment upon, as they would show up the worst phase in human nature. Suffice it to say, it has evidently been believed, that while they will not accord to corporations, *souls*, they at least believe they have purses to filch and fatten upon.

The present officers of the Corporation are, Wm. D. Waters President; Jos. S. Leavitt Vice President; David Pingree, John G. Waters, Robert Peele, Aaron Perkins, Henry Cook, Eben'r Sutton, C. M. Endicott, Directors; Wm. Jelly Agent and Collector; C. M. Endicott Treasurer and Clerk. Annual Meeting first Thursday in May.

THE HOPKINS FAMILY IN RHODE ISLAND, TO WHICH STEPHEN HOPKINS, ONE OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1776, BELONGED.

BY C. C. BEAMAN.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute,
Thursday, March 8, 1860.

On a high ridge of land, twelve miles west of Providence, on the turnpike road to Hartford, may be seen a little cluster of graves. They lie in the Northwest part of Scituate, (Chopmist Hills,) a farming and manufacturing town of some four or five thousand inhabitants.

These resting places of the dead are in close proximity to the road, at the west end and outside of the wall of a kitchen garden, cultivated for many generations, and lying on the opposite

side of the road to a large house, built in 1775 by Lt. Governor West, and known as the "Governor West House." On the same site, or very near it, stood a moderate sized house, erected some seventy years earlier, and removed to give place to the present edifice. The prospect is very extensive from this spot in all directions.—Scattered farm houses, with woods and orchards and ploughed fields filling up the landscape, present the aspect of an ordinary hill town of the country.

He who chose this place for a homestead, and whose axe was among the first to level the trees for a clearing, is lying with his wife in the little household burial place already described. No inscription is upon the rude stones at either end of their graves, but the position may be ascertained with considerable certainty among the few hillocks, some of which are of recent erection and have stones cut with the names of the dead. William Hopkins died in 1738, and his wife some few years earlier.—Their celebrity is now chiefly dependent upon that of their distinguished sons, Col. William Hopkins, Governor Stephen Hopkins and Commodore Ezek Hopkins, neither of whom, however, has received that biographical attention which their position, talents and services would seem to demand. Almost every one is familiar with the trembling signature of Stephen Hopkins to the Declaration of American Independence. This was occasioned by a nervous affection of the right hand, which had compelled him for some years when he wrote to guide his right hand with the left. This shaking handwriting has given him a notoriety, but so little is known of him otherwise, that even the cause of the tremulousness is not understood. It is quite time that an attempt should be made to gather up some particulars of his history and spread them before the public. The effort to make him a descendant of the person of the same name who came out in the Mayflower to Plymouth in 1620 has not been successful.

Thomas Hopkins, the first ancestor in America of Gov. Hopkins, came from England to Providence in the earliest settlement of the

town, and had a house lot assigned to him in 1638. He was elected Commissioner from Providence to the Court of Commissioners in 1650, and in several subsequent years down to 1668. He married Elizabeth Arnold, sister to Benedict Arnold, the first governor of Rhode Island. Major William Hopkins, son of Thomas, married Abigail Whipple, daughter of John Whipple, one of the first settlers of Providence. His only child William was a pioneer in the settlement of Scituate. His wife, Ruth Wilkinson, was descended from an old soldier of Oliver Cromwell, Capt. Lawrence Wilkinson, whose son Samuel, the father of Ruth, denominated in written documents "Capt. Samuel Wilkinson, Esq.," was a highly respected citizen of Providence.

The marriage of Ruth is connected with a pleasant anecdote. William Hopkins was in the employ of her father. The lovers could not muster courage enough to speak to the "awful Justice," for Mr. Wilkinson held that office, so dignified in former days. In the house or office it was the custom to post up "Intentions of Marriage." The timid lovers, who had often looked with an envious or emulous eye upon such important steps preliminary to a "consummation devoutly to be wished," wrote a notice of their "intentions," and placing it unobserved upon the table of the "Justice," watched to see how it would be regarded. 'Squire Wilkinson, as they saw by a peep through the door, took up the paper, read it and deliberately posted it up in the proper location. There were some blushes on the cheeks of Ruth that day, probably, but the desired approbation thus ingeniously obtained, soon led on to marriage, and some new land in the then large town of Providence, extending to the bounds of Connecticut, where Ruth's brother, Lieutenant Joseph Wilkinson, also went to live, was selected for farming operations. Here a house and barn were built in the woods, ten or a dozen miles inland, and in this home the newly married pair began to live in wedlock.

Tradition informs us that a little meadow on

Mr. Wilkinson's farm yielded the first crop of hay for the winter fodder of the cow he brought with him. The beavers having flooded the meadow by building a dam, the trees rotted down and the grass grew up of itself. The same authority handed down in the family has given us an exploit of Mr. Wilkinson's wife, (Martha Pray was her maiden name,) illustrative of the times. One day, in the absence of her husband at work two miles off, a bear came near the house and climbing up a sweet apple tree, the only one they had, began to shake it in order to eat the fruit. Martha was highly indignant at the freedom taken with her tree and not a little regretted the absence of the lieutenant, whose gun loaded for wild game was in its place ready for use. The apples continued to rattle on the ground, as if to spur the resolution of the backwoodsman's wife, and she seized the gun and rushed out of the back door to chastise the intruder. Taking aim, she fired at bruin, and instantly dropping the gun, fled into the house and fastened the door, without daring to look behind. When Mr. Wilkinson came home she informed him of the occurrence, and on going to the tree he found the bear lying on the ground, having been killed by the shot.

We can form some idea of the influences under which the children of William and Ruth Hopkins were trained in early life from such an incident. Some poetry in Gov. Hopkins's history of Rhode Island, and attributed to him, gives us a view of the privations and penury of the early settlers of the State :

"No house, nor hut, nor fruitful field,
Nor lowing herd, nor bleating flock;
Or garden that might comfort yield;
No cheerful, early crowing cock.

No orchard yielding pleasant fruit,
Or laboring ox or useful plough;
No neighing steed or browsing goat,
Or grunting swine or feedful cow.

No friend to help, no neighbor nigh,
Nor healing medicine to relieve;
No mother's hand to close the eye,
Alone, forlorn, and most extremely poor."

The children of William Hopkins were, William, Stephen, John, Esek, Samuel, Hope, Abigail and Susanna; five sons and three daughters. We shall speak at this time only of three of these, namely, William, Stephen and I sek.

WILLIAM was born in 1705, and being the oldest son, and bearing both his father's and grandfather's name, was probably admitted to more privileges than the other children. He went to England soon after he reached the age of manhood and obtained the favor of a presentation at Court. He is said to have been very handsome and manly in appearance, and he so favorably impressed one of the royal Dukes that he gave him a Colonel's commission. A part of the dress he wore at Court is now in the possession of his great grandson, William Hopkins Cooke, Esq., of Barrington, R. I.—He married an Angell and had a son, Christopher, who married Sarah, daughter of Judge Daniel Jenckes. Joanna Hopkins, daughter of Christopher, married Nicholas Cooke, son of Nicholas Cooke, who was, at the time of her marriage, Governor of R. I. Col. William Hopkins died before the Revolutionary War, in his native State.

STEPHEN HOPKINS was born March 7, 1707, and was consequently in his 70th year at the time he signed the Declaration of Independence. No particulars of his boyhood are preserved. As there were no schools in those days in his neighborhood, he must have been taught at home by his mother, and also by his Uncle Wilkinson, a surveyor, living within two or three miles. From early youth, probably as young as Washington, he was employed to survey land.

At nineteen he married Sarah, the youngest daughter of Major Silvanus Scott of Providence. The marriage took place June 27, 1726. On this occasion his father gave him a deed of 70 acres of land, and his Grandfather Hopkins bestowed on his "loving grandson," as the deed reads, an additional tract of 90 acres of bordering territory. He continued to reside on his farm and on that of his father,

which came into his hands, until he was thirty-seven years of age, when he removed to the seaport of his native town, or Providence, and entered into trade and commerce on South Main street. When Scituate was set off from Providence in 1730, at the age of twenty-three, he was chosen Moderator of the first town meeting. This fact is significant of the esteem in which he was held. The following year he was elected Town Clerk, which then, as now, included the registry of deeds and of probate. This office he held for ten successive years and then resigned it. The books, in his beautiful handwriting, are still preserved. In 1733 he represented the town in the General Assembly and was made Justice of the Peace. In May, 1739, he received the appointment of Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. In May, 1751, he was made Governor of the State, and at subsequent times filled the office, in all nine years. The town of Providence seems to have made him the standing moderator of her Town Meetings, so often and regularly was he chosen. In 1757 he headed a list of thirty-six men (his son George being one of the number,) as ready to march against the French and Indians, who had suddenly invaded the Northern frontier, carrying ruin and terror in their path. Their speedy retreat prevented the setting out of the expedition. In August, 1774, he, with Samuel Ward, was elected to represent the State in the General Congress at Philadelphia, and served there for several successive years. He exerted himself in Congress for decisive measures, saying on one occasion, "that the time had come when the strongest arm and the longest sword must decide the contest, and those members who were not prepared for action had better go home."

His wife was with him at Philadelphia, June 21, 1775, when he wrote to his daughter Ruth at Providence the following letter :

"BELOVED RUTH—I wrote you on the 25th May and gave you an account of our journey hither. Since then I have had an ill turn and two or three fits of the fever and ague, but am now well. Your mother has not been very

well for several days and is now quite poorly. I hope she will soon be better. George (his son) I expected to have seen here, but believe he is gone to South Carolina. Col. Washington will set out from here in a day or two for New England, to take the command of the Continental army, of which he is appointed Commander-in-Chief. He will be accompanied by Gen. Lee, who also has a command in that army, which is taken into the pay of all America."

It was at this time that Washington, passing through Providence, was sent by the town authorities to lodge at Gov. Hopkins's house, although he and his wife were absent. Ruth had only a few black servants in the house, and as her father lived in a very plain way in his small house, the relatives and friends of the family tendered the loan of China, glass and other articles, but the patriot's daughter proudly replied, "*that what was good enough for her father was good enough for General Washington.*"

He was a member of the naval committee, and John Adams, who was also a member of that committee, thus alludes to him in the third volume of his autobiography :

"In this place I will take the opportunity to observe, that the pleasantest part of my labors for the four years I spent in Congress, from 1774 to 1778, was in this naval committee.—Mr. Lee, Mr. Gadsden, were sensible men and very cheerful, but Gov. Hopkins of R. I., above 70 years of age, kept us all alive. Upon business his experience and judgment were very useful. But when the business of the evening was over he kept us in conversation until 11 and sometimes till 12 o'clock. His custom was to drink nothing all day, nor till 8 o'clock in the evening, and then his beverage was Jamaica spirits and water. It gave him wit, humor, anecdotes, science and learning. He had read Greek, Roman and British history, and was familiar with British poetry, particularly Pope, Thomson and Milton, and the flow of his soul made all his reading our own, and seemed to bring to recollection in all of us all we had

ever read. I could neither eat nor drink in those days. The other gentlemen were very temperate. Hopkins never drank to excess, but all he drank was immediately not only converted into wit, sense, knowledge and good humor, but inspired us with similar qualities."

Gov. Hopkins was esteemed an excellent mathematician, and was extensively engaged from youth to advanced age in surveying land. In taking the survey of a tract of land he passed over a plain thickly set with shrubbery. Soon after he found that his watch, which cost twenty-five guineas in London, was missing. Supposing that the chain had become entangled in the bushes and the watch thereby pulled from his pocket, he set the course back and found it hanging on a bush. He was associated with Benj. Howard and others at Providence, June 3, 1769, in making observations on the transit of Venus over the sun's disc.

He acted in concert with JAMES OTIS and SAMUEL ADAMS in those earlier contests with arbitrary powers, which paved the way for the Revolutionary War, doing in Rhode Island what they did in Massachusetts. In 1754 he was appointed a member of the Board of Commissioners, which assembled at Albany, to digest and concert a plan of union for the Colonies. He wrote a pamphlet in support of the rights and claims of the Colonies, called "The Rights of the Colonies examined," which was published by order of the General Assembly. With the celebrated James Otis of Boston, that ardent apostle of liberty, he so keenly sympathized as to come to his aid in a political controversy for freedom.

Mr. Howard, of Halifax, published in 1765 a letter to a friend in Rhode Island, in which he ridiculed the plan of American representation in Parliament and openly defended the justice and expediency of taxation by English authority. Mr. Otis gave a spirited reply, in which was much acrimony and personal abuse. This drew forth a sharp personal retort from Mr. Howard; and Mr. Hopkins took up the controversy, defended Otis and overwhelmed their common opponent with sarcasm and in-

vective. At a special town meeting held in Providence, August 7, 1765, Gov. Hopkins was chairman of a committee chosen to draft instructions to the General Assembly on the Stamp Act. He was not Governor in that year. The resolutions reported by that committee were the same that Patrick Henry introduced into the House of Delegates of Virginia, but with a sixth additional. Those resolves passed in the Assembly, including the fifth, which had been rejected in the "Old Dominion." The additional resolution stated, that "WE ARE NOT BOUND TO YIELD OBEDIENCE TO ANY LAW OR ORDINANCE DESIGNED TO IMPOSE ANY INTERNAL TAXATION WHATEVER UPON US, OTHER THAN THE LAWS AND ORDINANCES OF RHODE ISLAND."

This measure showed that Rhode Island stood in the very front rank of opposition and that Stephen Hopkins headed the movement in his State, as did Otis and Samuel Adams in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia.

We should not forget, in giving a sketch of the life of Gov. Hopkins, his taste in poetic composition. He had severe domestic afflictions in the loss of children and that of his first wife very near together, and their loss drew forth some lamentations in verse. His son *Silvanus*, a youth about nineteen years old, was cast away on Cape Breton shore April 24, 1753, and barbarously murdered by the savages. Another son, *John*, died at Cadiz July 20, 1753, thus bringing very near together the death of two children. Here is one of two pieces written on these occasions:—

"On prickly stems as gayest rose-buds blend,
Sweetly diffusing odors all around;
Yet leaf by leaf the blasted flowers descend,
And on the stocks thorns only then are found.

When I look back upon my hopeful sons,
Cheerfully smiling round my youthful mate,
My soul within me sadly sinks and mourns
The ruined riches of my former state.

Does Fate delight to shower his blessings on us,
That we may think our happiness complete;

Then suddenly to snatch all comfort from us,
And make his triumph in our weak defeat?

Are Heaven's designs so far above our reach,
On what we thought our blessings chiefly stood,
Kindly interposing thus to make a breach,
To show us plainly what's our real good?

And can the holy God, supremely just,
For any blinded sinner's hated guilt
Give up the lives that never here transgress?
To make us see—must kindred blood be spilt?

O, low in thought! O, weak to understand!
In vain doth man inquire and man complain;
My ways, though right, he ne'er can comprehend—
Silent submission is all he can attain.

There let him rest in humbleness of mind,
Keep in due bounds the passions of this life;
And in my goodness he shall always find
The comforts of his children and his wife.

All souls are mine, and bodies I afford
Such and so long as my great scheme requires;
Examine not the doings of thy Lord,
But in Him find the source of all desires."

We have testimony in these lines of the affectionate parental heart. His daughter Ruth often and warmly uttered, "Never was father kinder than he was to us children." He was twice married, living with each of his wives just twenty-seven years. His second wife was Mrs. Smith, a widow with three children, whom he married Jan. 2, 1755, in the Quaker Meeting House, still standing in North Providence. At the time of his second marriage he connected himself with the "Friends" or Quakers, of which denomination Mrs. S. was a member. At the death of this wife, January 20, 1782, he was deeply afflicted, saying, that it was the heaviest, because his first bereavement found him in the vigor of life and he could bear it better, but now, in old age, he could ill conceal the blow. He has inscribed his feelings on her gravestone:

"O, my companion and fellow traveller,
Thou hast left me to finish my journey alone!"

President Manning said of these lines, that

if Gov. Hopkins had never done anything else, they would be sufficient alone to show him to have been a man of genius and feeling.

Three years more of widowhood, and a prolonged and distressing illness closed his earthly career. He had the loving attentions and faithful care of his daughter Ruth to the last, and she greatly smoothed the pathway of his setting life. To her he left his books and furniture and his house, which is still standing, for her lifetime. His death took place July 13, 1785, and he was buried in the North burial ground of Providence, in a grave between his two wives, near to some of his children, and bordering upon some of the family of his son, Judge Rufus Hopkins. The Jenckes family, relatives and intimate friends of Governor Hopkins, are also buried in the vicinity, so that those who lived together in sweet intercourse and affection are now sleeping side by side in a lovely rural cemetery, adorned by nature and art. The beautiful monument erected to his memory by his native State bears the following inscription:—

On one side:

"Sacred to the memory of the illustrious
STEPHEN HOPKINS,
of Revolutionary fame:

Attested by his signature to the Declaration
of our National Independence.

Great in Council from sagacity of mind;
Magnanimous in sentiment;

Firm in purpose, and Good as Great,

From benevolence of heart, he stood in the first
rank of Statesmen and Patriots.

Self-educated,

Yet among the most learned of men;

His vast treasures of useful knowledge;

His great retentive and reflective powers;

Combined with his social nature, made him
the most interesting of companions in private life."

On another side:

"His name is engraved on the immortal
record of the Revolution and can never die.

His titles to that distinction are engraved on
this monument, reared by the grateful
admiration of his native State,
In honor of her favorite son."

On a third side we read :

HOPKINS,

Born March 7, 1707.

Died July 13, 1785.

There is no accurate portrait of him. When Trumbull painted his picture of the signers of the Declaration of Independence he was dead, and his son, Judge Rufus Hopkins, who very much resembled his father, was taken for him.

In some respects he resembled FRANKLIN,—self-taught, sagacious, philosophical, unselfish, humorous, social, firm, laborious, brave and patriotic. He was born the year before the celebrated printer, and like him, was much in the public councils, looked up to for advice, depended upon in trying circumstances, for many years before the Revolutionary War and during its progress. His name will go down to the latest posterity as one of nature's true noblemen and a patriot of long and tried service. He affords us one of the noblest and most animating specimens of self-made men, who have fought their way up to eminence by the inherent craving after knowledge, the irrepressible will, moulding all things to itself, and extracting from everything around means for advancement.

In 1738 William Hopkins, the father of Governor Hopkins, then a widower, in expectation of the death which soon came, dictated his will, which is still in preservation, the signature indicating a very poor penman. To Stephen, a favorite son, as he had previously deeded to him his farm, little or nothing was left; and indeed, the property bequeathed could not in all be more than a few hundred dollars. One bed and bedding, one chest and his wearing apparel and some little money to his daughters are about all. Esek, a tall, athletic youth of nineteen, received a *gun* and ox-chain, and after his father's death took the gun upon his shoulder, and, a homeless orphan boy, set out to seek his fortune in the wide, wide world. Proceeding to the head waters of Narraganset Bay, to the little seaport of Providence, described by an English visitor in 1741 :

"This pleasant town doth border on the floods,
Here's neighbors, orchards and more back the
woods;"

he there sought a voyage.

GENERAL WASHINGTON addressed this lad 38 years afterwards, Ap'l 14, 1776, as ADMIRAL Hopkins, but *now* he was "a youth to fortune and to fame unknown." As the small craft in which he sailed as a green hand to one of the W. I. ports passed down the bay on her voyage, the landscape so full of beauty and interest, and the features of the distant climes to which he was bound already impressing themselves on his ardent imagination, how glowed the bosom of the aspiring and brave youth, thus suddenly emancipated from the seclusion of his forest home.

Success crowned the farmer's boy in his new vocation. He had found his place, and soon rose through the grades of office to be the master and owner of vessels. He made Newport, then a place of considerable commerce, his residence. As Bishop Berkeley said in 1729, "the most thriving place in all America for business." Here he married Miss Desire Burroughs, daughter of Mr. Ezekiel Burroughs. In 1755, having acquired considerable property, he abandoned the seafaring life and removed to Providence.

Twenty years after this, in 1775, the enemies of liberty in America having made descents at Newport and other towns on the Narragansett Bay, carrying off live stock for the supply of the British troops shut up in Boston, the town of Providence appointed Capt. Hopkins commandant of a battery of six eighteen-pounders at Fox Point. This was done Aug. 29, and Oct. 4 following the Governor commissioned Brigadier General Ezek Hopkins in command of five companies to be raised for the protection of the Colony from such depredations.

One month afterwards the Continental Congress gave him command of the navy about to be established. His brother Stephen, of the Naval Committee of Congress, thus writes him respecting the appointment :

"Philadelphia, Nov. 6, 1775.

Dear Sir,

You will perceive by a letter from the committee dated yesterday, that they have pitched upon you to take the command of a small fleet, which they and I hope will be but the beginning of one much larger.

I suppose you may be more serviceable to your country in this very dangerous crisis of its affairs by taking upon you this command than you can in any other way. I should therefore hope that this will be a sufficient inducement for you to accept of this offer. Your pay and perquisites will be such as you will have no reason to complain of. Such officers and seamen as you may procure to come with you may be informed that they will enter into pay from their first engaging in this service, and will be entitled to share as prize the one-half of all armed vessels, and the one-third of all transports that shall be taken.

You may assure all with whom you converse, that the Congress increase in their unanimity and rise stronger and stronger in the spirit of opposition to the tyrannical measures of administration.

I am your affectionate brother,

STEPHEN HOPKINS."

The appointment was accepted and the fleet, consisting of the ships Alfred, Capt. Dudley Saltonstall, and the Columbus, Capt. Whipple, the brig Andrew Doria, Capt. Nicholas Bidle, and the Cabot, Capt. John B. Hopkins, and the sloops Providence, Fly, Hornet and Wasp, put out to sea Feb. 17, 1776, with a smart northeast wind, and cruising among the Bahama Islands, captured the forts of New Providence, Nassau. This was a very fortunate affair, for the heavy ordnance and stores proved quite acceptable to the country in its defenceless state. Seventeen cannon, from nine to thirty-six pounders, were taken at Fort Montague, and seventy-one cannon, from nine to thirty-two pounders, from Fort Nassau, besides mortars, shells and round shot, chain and double-headed shot and other articles.

On the commodore's return, when off Block

Island, April 5, 1776, he took the schooner Hawke, of six carriage guns and eight swivels, and the bomb brig Bolton of eight guns and two howitzers, ten swivels and forty-eight hands, well found with all sorts of stores, arms, powder, &c. The Glasgow man of war was engaged very early in the morning of the next day but made her escape.

The celebrated JOHN PAUL JONES, then a lieutenant on board the commodore's ship Alfred, which was one of the vessels engaged with the Glasgow, wrote to a friend soon after the combat:

"I have the pleasure of assuring you that the commander-in-chief is respected thro' the fleet, and I verily believe that the officers and men in general would go any length to execute his orders. It is with pain that I confine this plaudit to an individual; I should be happy in extending it to every captain and officer in the service. Praise is certainly due to some, but alas! there are exceptions."

Considerable blame was attached to the fleet for not taking the Glasgow, and the ship Columbus, Capt. Whipple, was particularly censured.

The President of Congress wrote Com. Hopkins a letter of a complimentary character and said:—

"Tho' it is to be regretted that the Glasgow man of war made her escape, yet as it was not thro' any misconduct, the praise due to you and the other officers is undoubtedly the same."

Every one is acquainted with the difficulties which Gen. Washington encountered in organizing a stable and efficient army out of a raw militia, whose term of service on short enlistments was often expiring at the very moment when they were most needed. Similar obstacles were met by Com. Hopkins in the navy, and his force was wholly inadequate to protect the long line of American coast and meet the disciplined and large navy of Great Britain. But he performed good service and helped on the good day coming. Atmost like NELSON, HOPKINS became a synonym for naval heroism and for American patriotism. An engraving

of the Commodore, a splendid figure and handsome, open countenance, as indeed belonged to him, was made in France and circulated there and in America. In the picture was a Liberty Tree and the motto, "An appeal to God." A rattlesnake was drawn on the ground ready to spring, and over it were the words, "Don't tread upon me." Below the portrait of the Naval Hero was written, "Hopkins, Commander-in-Chief, la Flotte Americaine." Another likeness, with the tree only, was made. Both of these are in the collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. The portrait very much resembles the Hon. John H. Clarke of Providence, the grandson of Com. Hopkins.

The commodore was some one or two inches over six feet in height and finely proportioned. He built hima house in North Providence, where a niece still resides. Much of his furniture remains, but a large and old fashioned clock, one hundred years old, and a venerable chair have been given within a few years to Brown University and are placed in their Library Room. His death took place in 1802 and he was buried in a private lot. His monument has the following inscription:

"This stone is consecrated to the memory of Ezek Hopkins, Esq., who departed this life on the 26th day of Feb., 1802. He was born in the year 1718, at Scituate, in this State, and during the Revolutionary War was appointed Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the naval forces of the United States. He was afterwards a member of our State Legislature, and was no less distinguished for his deliberation than for his valor. As he lived highly respected so he died, deeply regretted by his country and his friends, at the advanced age of 83 years and 10 months.

Look next on greatness !

Say, where greatness lies !"

JOHN ADAMS on several occasions defended him in the Naval Committee and in Congress against what he termed "that anti-New England spirit which haunted the proceedings of Congress," and was turned against Com. Hopkins. When the trial was over Mr. Ellery of Newport went to Mr. Adams and said, "You have made the old man your friend for life ;

he will hear of your defending him and he never forgets a kindness."

The old man *did* remember the services of Mr. Adams in his behalf. "More than twenty years afterwards," says Mr. A. in his autobiography, "the old gentleman hobbled on his crutches to the inn at Providence, at fourscore years of age, one-half of him dead in consequence of a paralytic stroke, with his eyes overflowing with tears, to express his gratitude to me. He said he knew not for what end he was continued in life, unless it were to punish his friends, or to teach his children and grandchildren to respect me. The President of Rhode Island College, who had married his daughter, and all his family showed me the same affectionate attachment."

The parents of these three distinguished sons should be gratefully and honorably remembered. What a family were William and Ruth Hopkins, rearing in their small and rough boarded farmer's house among the wooded hills, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century !

"'Tis wonderful

That an invisible instinct should frame them
To royalty unlearned; honor untaught;
Civility not seen from other; valor
That mildly grows in them, but yields a crop
As if it had been sowed !"

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 72.

Ann Burt, 4th mo., 1673.

The Will of Ann Burt, dated 8 of January, 1664, mentions William Basset jun'r, John Basset, Elisha Basset and Samuel Basset, when their children are 18 years old, Elizabeth Basset, Sarah Basset, Merriam Basset, Mary Basset and Hannah Basset, Ellen Bartrom to

the wife of William Bartrom, Lydia Burrill; I appoint my Brother Francis Burrill and Goodman Crofts overseers; witnesses, Francis Burrill, William Crofts. Administration granted to William Bassett; probated at Salem 26 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate, taken 18 March, 1672-73, by William Crofts and Francis Burrill. Amount 47, 2, 6.

Robert Morgan, 4th mo., 1673.

Will of Robert Morgan, dated 14th October, 1672, mentions my wife Margaret, my son Samuell, wife's father Norman, son Benjamin, Robert and Bethia, sons Joseph and Moses. I appoint son Samuel sole executor and Ensign Corning and John Stone overseers; witnesses William Rodney (?) and John Trask. Probated 24 4, 1673.

An Inventory of the above estate, am't 219, 14, 00, taken by John Gally and Thomas Rikson. Allowed November 10, 1672.

Tho's Coldham, 4th mo., 1673.

Will of Thomas Coldham, dated 10 March, 1672, mentions Cousin Sarah Traske, sister Whitney's children, mentions his mother and father, Rob't Ingalls, sen'r, Ruth Moore and John Moore, Cousin Sarah Harte(?). Witnesses Richard Hayen, sen'r, and Richard Hven, jun'r. The court appoint Thomas Coldham and Richard Whitney administrators this 26 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate mentions his sister Martha Whitney and her children, his father, Thomas Coldum, his mother, Johana Coldum. Allowed 24 4, '73.

William Charles, 4th mo., 1673.

The will of William Charles, dated this 31 of December, 1672, mentions dear wife Sarah executrix, with my lovin Cousin James Dennis, mentions to take of my loven friends, Mr. Moses Mavericke, Mr. Samuel Cheever and Richard Norman, my cousin Robert Charles, to my cousin James Dennis, his children which he hath or may have by my cousin Mary, his present wife, to Mary Dennis, jun'r, and James

Dennis, jun'r. Witnesses, John Peach, jun., Joseph Doleber. Probated 27 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken Feb'y 10th, 1672-3, by John Peach, sen'r and Samwell Ward. Amount 224, 15, 00. Allowed 4, '73.

William Flint, 4th mo., 1673.

The Will of William Flint, Salem, dated 15th September, 1671, mentions wife Alice Flint, sons Thomas, Edward, my son John Pickering. To my sonn Joshua Ward his son Joshua I give one ten acre lot in the south field which I bought of Capt. James Smith. To Anthony Needham, to John Hathorne of Salem, my sone Jos. Picker. Witnesses, Maj. William Hathorne, sen'r, John Hathorne and William Hathorne. Probated 26 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 22d April, 1673, by Edmund Batter and Hilliard Veren, sen'r. Amount £911, 15s, 00d. Allowed.

The Testimony of Edmond Batter, aged about 64 years, saith that he was with William Flint ye day before he died, did then speak with him about his will and whether he did not see cause to give something to his daughter and granddaughter, he answered he did intend to doe for his sonn Pickering and was sorry it was not down to that purpose, but company comming in he ended for the present, then he that testifieth this said he would leave him for the present and come the next morning, which he did; but then the said Flint was not in a capacity condition to be spoken with, &c. Sworne in Court 27th 4, '73.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clk.

The Testimony of John Hathorne, aged about thirty-one years, Saith that when hee wright ye will of William Flint hee asked him what hee would give to his dafters; his answer in genl was, hee had given them something already and said further hee had or intended to give to his sonn Pickering a parcell of land in ye South field, and would not suffer me to enter itt in ye will, intending to lay itt out to him, which is to the best of my remembrance.—Sworne in Court at Salem 27 4, '73.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clk.

The Testimony of William Hathorne aged about twenty seven years, Saith that hee heard Goodman flint say, hee had or intended to give unto his sone Pickering, a parcell of land which was not long before he made his will. Sworne in Court at Salem 27, 4, '73.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clk.

William Hathorne doth testify that on ye 18 1 mo., '71-2, yt I was sent for to William Flint to hear his will read, about which hee had much considered before, I asked him why he gave so little to two of his daughters, he told me had given them something already and he would give itt to his wife who would doe for his daughters, and yt he would doe well by Thomas, his son, because he had been an obedient child to him, when itt was all he told me it was his will and yt it was written according to his mind and desired me to be a witness to ye same, and further saith not. Sworne in Court at Salem 27 4, '73.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clk.

Sam'l Leach, 4th mo., 1673.

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Leach, taken the 26th of June, 1673, by Nicholas Merritt, Richard Hedson, Edw. Humphrey. Amount 47, 9, 00. Allowed 27 4, '73, and Administration granted to Moses Maverick, Francis Johnson and Robert Knight,

Thomas and John White, 4th mo., 1673.

Will of John White of Lancaster, in the county of Middlesex, in New England, yeoman, dated 10th March, 1672-73, mentions daughter Hannah, son Josiah White, And one-half his farm in Wenham to his daughter-in-law Ruth, wife of his late son Thomas White, and the other half to her son Thomas White when 21 years of age, "at her decease her half to go to her son and daughters;" his (John White's) "daughters Joane, Elizabeth, Marie and Sarra, who are disposed of in marriage, have already received their portion." "Hannah, his youngest daughter, who has lived with him;" his son Josiah White executor; witnesses, Roger Sumner, Ralph Houghton and John Lewis.

An Inventory of the above estate. Amount £189, 00, 00.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas White, late of Wenham, taken by Walter Hayefield, Charles Gott. Amount 81, 08, 02; the debts amount to 130, 2, 4. Allowed in court at Salem 27 4, '73.

John Fairfield, 4th mo., 1673.

An Inventory of the estate of John Fairfield of Ipswich, taken 20th of 9th mo., 1672, by Thomas Fiske and Richard Huttn. Amount 241, 05, 6. Administration granted to Sarah, ye relict, at court in Salem 27 9 mo., '72. The court do order that all the estate of John Fairfield be put into the hands of Danill Killum, the now husband of Sarah Fairfield, until the children come of age, viz., John Fairfield, daughters, viz., Trifana and Elizabeth, all under 14 years, in Court at Salem 27 4 m., 1673.

Elenor Robinson, 4th mo., 1673.

An Inventory of the estate of Elinor Robinson. Amount £5. Allowed in court at Salem 27 4, '73.

Rich. Charlescraft, 4th mo., 1673.

An Inventory of the Estate of Richard Charlescraft, taken 27 of June, '73. Amount £9. Anthony Needham Administrator. Allowed 27 4, '73.

Eliza'th Mansfield, 9th mo., 1673.

The will of Elizabeth Mansfield, of Lynn, dated 20th of 2 mo., 1667, mentions son Joseph Mansfield, daughter Elizabeth Mansfield, my grandchild Elizabeth Mansfield, my grandchild Deborah Mansfield, my son Joseph daugh, my grandchildren John Mansfield and Joseph Mansfield, mentions land that her husband did give to her son Andrew Mansfield. I appoint my son Joseph executor and Mr. Thomas Laughton and Capt. Thomas Marshall overseers; witnesses, Nathaniel Kertland and Samuel Hartt; allowed 26 9 mo., '73.

An Inventory of the estate of Elizabeth Mansfield, aged about 87 years, who died about the 1st day of September, 1673, taken

by Nathaniel Kertland and Henry Rhodes. Allowed 26 9, '73. Amount 184, 18, 00.

Josiah Walton, 9th mo., 1673.

"We whose names are underwritten being present with Josiah Walton when he was brought in first from sea after his wound by lightning, on June 23, 1673, affirme and declare, that upon the company mention to ye sd Josiah Walton that he would settle his estate, he ye sd Josiah Walton being of perfect memory and apprehensive of his dissolution, did declare that his will was that his Brother Nathaniel Walton and his sister Martha Munjoy should have his grey horse for their owne betwixt them, and his other estate he gave it to his Mother Walton, for her use and benefit during her naturall life, and after her decease to be disposed off by her, and divided among his brothers, Nathaniell and Samuell Walton, and his three sisters, Martha Munjoy, Elizabeth Conant and Mary Bartlett, to enjoy an equall part, all alike, Saving that his sister Munjoy should have the better part, and that ye land should not go out of ye name of ye Waltons." Signed, Samuell Cheever, Moses Mavericke and James Dennes. Administration was granted unto the widow Elizabeth Walton in court 27 9, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken November 4th, 1673, by Samuel Ward and James Dennes. Amount ——. Allowed 27 9, '73.

Bridget Window, 9th mo., 1673.

The Deposition of Samuel Worcester and Elizabeth his wife about the estate of Widdow Window, mentions her son-in-law Nicolas Wallington and his son John Wallington, her grandchild Sarah Wallington, her son James Travis; taken upon oath this 25th of November before me, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Com. Administration granted to Nicholas Wallington and James Travis 26 9, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 9th October, 1673, by Samuel Worcester and John Tenny. Amount £26, 1s, 1d.

John Baldwin, 9th mo., 1673.

An Inventory of the estate of John Baldwin by Nathaniel Pickman, Francis Collings.— Amount 65, 10, 6. Administration granted to Arabella, ye relict, in court 28 9, 1673.

John Humphrey, 9th mo., 1673.

An Account of Administration on the estate of John Humphrey, returned to court by Edmond Battor 28 9, 1671.

Nicholas Patch, 9th mo., 1673.

Inventory of the estate of Nicholas Patch of Beverly mentions his two sons John Patch and Thomas Patch. To John Patch 4 acres of meadow by the Dodges farm, 2 acres by Longham. To Thomas Patch 14 acres of upland, &c. John and Thomas exors.

Sarah Longhorne, 1st mo., 1674.

To this Honoured Court now sitting at Ipswich 4 3, 1674, Constante Crosbie, grandmother to this orphan Sarah Longhorne, understanding that Daniel Wickam is like to be persuaded to accept of Gardianship for her, I thinking that she had need of one that hath more experient to Oversee her and for other reasons I am very unwilling and doe desire that such a thing may not be proceeded in or granted till Thomas Longhorne of Cambridge, her Uncle, knows and gives his consent; for he takes more care of the children than I expected he would have don; not more at present, your poor and humble servant and Handmaide, Constante Crosbie." Also a petition of Sarah Longhorne.

Ralph Ellingwood, 4th mo., 1674.

The will of Ralph Ellingwood, dated January 7th, 1673, mentions Wife Hellen executrix, son Ralph when 21 years old he to pay my other sons, viz., John, Joseph, Benjamin and David, and my daughters Mary and Elizabeth. Witnesses, Thomas Pickton and his wife Ann. Allowed 3 5 mo., '74.

An Inventory of the estate of Ralph Ellingwood of Beverly, taken 30 January, 1673, by Henry Skerry, sen'r, Tho. Rooper and John

Massey. Amount 352, 12, 2. Allowed 3 4 mo., 1674.

Robert Leach, 4th mo., 1674.

An Inventory of the estate of Robert Leach of Manchester, taken by John West and Paul Thorndike. Amount £464, 00, 00. Administration granted to Alce, the relict, at court 1, 5, 1674.

Thos. Newhall, 4th mo., 1674.

The Will of Thomas Newhall, senior, of Lynn, dated 1st April, 1668, mentions sons Thomas Newhall and John Newhall, my brother Farrington, son Thomas Browne's children, son Richard Haven his children, viz, Joseph Haven, Richard Haven, Sarah Haven, Nathaniel Haven, and Moses Haven, to be paid when 21 years old, my two daughters Susannah Haven and Mary Browne. I appoint son Thomas Newhall ex'or, witnesses, Thomas Laughton and Robert Potter, proved 1 5, '74.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 25 4, '74, by Oliver Purchis and Robert Burges, Amount 173, 01, 7½. Allowed in court at Salem 1st 5 mo., '74.

Walter Price, 4th mo., 1674.

The will of Walter Price of Salem, dated 21st of May, 1674, mentions sonne John, "I confirm what was promised him upon his marriage," my wife Elizabeth Price, son William Price, my grandchildren, viz: Elizabeth Price, Anne Price, Elizabeth Croade and John Croade, my son "to give his sister Hannah Croade," my daughters Elizabeth Burke, Hannah Vehren and Anne Bradstreet, I appoint my wife, Elizabeth and son John Price joint executors, and my brothers Capt. William Gerrish of Newbury, and Capt. Thomas Lothrop of Beverly, to be overseers, witnesses, Edward Norrice and Benjamin Gerrish. Allowed 1 5, '74.

Hugh Alley, 4th mo., 1674.

The Will of Hugh Alley, Sen'r, dated this 2d 11 mo., 1673, mentions son John Alley, grandchild John Linsey, and his brothers Elizer Linsey & Samuel Linsey, when of age; to

Martha Miller and her child Martha Miller, mentions his wife. Witnesses, William Bassett, Ellenor Lambert and John Alley. Administration granted unto the relict Mary Alley, 2 5, '74.

An Inventory of the above estate taken this 12 mo., 1673, by us, William Bassett and John Lewis, Amount 60, 17, 4. Allowed 2 5, '74.

John Legg, 4th mo., 1674.

The Will of John Legg, senior, dated 16th of November, 1672, mentions wife Elizabeth, three sons, Samuel, John and Daniell, Daniell being my youngest son, my son Samuel's two children, my son John his two children. Witnesses are Samuel Ward and Edward Humphrey. Administration granted to the sons Leift Samuel, John and Daniell, 2 5, '74.

An Inventory of the above estate taken the 25th May, 1674, by Samuel Ward and Erasmus James, Sen'r. Amount £316 13s 02d. Allowed 1 5, '74.

Robert Prince, 4th mo., 1674.

The Will of Robert Prince, dated 24th May, 1674, mentions sons James and Joseph Prince, when of age, daughter Elizabeth Prince. I make my wife executrix, and I appoint Thomas and John Putnam overseers, proved at Salem 30 4 mo., 1674.

Mich'l Patridge and Thos. Hooper, 4th mo., 1674.

"The Account of ye vnoag of Mickaell Partridg and Thomas Hooper, who were drowned in ye month Apriell: here at Salem," "£45 7s. This being divided between 4 men comes to £11 6s 9d a man." Taken by Erasmus James, Sen'r and Christopher Norbee.

John Tarbox, 4th mo., 1674.

The will of John Tarbox, Sen'r, of Lynn, dated 25th 9 mo., 1673, mentions wife, sons John Tarbox, Samuel Tarbox, my grandchild, Samuel Tarbox, "I bequeath unto every one of my sonn John Tarbox his children and my sonn Samull's children, one ewe sheep a peece

I appoint my wife executor, and my friends, Capt. Marshall & Thomas Laughton Sen'r of my overseer. Witnesses, Thomas Laughton, Sen'r, and Robert Burges. Probated 2, 5, '74.

An inventory of the above estate taken 29th of 1674, by Thomas Laughton and Robert Burges, Amount 159 6 6. Allowed 2, 5, 1674.

Tho's James, 5th mo., 1674.

An inventory of the estate of Thomas James, taken 3d of April, 1667, by Nathaniel Holton and Michael Shaffin, Amount 1, 10, 2.

Eliz. Clurge, 9th mo., 1674.

An Inventory of the estate of Elizabeth Clurges, taken 16th 6 mo., 1674, by Maj. William Hathorne and Hilliard Veren, Amount 6, 13, 8d. Allowed in court at Salem.

Walter Price, 9th mo.

An Inventory of the Estate of Walter Price, died ye 4 June, 1674, taken by John Hawthorne and John Higginson, Amount £2058, 14, 4d. Allowed 26 9, '74.

Lot Conant, 9th mo., 1674.

The Will of Lot Conant, dated 24 of ye 7 mo., 1674, mentions aged about 50 years, mentions wife as executor, and his five sons and five daughter, "also that my kinswoman Mari Leech, have a cow or heifer at her being married or going from my wife." Mr. John Hale, Capt. Lathrope, and my brother Exercise Conant to be overseers. Witnesses, Roger Conant and Exercise Conant. Allowed 26 9, '94.

An Inventory of the estate of Lot Conant, taken ye 29 of September, by William Dodge, Sen'r and John Raiment, Amount 722, 16, 00. Allowed in court at Salem, 26 9, '74.

Tho's Meere, 9th mo., 1674.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Meere taken 11th of 7 mo., 1674, by Hilliard Veren and Thomas Cromwell, Amount 15, 11, 00. Allowed 24 9, '74, and his brother John Meers appointed Administrator.

Walter Boaston, 9th mo., 1674.

An Inventory of the estate of Walter Boaston presented to the court 27 9, '74, by the relict to whom Administration was granted. Amount 11, 05, 7, taken by John Legge and Robert Bartlett.

Abraham Whittier, 9th mo 1674.

"At Court the 26 9 mo., 1674, at which his brother Edward Whitier had administration granted of my Father's estate, and my brother is dead, and no person that I now understand is left to pay me my legacy." I am under 21 years of age, signed by John Whitier.

"The 6 of 6 mo., '74, Beeing desired by John West of the Creeke to goe with him to Mr. Gidneye's, where Abraham Whittier lay sick," he willed as follows: to his son Edward one half of the house and land and enjoined him not to sell it, as his wife was to have the other half of the house and land during her life for the bringing up the children which he had by her, and at her death to go to the children which he had by his last wife, I give to my two children by my first wife. Signed by George Keaser and John West as witnesses. Administration granted unto the son Edward Whittier, in court the 26 of 9 mo., 1674.

Inventory of the estate of Abraham Whitteare, late of Manchester, taken 22 6 mo., 1674, by Thomas West and Samuell Sceath, (?) Amount 76, 10, 0.

An account of Administration of the above estate.

John Marsh, 9th mo., 1674.

The Will of John Marsh of Salem, dated March 20th, 1674, mentions Wife Susanna, sons Zachary, Samuel, Jacob, Ezekiel and Benjamin, daughter Bethiah. I appoint my wife and son Samuel executors. Witnesses, Nathaniel Holten and Anthony Buxton, they are also appointed overseers. Allowed 26 9, '74.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 23rd of November, 1674, Amount £135 4s 6d.— Allowed 26 9, '74.

John Black, 5th mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the estate of John Blacke, Senior, taken 12 2 mo., 1675, by Thomas Larthroe and John Hill. Amount 11, 10, 00d. Allowed.

Elias White, 5th mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the estate of Elias White, which was Servant to Robert Stone, and was Drowned at winter Island in a boat carrying fish ashore, taken by Edw. Mould and John King, Amount 9 14 0d. Administration granted to ye Marshall Henry Skerry, in court at Salem, 22 5, '75.

Alexander Lillington, 4th mo., 1675.

(Papers relating to the estate of Alexander Lillington, a true copy of each.)

L. S.

"Albermarle County in the } By the Depu-
Province of Carolina. } ty Governor.

Whereas It hath beene sufficiently made appeare to me, that John James & Joseph James (the Sons and heirs of Thomas James late of this county but formerly of New England are both deceased Intestate and Alexander Lillington, having intermarried with Sarah James the sister and sole heir-ess to the said deceased John and Joseph James, and appearing before my selfe & Council desire Letters of Administration in their owne Rights, of the said deceased's Estate, which being consented to, without Contradiction, and for the better credit and Confirmation of the same, where ever this may happen to come, it was Ordered that the Seale of the County be thereto affixt. I doe therefore give & grant to the said Allexander and Sarah his wife for the reasons aforesaid full power and authority to aske receive and Administer on all the lands houses goods chattels, debts, dues, demands and generally of all ye estate both reall & personall late of the said deceased's, & out of the said estate which shall soe come to their hands or possession well & truly pay all Just debts due & owing by the deceased soe fare forth as the said estate will extend or amount unto, they having given for security

Capt. James Blount & Mr. Thomas Eastchurch, truly to Execute & performe Relating to the premises as an administrator ought to doe by the Lawes of England or of this place. Given under my hand, & Sealed with the Seale of the County this 19th day of March In the yeare of Our Lord 1674.

JOHN JENKENS, Dep't Gov'r."

(A Letter directed as follows:)

"For our hon'd friends The Magistrates of Salem Here In New England."

"Hon'd And Christian friends.

Herewith goes a member of this colliny, Alexander Lillington, whose occasions call him to y'r Jurisdiction, to looke after an estate, reall and personall, in right of his wife; Sarah the daughter of Thomas James, formerly an Inhabitant in y'r Countrey but some years since departed this life; in these parts, whoe left Ishue, besides his said daughter, two-sons John and Joseph: both which beeing since dead, the said estate, (in law and equity) belongs to the said Sarah, as the only survivor. As for such estate, which the said deceaseds were possessed of in this collony, the Said Lillington is invested therewith, by virtue of an Administration, granted to him by this Court. A Testimoniall whereof (attested by our Register, with the seale of the Collony, Affixed thereunto) hee carrys with him to Show yo'r Court of Salem, yett he beeing dubious, that those whoe are in possession, of the said estate there will prove litigious. And if swayed by a worldly interest may weary him with law sutes, unless he will comply, with these selfish and covetous desires, in regard hee is altogether a Stranger in yo'r parts, and so his creditt not likely to furnish him with money (which Solomon saith answers all things) to wage law (therefore hee desires letters from us to yo'r Worship's, as depending (for help and assistance) wholly on yo'r Justice such a reasonable requests by no means could wee deny him, though wee know (by the fame yt is spread) yo'r readiness to distribute to all according to equity. However though wee are assured that so it is, and that we speake to those who pro-

fesse to live, a life to come, yett (as stewards of god) in the bearers behalf, wee thinck expedient to desire yo'r worships to make yo'r wisdom, and justice, operative to countercheck any subtilty or deceipt, that may bee suggested by his opposers yo'r station alloweth yo'r grate advantage, yo'r are the first figures that stand for more in publique concerns then all that follow after. We hope therefor yo'r will show yo'r selves worthy patriotts, and justly defend him against all cunning fraud, but especially that hee may not bee put of with delays. The doing whereof as it will bee of grate concernment to him, so we shall take it as a favor to ourselves, and if it laye ther'th in our awaye, bee ready on all occasions to retalliate. Thus committing you to the protection of the omnificent power: with hearty commendations tendered we take leave to subscribe ourselves.

From ye Court of Albemarle the 12th March 1674-5.

Sirs, yo'r friends & Servants,
THO. CULLEN, JOHN JENKENS, Dp'ty Gov.
JOHN HIXON, JOHN B*****.

"Albemarle. These are to certify all whome in may conserne, That Alexander Lillington was lawfully married wth Sarah James, the daughter of Thomas James, accordinge to the arte of the Country the 16th of September, being in ye yeare of Lord 1669, by me ffrancis Godfrey, to the certainty and truth whereof I have hereunto sett my hand this 10th of October, Anno domo, 1674.

Test, THOMAS HAREIS,

FFRANCIS GODFREY.

The Testimony of Caleb Lambe, aged 36 yeares or thereabouts, testifyeth and saith, that being in the Countie of Albemarle, in the Province of Carolina, in the year 1674-75, being at a Court held in March, where being Alexander Lillington, who suing for letters of Administration in right of his wife and he proving himselfe to be the husband of Sarah the daughter of Thomas James late deceased, the said Court ordered him Letters of Administration.

John Pelton, aged 30 yeares or thereabouts,

testifyeth to the above written. Taken upon oath before me May 20, 1674.

DANIEL DENISON.

Margaret Sandin, 5th mo., 1675.

The last will of Margaret Sandin of Marblehead, made this 20th of August, 1667, mentions that she was late wife of Arther Sandin, "Samuel and Ephraim Sandin, the children of John Sanden my son late deceased," "the children of Nicholas Merritt by Mary my daughter, being in number eight sons and daughter." "to the sons at 21 yeares and daughter at 18 yeares. I appoint my son Nicholas Merritt and Mary his wife executors. Witnesses, Mary Veren, Henry West and Hilliard Veren, sen'r. Allowed 23 5, '75.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by Christopher Lattemere, William Browne and Nathanel Walton. Amount £17 3s 0d. Allowed in Court at Salem 23 5, '75.

Thos. White, 5th mo., 1675.

An account of Administration on the estate of Thomas White, returned into court in Salem by Ruth White the relict, 23 of July, 1675.

Thos. Coldham, 4th mo., 1675.

The Will of Thomas Coldham of Lynn, aged about 86 yeares, dated March 14th, 1674-1675, mentions wife Joannah Coldham all my planting ground in the township of Lynn containing about 24 acres, viz., 12 acres of it being my house Lott and the rest of it with mowing grounds adjoyning to it, being called by the name of Turkye ffield, the whole containing 14½ acres and is bounded with the land of Richard Moore and Joseph Mansfield, and all my meadow ground, (viz:) 5 acres of Salt Marsh in Rumney's Marsh, betwixed Edward Baker's marsh and the marsh of Richard Haven (or Hazen). Also 2 acres of Rumney's Marsh lying betwixed the marsh of Mr. Whiteing and the marsh of Andrew Mansfield and 2 acres of marsh lying in the — before the towne, lying by the marsh of Moses Chadwell. Mentions grandchild Samuel Symonds, my son Clement Couldum. I appoint my loving wife

and my brother and friend Mr. Henry Rhodes joint executors. Witnesses, Samuell Rodes and Joseph Rhodes; probated 21 5, '75.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Coldham of Lynn, who died the 8th day of April, 1675, taken by Francis Burrill and Nathaniell Handforth. Ammount 313, 19, 6d. Allowed 21 5, '75.

Henry Lee, 5th mo., 1675.

The Will of Henry Lee of Manchester, dated 12 Feby, 1674, mentions his wife Mary Lee, son John Lee, Samuell and Thomas Lee, my two daughters Hannah and Sarah Lee. I appoint my wife Mearey Lee executrix and friends Thomas Jones and William Benet, the last named are witnesses; probated in Court at Salem 21 5, '75.

An Inventory of the estate of Henry Lee, taken 29 of March, 1675, by John West and William Bennet. Amount 144, 00, 00d.

Peter Barron, 1675.

The Will of Peter Barron of Marblehead, fisherman, dated 28th of August, 1675, being prest and commanded to go against the Indians, doe give unto my Master Elias Hendly all my estate and appoint him my executor.—Witnesses, Edward Humphreys and John Merrett. Allowed 15 of 10 mo., '75.

Thos. Browning, April, 1675.

Divison of the estate of Thomas Browning by his sons-in-law, Joseph Williams and Isaac Meachum—the land to be divided, viz., sd Joseph Williams to have the 10 acre lott in southfield lying betweene Nathaniell Pickman and John Pickerings land and 1 acre of Salt Marsh lying by Marblehead Bridgand 1 acre of marsh in southfield, between the marsh of Richard Prince and Paule Mansfield's marsh, $\frac{1}{4}$ acre of marsh by the Deacon's marsh by the mill pond; mentions at the decease of their mother-in-law Mary Browning, Isaac Meachum to have 5 acres called Mousers, also $\frac{3}{4}$ acre of salt marsh lying between the marsh of Joshua Buffum and Richard Prince's marsh, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the ground in Towne, the half that lyes from the water to

the north; dated 17 2 mo., '75; witnesses, Hilliard Veren sen'r and John Batchelder.

John Treby, 9th mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the estate of John Trebie taken November 24th, 1675, by John Peach, sen'r, and James Dennes. Amount 74, 11, 06. Allowed 30 9, '75, and administration granted to Mary relict of ye deceased.

Phillip Nowell, 10th mo., 1675.

An "Inventory of the estate of Phillip Nowell seaman, who by a sad providence was drowned at sea upon the coast of New England, out of a vessell whereof Mr. Habbacuck Turner was Commander, bound for Salem in New England from France, being about ye 15th day of this inst., November;" dated 25 November, 1675; taken by Richard Croade, John Beckett and John Pallot, returned by William Dicer, who requests power of administration, 21 10 mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the above estate in the hands of and returned by Habb. Turner, amounting 41, 16, 03; returned 22 10, '75, and sd Turner appt administrator.

Abel Aseph, 9th mo., 1675.

Administration on the estate of Abel Aseph, ship carpenter, who was killed by the Indians at Bloody Brook, 18th September, 1675, (he was in company with Capt. Lathrop) was granted unto Edmund Batter in behalf of his brother living at Boston.

Capt. Thomas Lathrop, 9th mo., 1675

"This is a true Inventory of the estate of Capt. Tho. Latrop, of the Towne of Beverlye in the Countye of Essex, and whoe died in the warrs betwixt the English and the heathen," taken the 11th of November, 1675, by Paul Thorndike and John Hill. Amount £734, 04, 00d. Allowed 22 10, '75, and administration granted to Berthiah ye relict of ye deceased.

"To the Honoured County Court now sitting at Salem. The humble petiton of Ezekiel Cheever, Schoolmaster, Showeth, that whereas Capt. Thomas Lawthrop, who lately lost his

life in ye service and cause of God and his country, being his wive's own, dear natural brother, dying intestate and without issue, he humbly conceives himself on ye behalf of his wife to be ye true naturall proper heir of his estate left, and therefore his duty to make his humble address to this Honourable Court, that he may declare and legally plead the same. To which end he came and attended ye court neer a weeks space; But ye Court by publick occasions of ye Countrey being necessarily adjourned, he was forced to return home, and resolved (God willing) to attend ye Court ye time appointed. But by ye providence of God, ye season being extraordinarily stormy and himself under bodily infirmity, he could not possibly come without apparent hazzard of life, limb, or health, yet had cautiously left order and instructions for his son to appear for him in such an exigences, which accordingly he did, though not in season, being by the same providence also hindered. So that the Honoured Court (no heir appearing) granted administration to his sister Lawthrop, according to what then appeared. But seeing ye estate was not then settled nor ye case fully issued, many things alledged being dark and dubious, and nothing legally proved, and he hath much to say, to invalidate yt very writing given in and ye seeming force of it. He humbly requests this Honored Court, that being a party so neerly concerned and interested, he may have ye liberty of making and pleading his clame and title according to law. And for ye better security of what shall be judged to be his right, he may be joyned together with his sister Lathrop in administration of ye said estate. And he shall as in duty bound pray, &c."

"To the honred Court now sitting at Salem this last November, 1675. The humble addresse of Bethiah Lawthrop widow of Capt. Thomas Lawthrop of Beverley, who latelye dyed in the warrs between the English and the heathen, sheweth:

That whereas it hath pleased the onely wise God to take awaye my dear husband in the

warrs, whoe hath not disposed of his estate by any written will, which I know ofe, wherefore I humbly crave the favor of this honoured Court to settle the same, and for the end, that his estate may be settled according to my dear husband his desire, if the honored Court shall see meet soe to doe I shall trewly relate, as from his mouth to mee, as followeth, when hee began to Recover of his last sickness, which was about this tyme of ye last year, he sitting upon his bed called me unto him and said to mee I have been considering of setting matters in order, and said, The catles and the moveables I will not medle with, I will leave them to thee. The ten acre lott, on which the house standeth, I will give to the Towne, as a token of my love, for the use of the ministrye, after thy decease. And the Land, without the gate, that is to saye, the plaine and the little pasture together with the lands in ye woods aboute Snake hill shall bee for my sister Cheevers her children after my decease. And to my brother Joshua Rea, his 4 youngest children I give £5 apeese after thy decease. And to Noah fiske I give £20, to bee paid out of ytept: of that land which lyeth in the woods towards my brother Joshua Rea his farm, after thy decease. And considering his adopted daughter Sarah Gott, whom hee called after his owne name, (viz.) Sarah Gott Lowthrop, whoe hath lived with us a shild and soe remaineth with mee, hee saide shee should have a shild's portion, there is for her a verye good ffarme. Concerning the lands above written to my sister Cheever her children, my husband ryding with me to Wenham a week before the last court of Election, rydeing through parte of the sd land, said againe to mee, this parte of the land I give to my sister Cheever, shewing mee a convenient pease to sit an house uppon, the which if this Honoured Court shall see meet to allow, which is my dear husband's disposal of his estate as signified to me—I shall remaine your honors humbly to serve you.

BETHIAH LOWTHROP."

EXTRACT FROM AN OLD JOURNAL.

May 12, 1800. This day the first number of a new paper came out, published by Wm. Carleton, called the *Impartial Register*. "Its appearance is respectable," says the editor of the Salem Gazette.

" 17, 1800. Timothy Pickering dismissed from the office of Secretary of State by President Adams, and Mr. Monroe appointed in his place.

N. B. Mr. Pickering refused to resign when requested by the President.

" 25, 1800. Died at Boston on Wednesday last, Hon. Moses Gill, Lieut. Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this State, and this day buried with suitable respect. Since the last election, the Governor (Sumner) and Lieut. Governor have both died.

June 24, 1800. Major General Hamilton honored Salem this day with a visit. He passed a few hours at Mr. Pickman's, where he dined—after which he proceeded on his journey to Portsmouth.

PHILIP ENGLISH.

PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 85.

The next victim of those arrested on the 21st was Sarah Wildes. She too was of Topsfield, and, like Mrs. Easty, behaved with all the firmness and dignity of innocence at her examination. Anna Putnam, Marcy Lewis,* Mary

* This Mercy Lewis, it will be remembered, was the most vehement of the accusers against Mrs. Easty, and it may be that that excessive virulence was caused by a desire to prove to the Court that she, as one of the afflicted ones, was especially hated and tormented by a witch, the more especially as

Walcott of Salem Village, and others appeared as her accuser. Deliverance Hobbs also accused her, when she herself was examined, and there appears on the Court Records a petition of Ephraim Wilds, son of Sarah Wildes, (*who, as Constable of the town of Topsfield, was called upon to arrest Wm. Hobbs and Deliverance, his wife,*) in which (while he begs the Court to consider that his mother has always instructed him in the Christian religion and the ways of God ever since he was able to take instruction) he plainly intimates from certain circumstances his conviction, that Deliverance Hobbs accused his mother out of revenge for *his* arresting *her*! According to another petition of his, he had stopped old Mrs. Redington, (the same that accused Mary Easty) who had been circulating some witchcraft stories against his mother, by threatening to arrest† her husband for it and make him pay damages for the defamation—whereupon Mrs. R. said she knew no harm of Mrs. Wildes. In yet another petition of his, he intimates that a third person, who probably appeared against his mother, may have done so out of revenge, because, although on the point of an engagement to her daughter some years before, yet he had thereafter avoided her, as the mother had believed some stories that old goody Remington had told her against his own mother. By such papers as these on record we can see, that, under the "outray" of witch-

she had been herself charged with witchcraft by Deliverance Hobbs on the 22d of April, and may have been laboring under suspicion in consequence. To save herself may have been the ruling motive, and would account in one way certainly for the unparalleled sufferings she endured for two days and a night at the hands of Mrs. Eastey. See the account of Mrs. Eastey in this article.

† A worthy gentleman of Boston having been accused during this witchcraft persecution by some Andover accusers, sent by some of his particular friends a writ to arrest the accusers in an action for defamation, with £1000 damages, and with instructions to inform themselves of the certainty of the proof. This stopped the accusations at Andover.—(See *Calef*, page 232.)

craft, private piques and grudges may have been gratified—certainly could have been; and Revenge readily clothe itself in the garb of penitent and accusing Guilt. There was indeed a terrible earnestness in this tragedy all round; for every passion was brought into play for good or evil. The temptation to confess,* or accuse others, in order that their own lives might be spared, was an awful one to many, apart from any and all other motives. As was natural at such a time, the weak and wicked looked out after themselves, and the innocent and virtuous had to bear the guilt and shame.

Sarah Wildes, like Mrs. Easty, was condemned and executed. She was one of the

eleven sent to Boston jail on the 13th May, and in company with Mrs. English. Mrs. Easty appears not to have been sent to Boston until after her second arrest, while her sister Cloyce was sent April 12. In July both these latter named women were brought to Salem for trial, and there is a blacksmith's (Robert Lord's) bill on file, charging the county for iron fetters and handcuffs for the legs and arms of these (as well as two other women), and putting them on. The object of this was to prevent any motion of the arms and feet, because those tormented by the witches in that day professed (and were believed) that they were so under the influence of their tormentors, that they were at times compelled to imitate their every motion, and sometimes at imminent danger to their own lives—the slightest motion on the part of the tormentor having at times a dreadful meaning,* power and significance, utterly unknown to those not tormented, or not initiated into the secrets of witchcraft.

On the 19th of July Mrs. Wilds was executed, and in company with Sarah Good,† (be-

* *Calef*, speaking of the temptations to confess by those accused of witchcraft in 1692, says—"besides that powerful argument, of life, (and freedom from hardships, not only promised but also performed to all that owned their guilt,) there are numerous instances, too many to be here inserted, of the tedious examinations before private persons, many hours together; they all that time urging them to confess, (and taking turns to persuade them) till the accused were wearied out by being forced to stand so long, or for want of sleep, &c., and so brought to give an assent to what they said, they then asking them, were you at such a witch meeting, or have you signed the devil's book, &c., upon their replying yes, the whole was drawn into form as their confession."

"But that which did mightily further such confessions was their nearest relations urging them to it. These seeing no other way of escape for them thought it was the best advice that could be given; hence it was that the husbands of some, by counsel often urging and utmost earnestness, and children upon their knees entreating, have at length prevailed with them to say they were guilty." *Calef* page 236. The confessions of Mary Osgood, Mary Tyler, Deliverance Dane, Abigail Barker, Sarah Wilson and Hannah Tyler, all of Andover, prove that *Calef* is correct in his statement.

Calef says—"And though the confessing witches were many, yet not one of them that confessed their own guilt, and abode by their confession were put to death." Page 234. According to him about fifty confessed—above an hundred and fifty were put into prison, and above two hundred more accused. (page 233.)

* *Calef* states this of the examination of Martha Cory, one of those accused of witchcraft—"When the accused had any motion of their [her] body, hands or mouth, the accusers would cry out, as when she bit a lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if she grasped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being pinched by her, and would produce marks, so of the other motions of her body, as complaining of being prest, when she leaned to the seat next her, if she stirred her feet, they would stamp and cry out of pain there." Pages 188-9.

† "At the trial of Sarah Good, one of the afflicted, fell into a fit, and after coming out of it, she cried out of the prisoner for stabbing her in the breast with a knife, and that she had broken the knife in stabbing of her, accordingly a piece of the blade of a knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the Court, a young man was called, who produced a haft and part of the blade which the Court having viewed and compared, saw it to be true. And upon enquiry, the young man affirmed that yesterday he happened to brake that knife and that he cast away the upper part, this afflicted person being present, the young man was dis

fore named,) Rebecca Nurse of Salem, Elizabeth How of Ipswich, and Susannah Martin of Amesbury—the same woman we have before mentioned as accused of bewitching Mrs. Browne of Salisbury some *thirty* years before. This Susannah Martin exhibited great wit, tact, presence of mind and good feeling on her examination, and intimated pretty plainly that her accusers were possessed of the Devil. She acknowledged that she had no compassion for the afflicted, perhaps believing that their torments were assumed. The strength of this woman's mind appears through all the horrors by which she was surrounded. Her accusers complained that they could not come near her—had terrible fits and torments in the attempt. Whereupon said the Magistrate—"What is the reason these cannot come near you?" "I cannot tell; perhaps the Devil bears me more malice than another." "Do you not see (said the magistrate) how God evidently discovers you?" "No!" said the sturdy woman—"not a bit for that." "All the congregation think so," said the magistrate." "Let them think what they will," was the reply. "What is the reason these cannot come near you?" again asked the magistrate; to which she replied, "I do not know but they can if they will, or else, if you please, I will come to them." Such was Susannah Martin, who appears to have been hunted down by about the whole pack of the wolf-like witnesses. The case of Rebecca Nurse was sad and shocking, and is well stated by *Calef* and in Upham's *Witchcraft*.

The Elizabeth How of Ipswich, who was also executed with Mrs. Wildes, seems to have been a very inoffensive woman, and lost her life, perhaps, through a difference existing between her and a Timothy and Deborah Perley of that town, and the accusation of one Hannah Perley, probably a daughter, whose brother, in the presence of Rev. Sam'l Phillips of Rowley, (and who attests

the fact) once told his sister, "goodwife How is a witch, say she is a witch," and was very properly rebuked by the Pastor at the time for his wickedness, especially as the sister had just cleared Mrs. Howe* of any witchcraft then practised against herself. (See Vol. Salem Witchcraft.)

One cannot but notice in the complaints, in this witchcraft prosecution, the perfect license taken by the accusers to denounce any and all parties against whom their fancies or imaginations ran. No matter whether these accused parties were bodily present or absent—in prison or out of it—they were often denounced as being present by their *apparitions, spectres, or shapes* at various imaginary witch meetings, and as persisting in tormenting in such a way the accusers day after day. Thus there was no end to the accusations made against the accused, even after they were safely lodged in prison. As they were supposed and believed to have made their covenants with the Devil, they became owners in consequence of spectres, which resembled their own persons or shapes, and could send these spectres or apparitions to torment others when they themselves were bodily chained and in prison. Hence in many complaints against freshly accused people, the tormented have

* The trial of Elizabeth Howe is one of those given by Cotton Mather in his "Wonders of the Invisible World." According to his account of it and the testimony given, Mrs. Howe had attempted to join the Church at Ipswich, and some people there were instrumental in debarring her from the Communion—whereupon various and unaccountable accidents befel them and theirs. One or two deaths happened and were laid to her charge, and several confessing witches affirmed that she was one of those baptized by the Devil at Newbury-falls; before which he made them there kneel down by the brink of the river and worship him. Cotton Mather reports the case of Mrs. Howe evidently as a strong one for the genuineness of witchcraft, but the evidence then and there admitted is really foreign to the matter and inconclusive. It was doubtless sufficient for the credulity of that age, but not for the belief of reasonable men of any age.

missed, and she was bidden by the Court not to tell lies; and was improved after (as she had been before) to give evidence against the prisoners." *Calef*, pages 216-17.

terrible tales to tell of the persecutions of the more obnoxious of those previously accused, and at the same time connect and implicate the last accused with the first. This gives a great complexity apparently to the whole prosecution, though the object of the accusers was only perhaps to perplex the public mind, or clear themselves. The practical effect of this course was to entangle the accused in a complex web of accusations, and involve them in a common danger and ruin. To a great degree this effect was accomplished, not, perhaps, as a preconceived system of tactics, but as the result of the necessity of keeping the public mind continually inflamed against the guilty. *Reflection* was sure to destroy the charm. Thus we have seen how, in Mrs. Eastey's case, the reflection of the magistrates was overborne by the persistent torments of Mercy Lewis *for over two days and a night* after Mrs. Easty was first cleared of the crime, and how the fury redoubled when she was again arrested and examined. If the magistrates had been left free to their reflection, the persecution might then have been checked, perhaps; but neither they nor the public were to be allowed to reflect. The consequence was, of course, a renewed and more terrible excitement. The very presence and answers of innocent, reasonable and sensible prisoners only increased the earnestness of the accusers, who could only maintain the delusion* by the sacrifice of the inno-

* We have applied this term throughout to the Salem affair—since it is not pretended now that the afflicted of those days were really tormented by the then accused; and if this be so, then it was an illusion or delusion—the work of the Devil,—or else of the afflicted themselves, which last would be a work of pure malice, or mischief. We think the former. The biblical sin of witchcraft, and the illusion or delusion of 1692 were confounded together by our Fathers—who thought them to be one and the same.

The Scriptures, moreover, furnished no means wherewith to detect such witchcraft; and while our Fathers held to the Biblical sin and punishment, they had to seek outside of the Scriptures for the tests to find and prove the sin. So they sought the works

cent, and by overpowering the reason of the magistrates. There could be no pause or stay in their accusations—and the persistent firmness of innocence was their worst foe; for it tended to bring the public mind to reflection—to itself—and this once accomplished, the charm was broken—the delusion over. Thus, while the accusers were in terrible earnest for evil, the ministers and the magistrates were no less in earnest to suppress what they considered the crime, and obtain confessions of guilt. It was a day consequently of terrible mistakes and terrible wickedness. "The Devil (to use the words of Martha Cory) was come down amongst us in great rage; and God had deserted the earth."

Edward* Bishop, husbandman, and his wife Sarah, both of Salem village, (the next mentioned in the warrant of the 21st April) were arrested, and doubtless examined, though no

of Bernard, and Perkins, and Gaule, (all modern,) to ascertain by what *proofs* witchcraft and witches could be discovered. *Calef*, who is very keen in some of his observations, wonders how the Jews waded through this difficulty (the having no directions in the Bible for the detection of witches) for so many ages, without the supplement of Bernard and Perkins (those modern writers on the art of detecting witches and witchcraft) to assist them. *Calef* thought that the true witches and wizards, and sorcerers and necromancers of 1692, were those who prayed to God that the afflicted (by their *spectral* sight) might be able to see and accuse others, that had familiarity with the Devil, so as to be able to know more than by human means the causes of witchcraft, or those who sought the Devil as a familiar spirit—and those who pretended to see the dead by their spectral sight, and asked questions of them, and then denounced the living. And *Calef* had the better of this argument, either in Scripture or fact.

* According to *Calef*, Bishop was cried out upon, immediately after he had corrected one of the afflicted, an unruly Indian, with his stick, and stating, on the Indian's promising to do better, that he doubted not but he could cure them all (by the same means) with more to the same effect: page 203. This accusation, therefore, has the appearance of malice.

papers relating to their examination can now be found. Enough was found against them to commit them, and on the 13th May they are among the eleven sent to Boston. He and his wife subsequently escaped from prison, and his property was seized in consequence, but (says Felt) redeemed by his son Samuel.

The next party named in that warrant was Mary Black, a negro belonging to Lt. Nath'l Putnam, of Salem Village. She was doubtless examined, as she was committed, and sent to Boston likewise on the 13th May. What became of her, after this, is uncertain. Like Tituba, she may have been sold to pay the prison charges; for it appears that the prisoners or their families had to bear their own expense and maintenance in prison. She may have been released. It does not appear that she ever was tried for witchcraft.

Mrs. English, the wife of Philip, is the last named in the warrant of April 21st, and the facts concerning her arrest have been given in the sketch of Philip English, and as reported by Dr. Bentley of Salem. No record remains of her examination, which, however, was no doubt similar in character to the examinations of Mary Easty and Sarah Wildes, her fellow prisoners on the same complaint, and as accused by the same parties. There remains on record, however, the written complaint of one Susannah Sheldon against Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, which may have been, probably was, presented to the Grand Jury in Oliver's case, and in which Mrs. English and her husband are both represented as being the companions and assistants of said Oliver, and Giles Cory and his wife Martha, in their persecutions against her, the said Sheldon. This document we shall insert in due time. It proves what we have asserted concerning the custom of the accusers—that they drew into the circle of their complaints, even against particular persons, any and all whom they felt disposed to accuse, and in the most fanciful way. In order to find therefore of what any particular person was accused at that time, it is necessary to examine a great number of complaints and

depositions. As the accusers had no facts to charge, they drew perhaps upon their morbid fancies,* and thus multiplied fictions indefinitely. Moreover, as the accusers were pretty much the same parties—a stereotyped set—pretty much the same accusations are found throughout, except where varied by some new device, or by new charges brought in by some new parties, who now found in the alleged crime of the accused the cause and solution of various accidents, misfortunes, miseries, mysteries and murders of the preceding thirty or forty years,

* If we admit that the majority of the accusers of 1692 believed the charges which they made, were not dissemblers—then they were the sport of unnatural and infernal illusions—or were possessed by evil spirits—deceived themselves by false appearances. There is a striking similarity between such a condition and that of those laboring under “delirium tremens.” In the latter case people see unaccountable sights, are pursued often by invisible enemies, and appear to live in an unreal and horrible world. Thus appear to have lived some of the accusers in 1692, and it is a question admitting of deep research, whether such persons were not suffering under a *spiritual* “delirium tremens,” brought on by a surfeit of the credulous fears, prejudices, misfortunes, religious forebodings and fanaticism of that day. If intoxicating drinks in excess have such an effect on the mind through the body, what effects may not an excess of religious fears and fanaticism have through the mind upon the senses and the soul? What more powerful stimulants than fanaticism and fear and credulity? Is not the soul itself subject to intoxication, whose power is only equalled by the subtlety of the agents employed? Whatever was *sincere* in the illusion of 1692 is entitled to the respect of a searching and philosophical analysis.

When the *mind* is diseased, strange hallucinations haunt and disturb men. Those in such a condition sometimes believe themselves to be wolves, cats, or dogs. A person bitten by a mad dog sometimes imagines and believes himself to be a dog. In that case the mind evidently is acted upon through *bodily* disease. Some of the ancient magicians could so impose upon the minds and imaginations of those who sought them, as to make them believe that those magicians changed themselves into another sort of creature. This power Simon Magus, Appollonius, and Ztyo, are said to have possessed.

or the opportunity to gratify private prejudice, pique, or malice.

As we have before said, and as History has recorded, the delusion centred in Salem Village (now Danvers,) and consequently from that quarter came the first and prominent accusers. Against Mrs. English, as against those accused with her, appeared as accusers, Anna Putnam, Mercy Lewis and Mary Walcot. Susannah Sheldon also accused Mrs. E. then, or subsequently. The name of Ann Putnam appears as an accuser in no less than *nineteen* of the witchcraft complaints against as many parties, and it is very probably the same complainant. Mercy Lewis appears in *ten*, and perhaps more—Mary Walcot or Walcott in *sixteen*—Susannah Sheldon in *eight*—Mary Warren (who may have been one of Mrs. E.'s accusers) in *twelve*—Abigail Williams,* the niece of Rev. Mr.

* Abigail Williams (who was a member of Rev. Mr. Parris's family) was one of the four *originally* afflicted, and it will be remembered that Mr. P. was accused by some of his parishioners, after the delusion was over, of going to Abigail Williams, and directing others to her, to know who afflicted people in their illnesses, thus dealing with one that had a familiar spirit. Mr. Parris unfortunately believed in the genuineness of the whole affair, and entered into it with great zeal and credulity. On March 1st he received a volume of Perkins's Works, treating upon witchcraft and the methods of its detection, (Felt's Annals, vol. 2, pp. 475-6) and no doubt made free use of the same. His parishioners charged him with going to Abigail Williams (his niece) and Mary Walcott, and sending others to them, to detect the witches, and we see by the Records that Mary W. is a complainant in no less than *sixteen* cases. Elizabeth Hubbard and Ann Putnam were also two others of the "original" afflicted ones—the whole four being Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Anna (Ann?) Putnam and Elizabeth Hubbard. Now it appears, that Ann Putnam was an accuser in *nineteen* cases, and Elizabeth Hubbard in *twenty*, and it is not unlikely that Mr. Parris, who knew all these accusers well, used them also as the means of detecting the witches. It is a noticeable fact, that his parishioners charge him as being the *beginner* and *procurer* of the witchcraft affliction at the village, and he must certainly have taken a very active, and the *most* active part in the matter in all

Parris, a girl only *eleven* years of age, in *eight*—Elizabeth Hubbard in no less than *twenty* cases—Sarah Vibber in *ten* cases. Besides these, the Rev. Mr. Parris, Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll, Thomas Putnam, Edward Putnam, John Putnam, Capt. Jonathan Walcott, and a few others appear as complainants in behalf of various of their neighbors and the afflicted persons. When accusations were once made, and a very large proportion of those on record were made by the above females, there were not often wanting other accusers, from one cause or another; but the main body seem to have come from the village—certainly as against those who were *condemned* and *executed*. As we have before stated, our fathers imagined—were laboring under the terrible hallucination, strengthened by the confessions of the accused—that the destruction of the village, body and soul, was one object sought; and that unless every witch or wizard in the County and State was exterminated, that object might still be accomplished. The Devil possessed the accusers, and they in turn deluded the magistrates. The latter were unfortunately in a fit condition to catch this Plague, and so, like any visible disease, it ran its natural course.

As these accusations of witchcraft against various parties are very often interlinked and interwoven, we have deemed it best to give a summary of the main events up to the time of the arrest of Mrs. and Mr. English, and the fortunes of several of those so arrested. It is very evident, from what proof now remains on record, that both Philip and his wife were purposely mixed up with some of the most odious of the accused, and therefore made to bear a common burden of indignation with them. Neither of them seem to have been accused alone on their own separate demerits, but as the familiar companions and assistants of Bridget Oliver, Giles Cory, Martha Cory and John Willard—all of whom fell victims to the delusion. They were also brought into

respects, to have been charged so especially by his parishioners.

familiarity with, and as the actual companions "of the black man with a high crowned hat," who was no other than the Devil himself, and so generally stated by the accusers.

Before then taking up the case of Mrs. English and husband, we will give a brief abstract of the histories of Bridget Oliver, Giles Cory and wife and John Willard. In fact their story is, in some parts, the story of those two.

Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, was the first victim to the madness of 1692, though not the first accused that year. She had been accused, however, in 1680, and was evidently unpopular. No less than five* indictments were found against her by the Grand Jury, for witchcraft practised on the 19th of April, and both before and since, upon Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard. She was twice examined before the magistrates; and her body searched

for "preternatural Exerescences," at which Imps might suckle. Such an "Exerescence" was solemnly found at first by a chirurgeon and jury of nine women, though it had disappeared before a second search, and which disappearance may have told against her. The poor old woman persisted in her innocence before the authorities, who were evidently against her, and was of course committed. On the 3d of May, Deliverance Hobbs (arrested with Mrs. Easty, Wildes and English, April 21-2) accused Bridget Bishop, as well as Mrs. Wildes, Osborne, Good, Burroughs, Cory and his wife, and Proctor and his wife. It was a safe thing to accuse, and the safest to accuse those already imprisoned. Bridget B., probably the humblest and most unpopular of the accused, was a good scape-goat and target for malediction. Twenty or more witnesses, besides the sufferers named in the indictment, came forward to accuse Bridget B. of witchcraft. She was fairly overwhelmed with what was then considered *proof*.* The stories told against her would be

Lady the King and Queen and agt the forme of the Statute in that case made and provided.

Witnesses.

Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis,
Ann Putnam, jr., Nath'l Ingersoll,
Eliz. Hubbard, Mr. Sam'l Parris,
Abig. Williams, Thomas Putnam, Jun'r.

Billa vera.

John Rucke foreman in the name of the Rest of the Grand Jury.

* Cotton Mather gives the substance of the evidence against Bridget Bishop, being one of the five cases he reports in his "Wonders of the Invisible World." At this trial *spectral* testimony was freely admitted—that is, the evidence of those who had seen the spectre, shape, or apparition of *Bishop* committing various witchcrafts, one of whom striking at her shape, a bewitched person cried out that he had torn her (Bishop's) coat in a particular place, which was found upon examination to be torn in the very place. A question or two arises here. Was not the coat torn *before*, and did the accuser not know the fact?

Bridget Bishop being the first condemned, her case was most probably a precedent. She was accused of having, or owning a spectre, (being thereby a *cove-*

* The following is a copy of one of the indictments found against her, and will serve as a sample of the generality of the indictments found against others during this witchcraft period. We have previously stated that Bridget B. had four indictments against her, but have since found a *fifth*:

Anno Regis et Reginae William et Marie
nunce Anglice 7th Quarto:
Essex, ss.

The Jurors for our Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen presents that Bridget Bishop alias Oliver the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the County of Essex, Sawyer, the nyneteenth day of April in the fourth year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King and Queen Defenders of the faith and Divers other days and times as well before as after certaine Detestable arts called witchcrafts and Sorceries, wickedly and feloniously hath used Practised and Exercised at and within the Township of Salem in the County of Essex aforesd in vpon and agt one Mercy Lewis of Salem Village in the County aforesd singlewoman—by which said wicked arts the said Mercy Lewis the sd nyneteenth Day of April in the fourth year abovesd and divers other Dayes and times as well before as after, was and is hurt Tortured Afflicted Pined Consumed wasted and tormented agt the Peace of our said Sovereigne Lord and

ludicrous, could we disconnect them from the tragedy they caused. A Wm. Stacey of Salem deposed against her, that though she had visited him some fourteen years before in a most friendly way, when he was afflicted with the small pox, which conduct at the time he "admired," yet some time after that she hired him to do some work for her and paid him threepence, which appeared to him then to be good money, but he had not gone more than three or four rods before he looked in his pocket for the money, but could not find any. Some time after this he met Bridget in the street, and she asked him whether his father would grind some grain for her. He asked her why she asked that question, and she answered because folks counted her a witch. [The poor old woman was evidently afraid to ask any favors of any one.] He assured her he had no question but that his father would, but (said) he had not gone from her above six rods before the off wheel of his wagon, which had a small load in it, suddenly

nant witch) duly commissioned to work mischief. These spectres finally became uncomfortably numerous, *even those of very good people* being often seen by those who were possessed of *spectral* sight, which difficulty *Cotton Mather* thus notes, "But that which makes this Descent [of Devils] the more formidable is, the multitude and quality of Persons accused of an interest in this *witchcraft* by the *efficacy* of the spectres, which take their name and shape upon them; causing very many Good and wise men to fear, that *innocent*, yea, and some *vertuous* persons are by the Devils in this matter imposed upon; that the Devils have obtained the power to take on the likenesses of harmless people and in that likeness to afflict other people, &c.," page 52.

Calef says—"At the examination, and at other times, it was usual for the accusers to tell of the black man, [Satan] or of a spectre, as being then on the table, &c. The people about would strike with swords or sticks at those places. One Justice broke his cane at this exercise, and sometimes the accusers would say they struck the spectre, and it is reported several of the accused were hurt and wounded there by, though at home at the same time." page 214.

Calef intimates in one place that one of these spectres was seen engaged in mischief *after* its owner *had been safely hanged*.

plumped or sunk into a hole upon plain ground, so that he was forced to get some one to help him get the wheel out, and that he afterwards went back and could not find the hole. Her apparition, moreover, had visited him in his chamber at night—and about midnight—sat on his bed, and "hopt" upon the bed and around the room with her "coate clapt close to her legges," &c. He subsequently accused her of this to her face, and she was angry with him, telling him that he was doing her more mischief than any one, as people would believe his stories, and she threatened him (he said) for bringing her out about the brass* she stole; whereupon, some time after this, as he was going to the barn one dark night, he "was suddenly taken or hoisted from ye ground and threw agt a stone wall, after that taken up againe and throwed Down a bank at the end of his house." Some time after this, he "mett the sd Bishop by Isaak Stone's brick kill. After he had passed buy her this Deponent's horse stood still with a small load going up the hill, so yt the horse strjuing to draw, all his Gears and tackling flew in pieces and the cart fell downe." "Afterwards this Deponent went to lift a Bagg of corn of about two bushels, but could not budge it with all his might." He also averred that he "hath mett with seuerall other of her Pranks at seuerall times which would take up a great time to tell of."

He also accused Bridget of bewitching his daughter Priscilla (about two years ago) so that she died in a lamentable manner after a fortnight's sickness.

Sam'l Gray|| testified that he had seen Bridget

* After reading Stacey's stories against Bridget, his accusation against her of stealing the brass appears to be a myth—the only improbable thing he stated.

|| *Calef* says, (pages 214–5) that Bridget Bishop alias Oliver having long undergone the repute of a witch, occasioned by the accusation of one *Samuel Gray*, who about twenty years before had charged her with such crimes—and though on his death-bed he testified his sorrow and repentance for such accusations, as being wholly groundless, yet, the report,

in his house at night, and bewitching his daughter in her cradle, and that she died in consequence. John Hale* of Beverly charged upon her, by implication, a share in the death of Christian Trask of Beverly, who having been "much given to reading and search ye prophecys of Scripture," got out of her mind and killed herself with a pair of scissors; and having at one time prevented Bridget B. from "receiving ye Lord's Supper in our Church," and having regretted, it would appear, afterwards some of her previous treatment of B., she made friends with B. and her husband,†

taken up by his means, continued, and Bridget was charged again in 1692 and executed.

If Gray died then before 1692, his testimony, written out against her years before, must have been admitted against her in 1692, and this although he had acquitted her on his death-bed! Old testimony of twenty years standing was sometimes admitted against the accused, and seems to have been in this case, *even though disowned by its author!*

* Can this be the Rev. Mr. Hale of Beverly? His name was *John*. *Calef* says, (page 228) that Rev. Mr. Hale of Beverly had been (before his own wife, in October, 1692, was accused of witchcraft,) "very forward in these prosecutions." *Cotton Mather* published, by authority, a report of the trial of Bridget Bishop and four others convicted of witchcraft, but we do not find in his account any allusion in her case to the testimony of this John Hale! Mather makes no allusion in his work to any testimony on the Court files in favor of those accused of witchcraft in 1692, yet he says in his work that he wrote not as an *advocate*, but as an *historian!*

† This Mrs. Trask went once into Edward Bishop's house at night, and finding some persons (probably young people) playing shovel board, took the pieces they were playing with and threw them into the fire, and reproved Bridget Bishop for promoting such disorders, but received no satisfaction from her about it. This was one of the motives which induced her to prevent Bridget B. from receiving the Sacrament.—After this, she (Mrs. T.) was sorry for it, and made friends with Edward B. and his wife, and soon afterwards was again prevented from attending public worship in church. All this was laid to the account, probably, of Bridget B. as done for revenge, as well as her death also. It will be noticed that Mrs. T. was

and was thereafter distracted. She finally killed herself—mangling her throat dreadfully with the scissors—whereupon John Hale says, after having seen her, "so that I then judged [judged] and still doe apprehend it impossible for her wth so short a pair of cissars to mangle herself so without some extraordinary work of the devill or witchcraft."

Sam'l Shattuck testified that Bridget B. had bewitched his eldest child in 1680, and that "ever since he has bin stupified and voide of reason, his fitts still following of him." Bridget B. also paid him some money for dyeing certain very mysteriously short pieces of lace, and he put the money she gave him "in a purs among som other money which he locked up in a box and yt (that) ye purs and money was gon out of ye Box he could not tell how."—The Doctors (both native and foreign) had told him, that, in their opinion, his child was "under an evill hand of witchcraft," and he believed Bridget was the cause of it.

Among other witnesses† against her was one

much given to searching the *prophecies* of Scripture, perhaps a common thing then, the research into and ignorant interpretation of which had so much to do with the tragedy of 1692.

† *Calef* says the Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer which tried the witches, "proceeded in the manner of swearing witnesses, viz., By holding up the hand, (and by receiving evidences in writing,) according to the ancient usage of this Country; as also having their indictments in English. In the trials when any were indicted for afflicting, pining and wasting the bodies of particular persons by witchcraft, it was usual to hear evidence of matter foreign, and perhaps of twenty or thirty years standing, about over-setting carts, the death of cattle, unkindness to relations, or unexpected accidents befalling after some quarrel. Whether this was admitted by the law of England, or by what other law wants to be determined, &c." page 233.

According to *Cotton Mather* (page 95) Rev. Mr. Burroughs was convicted of witchcraft by such evidence as was considered sufficient, "according to the rules of reasoning, by the judicious *Gaule*, in that case directed." It would appear then that *Gaule* was of high, if not the highest authority in such investi-

Jno. Cook, who testified that he saw her standing in his chamber one morning about sunrise some "five or six years agoe," and after grinning on him and striking him on the side of his head, he "saw her goe out under ye End window at a little creviss about so bigg as I could thrust my hand into." Perhaps the most marvellous story of her doings was that told by John Louder or Lowder of Salem, who was then living as a servant at Mr. John Gedney's* in S. We shall give this testimony en-

gations. In "*Enchantments Encountered*," page 22, Mather gives an abstract of *Mr. Gaule's* method of detecting witches, which see.

* This Mr. John Gedney (or Gidney) was most probably the Magistrate Gidney, before whom, and his Associates Hathorn and Curwin, Captain John Aldin, (Alden) Senior, of Boston, was examined on the charge of witchcraft, at Salem May 31st, 1692, and committed. Alden's account of the affair Calef has preserved, (pages 210 to 215). If Louder was his (Gedney's) servant, the latter was like his master in credulity, since at the examination of Aldin, whom his accusers had never before seen, and therefore did not know him, on being asked by the magistrates who hurt them, one of them pointed several times to a Capt'n Hill who was in the room, but spake nothing. This accuser had a man standing at her back to hold her up, who stooped down to her ear, and then she cried out *Aldin, Aldin* afflicted her. One of the magistrates asked her if she had ever seen *Aldin*, and she answered, No! He then asked her how she knew it was Aldin? *She said the man told her so.*

A great outcry was then made by this woman against Aldin, and Mr. Gidney bid Aldin confess and give glory to God. Aldin, who was a stout hearted man, replied that he hoped he should give glory to God and never gratify the Devil. Gidney said he had known Aldin many years, had been at sea with him, and always looked upon him as an honest man, but now he saw cause to alter his judgment. Aldin replied to this in a very manly way, and was directed to look upon the accusers, which he did, and they then fell down—prostrated by his looking upon them. Aldin then asked Mr. Gidney, "*what reason there could be given why his (Aldin's) looking upon him did not strike him down as well? but no reason was given that I heard,*" (page 212) Aldin told Gidney that there was a lying spirit in the accusers. Rev.

as its reception by the Grand Jury and Court of that day tells far more potently than can any language of ours to what a fearful frenzy the delusion reached, and what horrible imaginations then entered the minds of men.

"John Lowder vs. Bridget Bishop.

"John Louder of Salem aged about Thurtrey two yeares Testifieth and sayth yt about seaven or eight years since I then living wth Mr. John Gedney in Salem and haueing had some Controversey with Bridget Bishop ye wife of Edw Bishop of Salem, sawyer, aboate her fowles yt vsed to Come into our Orchard or Garden. Some little tyme after which, I goeing well to bed: aboute ye dead of ye night felt a great weight vpon my Breast and awakeing looked and it being bright moonlight did clearly see sd Bridget Bishop or her likeness sitting vpon my stomache and putting my armes of of ye bed to free myself from ye great oppression, she presently laid hold of my throat and almost choked mee and I had no strength or power in my hands to resist or help myselfe and in this condition she held me to almost day. some tyme after this my mistress Susannah Gedney was in our orchard and I was then with her, and said Bridget Bishop being then in her orchard wch was next adjoining to ours, my mistress told sd Bridget yt I said or affirmed yt shee came one night and satt vpon my breast as aforesd which she denyed and I Afirmed to her face to be true and yt I did plainly see her vpon wch discourse with her she threatened me. And some tyme after that I being not very well stayed at home on a Lords day and on ye afternoon of sd day the doors being shutt I did see a black pig in the Roome Coming towards mee soe I went towards itt to kick

Mr. Noyes was unhappily conspicuous in attempting to silence Aldin, who was again committed, but escaped from prison and fled. If Mr. Gidney, a magistrate, could be so easily deceived, what better could have been expected of his servant? Cotton Mather gives Louder's testimony in his report of Bishop's trial, but his book is rare, and we had already given it, and as accurately copied from the Court Records, before it was our privilege to see Mather's work.

itt and it vanished away. Immediately after I satt down on an narrow Bar and did see a black thing jump into ye window and came and stood Just before my face vpon ye bar ye body of itt looked like a munkey only ye feet were like a Cock's feete with claws and ye face somewhat more like a man's yn a munkey and I being greatly affrighted not being able to speak or helpe myselfe by reason of fear I suppose, soe the thing spake to mee and said I am a messenger sent to you for I understand you are troubled in mind and if you will be ruled by mee you shall want for nothing in this world, which I endeavored to clap my hands vpon itt, and said you devill I will kill you but could feel no substance and itt Jumped out of ye window againe and Immediately came in by ye porch althou ye doors ware shutt and said you had better take my counsell wherevpon I strooke at it with a sticke but strook ye Ground-sill and break ye stick, but felt noe substance and yt arme with which I strook was presently disabled, then it fanished away, and I opened ye back dore and Went out and goeing towards ye house End I Espied sd Bridget Bishop in her orchard goeing towards her house and seeing her had no power to set one foot forward but returned in againe and goeing to shutt ye dore, I again did see yt or ye like creature yt I before did see within dores in such a posture as it seemed to be agoeing to fly att mee, vpon which I cried out; ye whole armore of God be between me and you. Soe it sprang back and flew ouer ye appletree flinging ye dust wth its feet againste my stomacke vpon which I was struck dum and so continued for aboute three days time and also shook many of ye apples of from the tree weh it flew over:

"John Louderapearid before us this 2 day of June 1692 and one the oath that he had taken did own this testimoney to be the truth before us the Juries of Inquest.

"Jurat in Curia.

"Bridget Bishop alias Oliuer on her Tryall denied yt she knew this deponent though ye

orchard of said Bishop Goined and they often had differences for some years."

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 174-5-6.]

Two witnesses (one 57 years old, the other 15) also testified, that on taking down the cellar wall of the old house she (Bridget B.) formerly lived in, and about the year 1685, they found in holes in the old wall "severall popitts made up of Raggs and hoggs Brussells wth headless pins in Them wth ye points outward." Such "popitts" were believed to be the images of persons the witch desired to afflict, and by sticking pins in those images the mischief could be mysteriously and safely accomplished. What was done to the images was also really, though secretly, done to the persons they represented, and sometimes caused the death of the tormented persons.

Among the accusers of Bridget B. is *Susanah Sheldon*, whose name appears as a complainant certainly in *eight* cases, several of those *executed* for witchcraft having been accused by her and her companions. She was about 18 years old, and most probably belonged to the Village, since she is found in company with the accusers there in the depositions before the Jury against Sarah Good, who was very early arrested. She appeared also against Giles Cory and wife, Burroughs, Willard, Phil-

[NOTE.—It will be seen by this testimony of Lowders, that he had "some controversy" with Bridget Bishop before she thus tormented him, and this may at least have aggravated the hallucination under which he was laboring. That he *believed* he saw such sights may indeed be true—though the *character* of the man does not appear—but that he actually saw such things, as he describes, is of course incredible. Men laboring under "*mania a potu*" see somewhat similar sights, and may not such hallucinations have been caused by believing in witchcraft to the full—by drinking into the mind and soul those strong draughts of credulity, superstition, prejudice and religious and *spiritual* frenzy then so abounding in the Colony? Lowder was probably both ignorant and superstitious, and perhaps in no condition either of *body* or *mind* to repel the visions which then haunted the morbid minds and souls of the Colony.

ip English and others. In both of the only two papers we have found in which Mrs. English is mentioned, Susannah Sheldon was an accuser, and brings them (P. E. and wife) in incidentally as aiders and abettors of the iniquity. She was one of the principal accusers of Philip English, and was especially virulent against him in a complaint made by her against Sarah Procter, and on or about the 23d May, as near as we can judge. In her complaint against Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, Mr. and Mrs. English are mixed in with Bishop and the more obnoxious of the accused, and we shall reserve this document to illustrate the case of Mr. and Mrs. E., as it bears with about as much force against them, as against any of the other parties named in it.

We have seen somewhat of the prejudice and evidence against Bridget B. Long suspected of witchcraft,* with such a cloud of witnesses against her, with such evidence, she was promptly indicted and arraigned upon five separate indictments before the special Court of Oyer and Terminer held at Salem on the 2d of

* It is a noticeable fact, that of those suspected of, and condemned for witchcraft at Salem in 1692, above a third part *were members of churches*. It was not the old women and the simple and foolish who were then alone suspected. This fact is in confirmation of the causes to which we have in so large a degree attributed the persecutions in 1692. Witches generally had been of the class, whom Spenser, the English Poet, thus describes:

"There in a gloomy hollow glen she found
A little cottage built of stickes and redes
In homly wise, and waled with sods around;
In which a witch did dwell, in loathly weeds
And wilful want, all careless of her needes:
So choosing solitarie to abide
Far from all neighbours, that her devilish deeds
And helli-h art- from people she might hide,
And hurt far off unknowne whom ever she envide."

The New England witches of 1692 certainly do not seem to answer this description in its particulars, even if sharing the malignity and power which the poet has so graphically described, and which were then attributed to what were called *black* or *malefick* witches.

June, condemned, and hung on the 10th. That Court, composed of William Stoughton, Esq.,† and his Associate Justices, were prompt in their efforts to punish this witch, who seems to have borne the first fury of the madness, and was doubtless hung amid the execrations of the people. She died, however, without any confession—a silent martyr—and to judge by some words (intended to be erased) in the Sheriff's return, was "buried in the place"‡ where executed—probably at the gallows foot. When the Committee appointed by the Gen'l Court to distribute pecuniary relief to the sufferers in 1692 sat in Salem, 1711–12, she was one of the six persons, for whom "no person or relation appeared in ye behalfe of for ye taking of ye attainer or for other expences." Obscure, frierdless, infamous, hated, she died, and seems to have left none to inherit what was then infamy, but now fame.

† Stoughton unfortunately was a most bigoted believer in the witchcraft, and guilt of those condemned before him, and even left the bench because of the stay which was at length put to the prosecutions—stating pointedly his disgust, and dislike to the step. (See Calef, pages 88–9, and Upham's Witchcraft, page 87.) He evidently thought that justice was obstructed by that stay. Such was the Judge who presided over these trials.

‡ In connection with the burial of any or all those executed for witchcraft in Salem, we append the following valuable tradition, which was sent us by Matthew A. Stickney, Esq., whose antiquarian researches in other branches of history are so well known.

"The late Caleb Buffum, who died at a very advanced age, some years since, in Federal Street, related to me many things, which had been handed down in his family respecting the execution of witches on Gallows Hill. Some twenty years ago, an attempt was made, by digging, to bring to light something of the individuals buried on that Hill, but nothing was found. Mr. Buffum informed me that he was not at all surprised at it—that notwithstanding they were buried with their clothes on, near where they were executed, he had been informed by his grandfather, that their friends, when it came night, disinterred them, and that they identified them by their clothes, and one man from an issue on his arm—that they were carried down from the hill by a bridle path, which ran along the banks of the North River, in the rear of Federal Street, and if they were seen, no objections were made."

We trust Mr. Stickney will be able to reduce to writing all that he recollects of Mr. B.'s traditional knowledge, which we doubt not is as correct, as it is interesting.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE, ON THE
AUTHENTICITY OF THE TRADITION
OF THE FIRST CHURCH, BUILT IN
1634.

Read at a Meeting of the Institute, April 26, 1860.

The Committee appointed in July 1859, to ascertain the authenticity of the tradition as to the identity of an old building on the estate of David Nichols, back of Boston street,—having been built from the frame of the first Church ever erected in Salem, and report at a future meeting of the Institute what action it would be advisable for the Institute to take in relation thereto, have attended to that duty, and beg leave to report, that

Your Committee have with unwearied pains endeavored to investigate the subject, for which they were appointed; that they trust they have brought to this important task, the most unprejudiced and impartial minds,—that they flatter themselves they have been only diligent searchers into the truth, in relation to this subject; that they have no private views or aims to gratify—that they have only in common with their fellow citizens, the sincere and ardent desire to investigate, impartially the validity of the testimony on which has rested the belief that this is the veritable building, which the records say was erected in 1634; for the first Church; where our ancestors worshipped the God of their fathers, agreeably to the dictates of their own consciences; and if true, to preserve for all coming time, this humble temple of God, from the all destroying elements; the tooth of time, having already made very free with it.

But while we desire to sift the evidence critically and impartially, on which this tradition is founded, we have wished to do it, in a liberal and catholic spirit; with no narrow or cynical criticism, and to exercise towards the traditional part of the evidence, the liber-

ality which we think honestly and truthfully belong to it. That it has come to us from long lived men, remarkable for retentive memories, and famed for truthfulness; that it is no vague, improbable legend, based upon uncertain and visionary testimony.

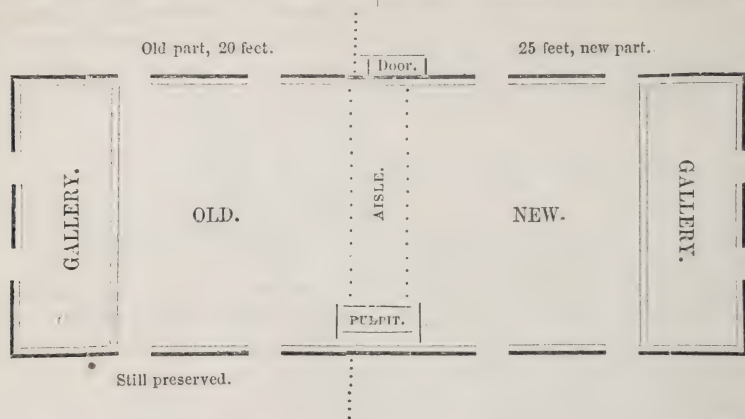
The first question appears to be—is this the frame of the first Church erected in 1634? Is there, in records and reliable tradition, evidence to warrant a belief that it is?

Let us first look into the evidence from the records,—then into the tradition,—and lastly, —the internal proofs from the building itself.

We have the assurance from the records, that the congregation, having worshipped from 1629 to 1634 in an *unfinished* building, of one story, agreed, the latter year, with Mr. Norton to build a suitable meeting-house, which should not exceed the amount of £100. In 1638, four years afterwards, “bills were paid for daubing and glazing this house.” The next year, in February 1639, an agreement was made with John Pickering to build a “Meeting house,” but from what follows; and in which your Committee coincide, it was only an *addition* to the old house; for the town voted on the 31st Dec. 1638, only two months previous, to build an *addition* to the meeting house. The agreement with Pickering was “that it be 25 feet long, the breadth of the old building, with a gallery answerable to the former, one catted chimney of 12 feet long; the back whereof to be brick or stone, to have six sufficient windows, two on each side, and two at the end; and a pair of stairs to ascend the galleries, suitable to the former.” Here only *one* end is mentioned; and a *Meeting House* would of course have had *two* ends. Thus we have the information; also, that the first building had a gallery.

This *addition* made the building twice its former size, exclusive of the five feet which was necessarily reserved for a pulpit, on the side, between the galleries, and a door opposite with an aisle in the middle, a style of

Church building which continued from that day until a very late period. The whole length of the building then was forty-five feet as here represented in the following plan.



In 1617 "Mr. George Curwin and William Lord have undertaken to provide stone and clay for repairs of the meeting house. Mr. Curwin has promised to provide for covering the meeting house, 500 nails, and is promised to be paid to his content." This house continued, as appears by the records, to accommodate the "congregation" until 1670, when the second house was built, of 60 feet long, 50 feet wide and 20 feet stud, situated according to the records "at the west end of the old meeting house towards the prison." The town gave the land to set it upon. On the 17th Aug., 1672, the town "voted, that the old meeting house be reserved for the town's use, to build a skoolhouse and watch house," and be carried "into some convenient place where it may be reformed for the town's use," and it was further voted that "the old pulpit and the deacon's seat be given to the farmers," who were then erecting a meeting house at the Village. The stones of the underpinning of the old meeting house and the clay is given to Mr. Fisk. The "clay of the old meeting house" has probably reference to the floors, which were no doubt made of clay,—boards being scarce, as there were but few saw-mills in the Colony at that early period; this custom of clay floors is still common in the cottages of

Scotland and Ireland at the present day. On the 10th June, 1712, it was proposed to fit up the old watch house, which was built, as we have seen, from part of the old meeting house, as a place "for teaching reading, writing, cyphering and navigation." Now the whole house is converted into a school house or into two schoolhouses, being formerly fitted up for a school house and a watch house." This school house continued in the town's use to May 19, 1760, a space of forty-eight years, when the records inform us a "*new school house*" is to be built, *not* on the same spot as the *old one* in School Lane. "School Lane" is said, in the town records, to have been *afterward* Court Street, and which is *now* Washington street. This *old school house* was situated, says tradition, to the northward of the old Hunt House.

With this entry about the location of the *new school house* ends the town records, which are all missing from May, 1760, to May, 1764, and no doubt the missing part contained the record of the disposal of the old school house. Had this record been preserved, any tradition would have been unnecessary and superfluous. As it is, however, all that is known from 1760, of the old house, is from this source: and there is every reason to believe it was then disposed of, and that Thorndike Proctor, who was at

this time a conspicuous man in town affairs, Selectman and Moderator of Town Meetings, and Grand Jury man, bought the oldest part and re-erected it on his own land, back of what is now Boston Street, where it was used as a tavern or a refreshment house. Here it has slumbered undisturbed for a period of one hundred years. The tradition is to this effect, obtained through Caleb Peirce, Esq., and comes down to us from the Pope family and from Benja. Proctor and his sister, who are the lineal descendants of the said Thorndike Proctor. Mr. Peirce says,

"Joseph Pope, the first of the name who came to New England, was in Salem in 1636; his name appears on the Salem records about that time."

"Joseph Pope 2d was born in ———, married in 1679 Bethusa Folger, aunt to Dr. Franklin."

"Enos Pope, son of Joseph 2d, was born in 1690; he lived near the Fowler house in Boston Street. In 1718 he built the house now occupied by Mr. Wilkins at the foot of Gallows Hill, which was within a few rods of this old building in which Enos 2d was born in 1721, and who died at the age of 92. Enos 3d was born in 1769. My recollections of my grandfather, Enos 2d, are very clear and distinct. Until a few months of his death he was very active, clear minded and communicative. He was frequently enquired of by people with regard to previous events, and he was so exact in his account of dates and particulars that it was supposed he had kept a journal for many years, which was not the case.

"I remember his pointing out the course of the old road, which passed the tavern house and joined the present street directly opposite his house. With Enos Pope 3d I lived near forty years,—he was full of information and anecdotes, and yet very cautious and careful in his statements. It is from him and his sisters, who lived in the family long after their father's death, that I got the account. It was never doubted by them. It should be remem-

bered that the persons I have named were separated only by death, although very long lived; father, son and grandson have lived together in the same house, and the connection that bound the past to the present was never broken for a day. Two persons are now living who were born in the old tavern, viz., Benja. Proctor, aged 84, and his sister. I have just seen them, and find they well remember that it was always known as having been made from the "First Meeting House." Mr. Proctor says he has heard his father say *so more than a hundred times*. A few years ago I mentioned to an older brother of theirs, since dead, what I had heard of its early history, and found him much better informed than I was, and much interested in having the house preserved. It was from him I first learned that the house itself affords so much evidence of its origin."

Thus ends the tradition. The internal evidence that the present building is the identical First Church erected in 1634 are, first, the size of the building, which so completely matches the "*addition*" made in 1639, being 20 feet long and 17 feet wide; secondly, its peculiar construction,—one important point being that a beam, apparently intended for the support of a gallery, is framed in from side to side at about one-third the length of the building; that upon the timber opposite to this beam are peculiar tenons, which, in the opinion of a master builder, cannot be for any other use than the insertion of knees for some support, which your committee believe was for a gallery.

The daubings upon the walls, or plastering as we should now say, composed of clay and chopped straw, also prove the great antiquity of the building, but your committee not being in possession of the fact *how* the building was removed to the present location, are not clear, that this work might not have been added subsequently to its removal. The great pitch of the roof, unusual at that day for dwellings, may have been so designed to give a wider and freer space in the galleries.

Upon a careful review of all the testimony,

your Committee are unanimously of the opinion, that the evidence, thus educed, from the public records, from reliable tradition and from the internal testimony of the building itself, is plain and conclusive. Other great and valuable mementoes of our fathers have rested upon much less evidence, particularly the famed, and world-renowned Plymouth Rock. Our records prove that the old meeting-house of 1634 was in existence, in the town's use and occupation down to 1760. The tradition since that period is plain, straightforward and undeniable, covering a space only of two lives, and those of the most veritable character, particularly that of Enos Pope 2d, born in 1721, who died in 1813, and who was forty years of age when it was removed from its place in School lane to where it now stands.

The internal evidence derived from the building itself is alike confirmatory of both records and tradition, and your Committee have no hesitation in saying that in this humble building has been as it were providentially preserved the first Church erected by our fathers in 1634. The same building in which Roger Williams, Hugh Peters, John Higginson and other divines of that day, expounded the scriptures and dispensed the bread of life to their hearers, and it is unnecessary to say, that it is a most valuable memento of our ancestors; identified, as it is, with their pure and simple devotions and pious zeal.

Your Committee would, therefore, in furtherance of the duty which devolves upon them, recommend that this "*Santissima Casa*"—this most holy house, be removed to some suitable place and fitted up internally and externally as nearly as possible to its original appearance, where it would be more accessible to the public, and where pilgrimages could be made to it by every son and daughter of Massachusetts who values our peculiar history and the preservation of memorials connecting us with our fathers, and as they shall stand beneath its restored and sacred roof, the words once uttered to Moses shall steal upon the

mental ear, "*put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest, is holy ground.*"

Respectfully submitted,

April 26, 1860.

C. M. ENDICOTT, Chairman,
FRANCIS PEABODY,
GEO. D. PHIPPEN,
A. C. GOODELL.
IRA J. PATCH.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 93.

Sam'l Gardner, his da. Mary borne by Mary his wife 29 June, '62; da Margaret born ye 14th July, '64; son Samuell borne 9th 4th mo., 1666; son George b 28th 11th mo., 16—George deceased 5 7 mo., 1668; Jonathan. borne 18 July, 1669.

John Garven drowned 5 12, '61; his daughter Eliza borne 26 July, '62.

Joseph Grafton maryed by Mr. Symonds, his worship, to Eliza Browne the 30 4 mo., 1664. The said Joseph deceased at Barbadoes February, 1670.

John Glover maryed to Mary Guppy by Major Hathorn the 2d January, 1660; their son John borne ye 29th 6th mo., 1661; their son William borne 15th March, 1663; da'r Mary born ye 1st 3d mo., 1666; da. Sarah borne ye 5th mo., '68; Hana 24th 4th '70; son Benjamin borne ye 28th March, 1674; Ebenezer born April 13th, 1685.

John Gilloway and Sara Keazer were maryed by Major Wm. Hathorne ye 7th April, 1666.

Thos. Goold, his son Joseph borne by Eliza his wife 15 January, '62; their son Thomas borne 16th September, 1664; their son James borne 8 February, (65)—their son Thomas died 1st 12th mo., '67; 2d son Thos. borne 26th February, 1667; son Benjamin borne the

26th August, 1669; Samuell borne the 6th February, 1670.

John Goose married to Mary Robisson by Maj'r Hathorne the 18th day of June, 1665; the sd Mary died ye 9th 9 mo., 1665.

Eleazer Giles and Sara More was married ye 25th 11 mo., '64; their daug'r Sara borne first January, (1665)—dau'r Elizabeth borne 7th 10th mo., 1667; Hanna borne ye February, 1669; da'r Mary borne ye 14th 12th mo., '72; da'r Susanna borne the 1st March, '73.

Robert Glanfield married to Lyddea Warde the 12th July, 1665; their daughter Lyddea bor 3d 7th mo., 1666; da'r Abigail bo 20th April, 1668; son Peeter borne ye 7th June, 1670; Robert borne 27th July, 1672; daughter Sarah borne 16th 11th mo., 1674.

Samuel Goldthwrite and Elizabeth Cheever were married the 3d September, 1666; their dau'r Elizabeth bor 7th 10th mo., '67, and deceased six weeks after; son Samuell borne the 5th of March, 1668-69; their son Thomas borne ye 14th 12th mo., 1670; son Ezekiel borne the 3d 8th mo., 1674; Hanah borne 9th April, 1680-7; Thomas born 1st March, 1688-9.

Mr. Bartholmew Gidney his da Hana borne ye 19th 6th, '67, by Hana his wife; daughter Liddea borne 9th March, 1669; daughter Bethiah borne 27th May, 1672; Debora borne 3d of January, 1673, and died 9th December, 1674; their son Samuel born at Salem November 2d, 1675.

Hittabell Goldthwrite deceased 3d May, 1668.

Joseph Grafton, his wife Mary deceased in November, 1674.

Arther Gray and Hanna Hide were married by Maj'r William Hathorne ye 17th of November, 1668; daughter Christian borne the 1st 6 mo., 1670; Joseph borne 26 10 mo., 1672; Mary borne 26th July, '74; Joseph deceased 6 weeks after it was borne.

Samuell Gaskin and Provided Sothwicke

were married 30th 10 mo., '62; their son Samuell borne the 23d 11 mo., '63; son Edward borne 23d October, '67; Hana borne 2d January, 1669; daughter Provided borne the 22d April, 1672.

Thomas Gardner and Mary Porter were married by Maj. Hathorne 22d April, 1669; their daughter Mary borne the 14th 12th mo., 1669; son Thomas borne ye 25th 8 mo., 1671; son Habakkuk borne the 25th February, 1673.

Robert Graye and Hana Holt were married the 8th day of March, 1668; Katherine their daughter borne 15 July, 1670; son Henry borne 17th January, 1671; daughter Jemima borne 23d 10 mo., '73, and died in 7th mo. next; daughter Hana borne 30th 11 mo., '74.

Zachariah Goodell and Elizabeth Beachum were married last of 4th mo., 1666; their son Zachariah borne 9th February, 1667; their son Sam'll borne 3d of 10th mo., 1669; son Joseph borne the 23d September, 1672; daughter Mary borne the 27th 9th mo., 1674; son Thomas borne 30th 10th mo., '76; son Abraham borne the 7th 9th mo., 1678; son John borne ye 10th August, 1681; their son Benja. borne 4th day of July, 1687.

Jchoadan, daughter of Mr. John Grafton borne by Seeth his wife 1st 8 mo., '69; daughter Margaret borne 24th January, 1671; son Nathaniell borne 14 July, 1674.

Bartholmew Gale, his son Isaack borne by Mary his wife 2d 5 mo., '69; son Jacob borne 15 August, 1671; son Bartholmew borne ye 26 April, 1674; their children Daniell and Mary, twins, borne 17th August, 1676.

Benjamin Ganson, his daughter Elizabeth borne by Elizabeth his wife ye 19 12 mo., 1669; son Benjamin borne ye 7th 5 mo., 1671.

John Guppy and Abigaile Kitchin were married ye 3d 4 mo., '69; their daughter Abigaile borne the 31 day of May, 1672; Elizabeth borne the 8th February, 1674.

Samuel Gardner, his daughter Hana borne by Mary his wife the 16th April, 1671; son Abell borne the 1st 7 mo., 1673; Mary his

wife deceased the 12th 7 mo., 1675; his daughter Elizabeth deceased the 14th October, 1678.

Samuel Gardner, jr., (son of Leift. George Gardner) and Elizabeth Grafton, widow, were married the 24th April, 1673; their son George borne the 28th 11 mo., 1674; daughter Hanna borne the 4th of Aprill, 1676; the said George the son dyed the same year it was borne.

Thomas Greenstad died in July, 1674.

John Glide, his son John borne by Mary his wife ye 24 2 mo., '79.

Thomas Greene, his son Thomas (being his supposed father) borne by Remember Samons the first of April, 1676, and deceased ye first week 7th mo., '77.

Mrs. Damaris Gardner deceased the 28th 9 mo., 1674, and Mr. Thomas Gardner, the husband of ye said Damorice, deceased 29 10 mo., 1674.

Samuell Gray and Abigaile Lord were married 28 10 mo., 1671; daughter Abigaile borne 30th August, 1672, and dyed within ye same yeare.

Eleazer Giles, his son Eliezer borne by Sara his wife 3d 1st mo., 1675-6; Sara his wife deceased 9th May, 1676.

Joseph Gray and Deborah Williams were married 10 6 mo., 1675; their son Joseph borne 9th June, 1676.

Benja. Gray, son of Benja. Gray, born October 3d, 1701.

Adam Goold and Rebecka Cooper were married 15 6 mo., '77; their daughter Rebecka borne the 25th August, 1678; their son John borne the 31st January, 1679.

William Gill and Hannah Meachum were married by Maj'r Will'm Hathorne the 6th February, 1677; their son William borne the 20th 9 mo., 1680; their son John born 20th March, 1682-3; Hanah Gill borne 19th September, 1685; Elizabeth born 18th May, 1689; Ebenezer borne ye 28th August, 1691.

Isaack Goodell and Patience Cooke were

married 25th 11 mo., 1668; their son Isaac borne 29th March, 1670; daughter Hester borne 17th March, 1671-2; sonn Zachariah borne 15th May, 1675; sonn Abraham borne 3d May '77, and dyed 3 days after; Abigaile borne in the beginning of November, 1678; their son borne ye middle 7mo. and dyed 7 weeks after.

Joseph Hutchenson and Lidea Smale were married the 28th day of February, 1677.

Jonathan, son of Jon. Horne bo 28, 5, '58, and dyed 11, 7 '58.

James Hadlocke married to Rebeca Huthe-son, May '58; their da. Hanna bor July, '57; Sara bo 7th mo '59; Mary bor 2d March '62.

Nehemiah Howard married to Ann Dixy, 11th 6 mo., 1657; their da Sara born ye 3d, 1st mo., 1658; da Hana bo 1st, 6 mo., '61.

John Harrod, son of John Harrod, bo by Gin (or Gen) his wife, 10th, 11th mo., '60; their son Jonathan bo ye 16th Aprill 1662, and both dyed ye last week of Aprill 1662; (Jon. Harrod was married 11th, 5, '59.

Zebulon Hill, his son John bo by Elizabeth his wife, 2d, 4, 1659; there son Phillip borne 24th, 10, '62; son Zebulon, 5, 4, '6—.

Richard Harvey, his da Sara dyed ye 26, 10, '59; his son born Septemb'r, 1660.

Richard Hollingworth, married to Eliza Powell by Mr. Endicott, 23d, 6, 1659; son Richard bo 9th, 6 mo., '61, and deceased August '62; son Benjamin, 28th June '63; son John borne the 12th of May, '65; da'r Abigaile, borne, first March 1667-68; Joseph borne 4th, 2d mo., '70.

Edward Hillyard, his son Edward, born by Martha, his wife, 16, 8, '60; their da'r Eliza born ye 14th, 8, '58; Mary borne ye 30, 3, 59; da'r Sara bo 8th Sept. '62; son David borne 11th, 10th mo., '65; son Jonathan bo the 6th, 12th, 1667.

John Higgeson, his son Frances bo by Sara his wife, 9, 4, '60; his son Henry bo 18, 10, '62.

Joseph Hardy, his son James by Mathew his wife bo 4th, 10, '60; his son Joseph bo 30th, 7, '5—; their son John bo 1st, 1, '58; da'r Hana bo 6th May, '63; son Benjamin borne 5th Sept '65; son William borne last week of Aprill 1669; daughter Martha deceased the 5th, 11 mo., 1674.

Jon. Hill, his da'r Susan, bo by Miriam, his wife, ye 31st, 5th mo., 1660; their daughter Miriam borne 24th, 1st, '58.

Joseph Holton, his son Benjamin, bo by Sara his wife 14th, 12th mo., '57.

Benjamin Hooper, bo by Mathea Lemon, 21st, 11 mo., '56.

William Hollinsworth, his da Susana, by Ellen, his wife, born ye 4th, 1st mo., '58.

Ephraim Herrick was married to Mary Cross, by Maj. Denison, ye 3d July, 1661; their son John bo ye 31st May, '63.

Thomas Hodgman, maryed to Katherine More by Major Denison, October 1661.

Mr. Eliezer Hathorn married to Abigail Corwin, ye 28th, 6th mo., '63, by Maj. Will'm Hathorne; da'r Abigail borne ye 14th, 9th mo., 1665; son George borne ye 17th, 2d mo., 1668, and died ye last week of ye same mo; daughter Elizabeth, borae ye 20th, 12th mo., 1669.

George Hodges married to Mary Hutson, by Maj. Hathorne, 16th, 7th mo., 1663; da'r Katherine borne 20th August, '64; Mary, his wife, died 20th November, '65.

George Hodges, above said, and Sara Phippen were married 24th, 7th mo., '69; their daughter Sara borne the last week in March, 1669-70.

Job Hilliard, married to Mary Oliver, 1st April '61, (his wife Sara deceased 14th, 8th mo., 60;) their da'r Abigail bo 26th, 5th mo., '62; son Benjamin, 6th May '64; their son Job borne the first of June, 1669; Job Hilliard, the father, deceased the beginning of March 1669-70.

Jon son of John Harod, by Em his wife,

borne 28th April '64; son Jonathan borne ye 18th June '66; son David borne the 23d June 1668; da'r Alice borne 28th, 9th mo., 1672.

John Hill, wheelwright, married Lidea Bufum, 26th, 6th mo., '64; their daughter, Liddea borne ye 30th March, 1666; da'r Elizabeth borne the 15th December 1667; son John borne ye 22d, 11 mo., 1670; son Robert borne the 11th September, 1676.

Zebulon Hill, his Da'r Eliza borne by Eliza his wife, ye 1st, 12th mo., 1664; their daughter Mary bor ye 25th January, 1667; daughter Abigaile borne the 21st, 7th mo., 1670; Sara borne 22d June, '75.

Henry Harrod, deceased February, 1663.

Rebecka, daughter of Mr. John Hale, minister of Bass River in Salema, son of Robert Hale late of Charlestowne, carpenter, borne by Rebeka his wife, daughter of Mr. Henry Bile late of the city of Sarum in England, the 28th of Aprill, 1666; their son Robert borne the 3d 9th mo., 1668.

Isaack Hide and Susana Backster were married the 12th July, 1665; dau Christean born in 9th mo., '68, and dyed 3 weeks after; dau Elizabeth borne 27 July, 1671; son Isaack borne ye 6th 2d mo., '74, and died 3 months after; son Richard born 6th March, 1676-7.

Robert Hodg and Mary Pitman were married ye 22d June, '65; da Mary bo 10th March, '65-66; Sara borne 19th Feby, '67; dau Tabitha borne January, 1669; daughter Hanna borne ye 23d Sept., 1672; daughter Elizabeth borne ye 15th 7 mo., '74; sonne Robert borne ye 25 11th mo., 1676; daughter Bethiah borne the 23d October, 1678.

John Horne and Mary Clark were married by Major Denison 30th October, 1667; dau Mary borne the 23d August, 1668, and died the 20th 6 mo, 1669.

Zachariah Herreck, his daughter Mary borne by Mary his wife 10th October, 1654; Elizabeth borne 25th March, 1657; Sara borne 15 October, 1662; Martha borne 5th August, 1665.

John Hoeman and Hester Crason were married 23d 10th mo., 1639. Ye said Hester had a daughter borne out of mariag 18 12 mo., 1668; John borne 22d Aprill, '70; Mordecai borne 3d 6th mo., 1673.

Steephen Hasket, his son Steeven by Elizabeth his wife borne in March, 1668-69, and deceased 14 days after; their son Elias borne the 25th of Aprill, 1670; their daughter Mary borne the 13 March, 1671-2; daughter Sara borne 5 12 mo., 1673.

Thomas Hanson and Mary Robisson, widow, were married the 3d of June, 1669; their daughter Mary borne 3d 10th mo., 1670.

John Holmes and Sara Honie, widow, were married the 21st 2d mo., 167-; their son Joseph borne 14th 12th mo., 1672; Benjamin borne 6th 8th mo., '74; daughter Sarah borne 23d 12th mo., 1676; dau Elizabeth borne 21st July, 1679; daugh'r Jane borne June 1st, '83.

Timothy Hickes and Dorcas Veren were married the 21st 12th mo., 1671; Dorcas his wife deceased ye 5th 11 mo., '72.

Thomas Howard, his daughter Mary borne by Ruth his wife ye 24th 2d mo., '72; their son Nathan borne the 17th 7th mo., 1673; son Solomon borne the 5th August, 1675.

John Herbert and Mary Follett were married 15th April, 1672; son John borne the 7th August, 1674.

John Hutchenson and Sara Putnam were married July, 1672.

Peeter Harvey and Hana Gilbert were married January, 1670; son Peeter borne ye 10th February, 1670; son David borne 20 September, 1672; daughter Hanna borne the 1st July, 1674; son John borne 14th April, 1676; daughter Mary borne 25th 1st mo., 167-; daughter Sarah borne the 15th April, 1680.

Mr. John Higgenson junr and Sara Savage were married 9th 8th mo., 1672; daughter Mary borne ye 27th 7th mo., 1673; son John borne ye 20th 6th mo., 1675; ye daugh'r Margaret borne 10th November, 1686, and dyed ye 18th Jan'y, 1688.

Joseph, son of Edward Hilliard, borne by Martha his wife, the 4th January, 1672.

Richard Huchenson and Susana Archer, widow, were married in October, 1668; Susana his wife deceased 26th 9th mo., 1674.

George Hodges, his son George borne by Sara his wife the 18th of March, 1671-72; Mary borne 10th 11th mo., 1673; son Joseph borne 21st 12th mo., 1675; daughter Hanna borne 6th 11th mo., 1677; daughter Dorcas borne 7th April, 1680; their son John borne the 10th 12th mo., 1681; Gemaliell born 8th September, 1685.

George Hacker and Bethiah Meachum were married the last week in September, 1672; their daughter Bethia borne ye 25th 5th mo., 1673, died 9th 6th mo., 1674; their second daughter Bethia the 9th March, 1675-6; sonne George borne the 13th 6th mo., 1678; daughter Sarah borne ye 28th 12th mo; 1680.

John Harrod, his daughter Sara borne by Mary his wife. ye 26th 12th mo., 1669; their daughter Elizabeth borne ye 27th 10th mo., 1671; dau Abigail borne 20th 6th mo., 1673; son John borne the 6th of 9th mo., 1675; daughter Mary borne ye 25th 7th mo., 1678; their son Samuel borne the 29th May, 1682; their son Ebenezer bo 29th 6th mo., '84.

Mr. Richard Hollingworth, his son Caleb borne by Elizabeth his wife, the 22d December, 1673.

Nathaniel Hum and Priscilla Kitchen were married in October, 1672; their daugh'r Priscilla borne the 21st January, 1672; daughter Sara borne the 6th, 8th mo., 1674.

Mr. William Hirst and Mary Grove weare married the 30th day of July 1674; ye sone Grove borne 29th August, 1675; daughter Elizabeth borne the 10th March, 1676-7; (Wm Hirst borne 24th August, '79, and dyed 7th, 8th mo., '79: Jno. Hirst borne Sept. 3d, '85, and dyed 4th, 8th mo., '87;) Will'm Hirst borne 20th, 6th mo., '83; Jno. Hirst borne 17th August, 1687; Mary Hirst borne

29th Decemb'r. 1688; Mary Hirst dyed 11th 8th mo., '89; George Hirst bo 14th June '91, dyed June 19th, 1692.

Eleazer Hathorne, his son William borne by Abigaile his wife the 9th May, 1672; son Samuell borne 23d 7th mo., 1674.

Richard Harris and Hana Dove were married the 10th of March, 1670: their daughter Hanna borne the 3d 10th mo., 1673; Richard and John, twins, were borne the 3d of March, 1674.

William Hollis and Kertland Belud were married —; their daughter Elizabeth borne in July, 1672; Mary borne 11th 10th mo., '73.

Jonathan Hart and Lidda Neale were married in 9th mo., '71; their daughter Lidda borne 5th January, '71; son Jonathan borne the 14th April, 1673; son John borne the 6th June, 1675.

William Henfeild and Elizabeth Preston were married ye 12th July, 1671; their daughter Elizabeth borne ye 4th Aprill, 1672; daughter Hanah borne in ye year '74 and deceased 6 weeks after; 2d daughter Hanah borne 4th 1st mo., '76-7.

Mr. John Hathorne and Ms. Ruth Gardner were married ye 22d 1st mo., 1674; their son John borne ye 10th 11th mo., 1675; son Nathaniell borne 25th 9th mo., '78.

Thomas Haines and Sarah Ray were married the 15th 10th mo., 1676; their son John born 14th Aprill, 1678; their son William borne 25th 8th mo., '80; daughter Sarah borne 31st October, 1681; Joseph borne October 18th, 1683; sone Benja. borne 21st Sepr, 1685; Daniell borne 25th August, 1687, and dyed last June '89; Hannah borne ye 25th Sepr, 1689; Thomas borne 17th October, 1691.

Symond Horne and Rebecka Stevens, widow, were married the 28th February, 1675; their son Joshuah borne the middle September, 1677; son Symond borne ye 11th 11th mo., 1679.

Jonathan Horne, son of John Horne and Naomi his wife, deceased October 6, 1701.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY—No. 4.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

The second or oak type of the New England money was ordered to be coined by Massachusetts,* 1652, Oct. 19: "For the prevention of washing or clipping all such peices of money as shall be coyned within this jurisdiction, it is ordered by this Court and authoritie thereof, that henceforth all peices of money coyned as afforesaid, both shillings and smaller peices, shall have a double ringe on either side with this inscription, (Massachusetts) and a tree in the center on the one side, and New England and the date of the yeare on the other side."

No alteration was ordered in the weight, but only of the type and legend; the following is the weight of six shillings of the oak type in my collection: four of seventy-two grains each, one of seventy-five, one as low as sixty-eight,† sixpence thirty grains, threepence‡ seventeen, and four two-pence pieces twelve grains each. The tree appears to be as good a representation of the pasture oak of New England as the skill of the artist could make it, and is found on the shilling, sixpence, threepence and all the two pence, most of which

* Mass. Court Records.

† This coin was cut so thin from the bar that it did not admit of being rounded and is nearly square, and was saved with others on account of its curious appearance, such as being struck twice, and other variations of the dies. All the coins, the weight of which I have given, are in fine preservation and can have lost but little weight in circulation.

‡ No threepences were coined in England from 1649 to 1670, and I think very few here, till after 1662, as they are the most rare of the series, and I have never seen but one of the oak type.

were probably struck in the year they were ordered, 1662, as they were to be half the coinage of that year. It is pretty certain that the pine was not adopted on the New England coin till some time after 1662. It is not probable that two different types would have been used at the same time; I cannot find any account of its being called pine-tree money till some time after that period. When the actual change of the type from that of an oak to that of a pine took place cannot now be ascertained.

In 1662 Sir Thomas Temple,* in an interview with Charles II., calls the tree on the N. E. money an oak, and to conciliate him, who considered their coinage an infringement of his royal prerogative, the royal oak in which he found a shelter from his enemies.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTICE OF BEING CHOSEN TYTHINGMEN.

To Constable Nehemiah Willowbey :

You are heareby Required in his maj'y name to give notice vnto Lt John pickering Manasses Marston and John Horne; that thay and every one of them are chosen Tytheing Men, And you are to warne them to appeare at the next County Courte to bee held the last Tuesday of this Instant mo being the twenty-fifth day of the sd mo., there to attend the County pleasure vntill the Oath bee Administred vnto them According to law.

Pr JOHN HATHORNE In the name
and by order of the Selectmen.

Salem 11 9 mo., '79.

Likewise to warn Thomas Stacey Tytheing man as aboue to Attend with the rest.

pr JNO. HATHORNE by order
Salem 11 9, '79. of the Selectmen.

I have warned all the within mentioned to appear according to the tenor of the within warrant.

21 9 mo., '79.

pr me, NEHEMI WILLOUGHBY, Constable.

*Mass. Archives, Life of Thomas Hollis.

RETAILER'S LICENCE.

Salem, July ye 26, 1690.

The Selectmen of Salem doe approve and allow Mr. Nehemiah Willoughby of Salem to Sell and Retaile Wine, Rum and other Strong drinks w'thout doores. In behalfe of the rest of the Selectmen.

Attested,

JOS. WOLCOTT.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION AS COMMISSIONER.

At a Meeting of the ffreemen 10th Noubr, 1679.

Chosen ffor Commissioners for the Towne ffor this Yeare Mr. William Browne sen'r, Mr. Edmo. Batter and Mr. Bartholmew Gedney.

This is a true Cotype taken out of the Records.

JOHN HATHORNE, Record'r.

To the Selectmen.

Salem, 28th Nov'r, 1679.

AN ORDER TO WARN SOLDIERS.

Salem, August 21, 1703.

Sergeant William Beckett,

You are in her majesties name hereby Required forthwith to warn, & give notice unto the Severall persons here underwritten Thatt they appear at my Dwelling House before me, with arms & amunition compleatt according to Law on the 23rd Day of this Instant august Being Munday att two of the Clock In the afternoon, there to attend further orders for her majesties Special Service, They being Enlisted according to Law, and If any of them be nott at Home, you are to Leave a notification at there Houses or usuall places of abode In writeing that they appear as above-said, fail nott, SAM^LL BROWNE, Capt.

—John Waldron, Jun'r	John Elkins
Sam'll Pudney	—Joseph Ingersoll
—Sam'll ffelton	John Harvy
—Rob'tt Moulton Jun'r	—fra Skerry

—Phillip English Jun'r
Dan'll Jett

—John Silsby
—John Bliffin Jun'r
—John Ropes Jun'r

To appear on Tuesday the
24th Instant Aug't att
one of the Clock

Ezek'll Marsh
to appear forthwith
afternoon
A tru Copy of Phillip English his Warning
and Notification delivered in your Oath
Salem Oct'r 20th 1703 by Sargent William
Becket

Before vs JOHN HATHORNE, } Justices
WM. HIRST }

EPITAPH FROM A TOMBSTONE IN THE BURIAL
GROUND AT WATERTOWN, MASS.

How will the Redeemer's light
Clarify the Beleiver's sight;
How joyful will the saints arise
And rub the dust from out their eyes.

EPITAPH ON A MISER.

Here lies one who for med'cines would not give
A little Gold—and so his life he lost!
I fancy now he'd wish again to live
Could he but guess how much his funeral
cost.

ORIGIN OF THE TERM FARTHING.

The Norman Kings coined pence with a cross
so deeply impressed that they might be easily
broken into halves, which they called half-
pence, and into four parts, which they called
fourthins, or farthings.

NUMISMATICS.

The second edition of Dickeson's work on
American Coins has just been issued—it con-
tains an additional plate of coins and much
matter not to be found in the first edition of
the work. Many of the rarest coins illustrat-
ed belong to the collections in Salem; persons
desirous to obtain the work will find it at

Burnham's Bookstore, 143 Washington Street,
Boston.

OLD PAMPHLET.

A publication issued in 1789 bears the fol-
lowing curious title—"To the majesty of the
PEOPLE. The CHRISTIAN-POLITICAL MOUSE-
TRAP! or the World Reformed."

COPY OF A CIRCULAR LETTER IN THE HAND-
WRITING OF COL. PICKERING.—E. F. B.

*To the Captain and Subalterns of the first Com-
pany of Militia in Salem:*

Gentlemen:

Pursuant to a resolve of the Provincial
Congress held at Cambridge Oct. 26, 1774, we
hereby recommend to you forthwith to endeav-
our to enlist one-quarter at the least of the num-
ber of training Soldiers in your Company and
cause them to be equipt with arms, ammunition
and accoutrements fit for actual Military Service.
And when you shall have made this enlistment,
we desire you would without delay make a re-
turn unto us of the names of the persons en-
listed, whom, with those who shall in like
manner be enlisted in the other companies of
this regiment, we shall form into companies of
fifty privates, who are to hold themselves in
readiness to march at the shortest notice under
the command of such officers as they shall
choose; which officers when chosen are to form
their companies into a battalion and elect offi-
cers to command the same.

The returns of the men enlisted as aforesaid
and also of the number of other militia men
in your company and the state of the equip-
ments of the whole we desire you to make
to either of us in writing before the 17th
of March next, that so we may be enabled to
represent the exact state of the regiment to
the Provincial Congress which is to set on the
end of the same month.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, JUN'R,	} Field officers of the first Regiment in Essex.
JOHN MANSFIELD,	
HENRY HERRICK,	
SAMUEL HOLTEN, JUN'R,	
ARCHELAUS FULLER,	

Danvers, Febr'y 2, 1775.

QUERIES.

Rev. John Langdon Sibley, Librarian of Harvard College, has, for many years, been collecting materials for a biographical sketch of all the Graduates of that Institution. It will be published as soon as practicable. An answer to any of the following queries will materially aid him in his researches.

Rev. John Fisk, H. C. 1702—who was settled at Killingly, Ct. Was he a native of WENHAM? If so—birth? Parents? He would have been not far from twenty years, before graduation; and would be likely to have had a letter missive sent to Wenham Church at his ordination.

Jeremiah Easeman, H. C. 1703.—Travelled abroad and died before 1716. Is there anything anywhere about him?

Rev. Joshua Moody, H. C. 1707.—Was born at Salisbury—birth? parents, wife and marriage? anything more? when ordained?

Stephen Jaynes, of Newbury, H. C. 1707. Was he born 5th Sept., 1685, or 28th July, 1686? What time in 1779 did he die? Where on Cape Cod did he teach, and marry Thankful Taylor? Is anything more known about him?

Rev. John Tufts, H. C. 1708.—Did he die at Amesbury, Aug. 17, 1750 or Salisbury? Date of marriage with Sarah Bradstreet, and who she was. May he have also lived or died at Danvers?

Rev. John Barnard, of Andover, H. C. 1709. Where and when married?

Rev. John Chipman, of Beverly, H. C. 1711. When did he marry 1st Rebecca, sister of Col. Robert Hale, and 2d Hannah Warren, and who was she?

Rev. Joshua Gardner, H. C. 1709, of Haverhill, when and where born or where from? Was he ordained 10th or 11th Jan. 1711? Wife and marriage.

John Wainwright, of Haverhill, H. C. 1711. Birth? parents? wife? He is said to have

been drowned; when, and under what circumstances? probably before 1727?

Obadiah Ayer, H. C. 1710, of Haverhill. Parents? birth? occupation and offices? wife?

Richard Hazzen, H. C., 1717, of Haverhill. Parents? birth? wife? offices? day of death? He was a surveyor of land.

Wm. Burnham, H. C. 1702 of Ipswich. Birth? parents? wife? was settled at Kensington, Conn.

Ebenezer Rust, H. C., 1707. Settled at Stratham, N. H.; birth, parents, &c.

Dan. Rindge, H. C. 1709. Birth? parents? taught at Portsmouth, N. H. and died when? 1713? was he son of Capt. Daniel who had a farm at Hamlet?

Dr. Thos. Berry, H. C. 1711. Parents? birth? wife and marriage? he died Aug. 10, 1756, aged 61.

Benj. Crocker, H. C. 1713. Did he die at Ipswich in 1766? Perhaps moved away in 1764.

Henry Wise, H. C. 1717. Born at Cheshire, when? wife? when did he die? in 1779 or before? what is known about him.

Francis Cogswell, H. C. 1718. Birth? parents? offices, besides being Representative, 1750-53.

Rev. Joseph Whipple, H. C. 1720, of Hampton Falls. Birth? parents? E. S. W.

ERRATA.

Vol. 2, No. 2, page 65, fourth line from top, for *Milabel* Sewall, read *Mitchell* Sewall; and on same page, "April 27th," for *Rev. Wm. Fisk*, read *Rev. Mr. Fisk*.

Vol. 2d, No. 2, page 79, for "torments of the accused," read "torments of the accusers." In note, (pages 82-3) same number, for *pil-grimage* read *vicinage*.

Vol. 2d, No. 2, page 102, ninth line from top, for *cottle* read *cattel*.

On page 133 of the present number, for "Remington" read "Redington."

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.]

August, 1860.

[No. 4

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE OFFICERS OF PROBATE FOR ESSEX COUNTY, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE COLONY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY A. C. GOODELL.

The royal charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company, which is the foundation of our present political system, made no provision for the establishment of courts of judicature.* It was, undoubtedly, the intention of the crown, as expressed by that instrument, to establish in England a corporation much like the Hudson's Bay Company of our own time; and by investing it with all the powers requisite to secure profit to the corporators, to encourage them in their work of extending the British domain and increasing the revenue.†

Therefore it was that this company of merchants and traders were only empowered in

general terms, to "apply themselves to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the general business and affairs of" the "lands and premises" of the Massachusetts Bay "and the plantation thereof; * * and the government of the people there;" and for these purposes to make such "laws and ordinances" as were "not contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes" of the realm.

The general powers of corporations and their authority to make by-laws were not, at that time, so commonly understood or so fully defined as at present, but there can be scarcely any doubt that by the common interpretation of the charter at that day, all judicial powers, except those magisterial functions of a limited nature, to be exercised in enforcing the ordinances of the corporation, and which were expressly conferred by the charter, were to be reserved to the appropriate tribunals at home.

But our forefathers, the actual settlers, panted for dominion not only in church but in state;* and when the charter, which bore date

* "The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay. Boston, 1814." commonly referred to as "Ancient Charters." Since the publication of the "Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay" by order of the Legislature, 1853; it is better to refer to them in all cases; the former work being inaccurate in dates and bunglingly compiled, with a very insufficient index.

† See "Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from the year 1748, &c., by George Richards Minot. Boston, Feb. 1798." Vol. I, pp. 19, 20. Also, "History of the United States of America, by Richard Hildreth. N. Y. 1849." and the Company's earlier records.

* "The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from 1628 to 1691, by Thomas Hutchinson," 2d Ed. London, 1765. Also, an "Introduction to the History of the revolt of the American Colonies, &c., by George Chalmers," Bost. Ed., 1845, pp. 42, 46, 47, &c. Also, "A Summary Historical and Political of the first planting, progressive improvements and present state of the British settlements in North America, by William Douglass, M. D." London, 1760. And particularly, see "Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts from 1630 to the

March 4, 1628, old style, was, the next spring, brought hither by Winthrop,* they immediately began to establish a new system of church and state polity, in many respects quite unique, but based, generally, upon the laws of England.† They enacted statutes affecting all public and private relations; regulated trivial matters of diet, dress and personal demeanor; imposed penalties, from the smallest mulct up to capital punishment; and added to the list of crimes known to the Common Law, a catalogue culled from the barbarous penal laws of the Hebrews.‡ And so far were they from acknowledging any dependence on the Mother Country, that they established a mint and currency, levied imposts and taxes, denied the right of appeal to the King's Courts and punished such as claimed it.§ The charter expressly guaranteed to all inhabitants the liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects of England; yet a statute was passed dis-

franchising such as were not church-members, except in the matter of voting for certain militia-officers whose nomination had been previously made by the free-holders.* Lawyers were looked upon with suspicion, hampered by ridiculous regulations, and banished or badgered from the Colony;† while the entire administration of the government was either held or controlled by the clergy, who not only borrowed laws from the Pentateuch, but strove to regulate their official conduct according to the approved standard of the kings and judges of Israel.‡

In such a peculiar government we should expect to find a peculiar judicial system. Such, indeed, was theirs. All the old, well settled distinctions between courts of different jurisdiction which so characterize the English law were forgotten or intentionally abandoned; and matters lay and ecclesiastical, actions at law and in equity, and causes criminal and civil, were heard and determined in one Great and General Court, which became the sole fountain of justice and established terms of certain of its members called "the assistants," first to try all causes and afterwards, as the Colony grew, to constitute a court of appeal and for the trial of matters of considerable importance. It also ordained and appointed inferior tribunals to decide minor causes originally, with a right of appeal to itself but no further.§

revolution in 1775," by Emory Washburn. Boston: Little & Brown, 1840. A book that should be read attentively by every person who desires to have a just notion of the history of our Judicial System. Though modestly claiming to be a collection of "sketches," it is, nevertheless, a most correct and complete exposition of the beginning and rise of the judicial Courts of Massachusetts; and as such is entitled to a prominent place in the library of every New England lawyer; to say nothing of its value as a biographical repository. The writer is much indebted to these labors of Prof. Washburn.

* "Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals, by Thomas Prince, M. A.," Boston, 1736. Felt's "Annals of Salem."—"History of New England," by Daniel Neal. London, 1720.

† Prince's Annals, pp. 246-8.

‡ Col. Rec., Vol. 1. Hildreth, Vol. 1. "Good News from New England, &c.," London, 1648—pub. in Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. 1, pp. 195-205. Chalmers, 47. Prince's An., 246, &c. "The Annals of America from 1492 to 1826, by Abiel Holmes, D.D." Cambridge: 1829, Vol. 1, p. 218.

§ Hildreth, Vol. 1, 453. Holmes, Vol. 1, pp. 218, 297. Hutchinson, Vol. 1, 435, et seq. Douglass, Vol. 1, pp. 431-437. Good News, &c., 205. Essex Co. Court Records. Felt's Annals, Vol. 2, p. 456.

* The Political and Civil History of the United States of America from 1763 to 1797, by Timothy Pitkin. New Haven: 1828. Vol. 1, 42. This law was repealed after a remonstrance from the King. Hildreth, Vol. 1—453. Holmes, Vol. 1—321-2. Douglass, Vol. 1—432.

† Minot. Douglass, Vol. 1, p. 431, &c. Holmes, ut supra. Washburn, 54.

‡ Good News, &c. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., &c., p. 205, and authorities and records generally.

§ Plaine Dealing or News from New England. London: 1642, by Thomas Lechford of Clements Inn, in the County of Middlesex, gent. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3d series, Vol. 3, p. 55, &c. Col. Rec. Dane's Abridgement, Vol. 6, chap. 187. And histories of the Colony generally.

The most important of the inferior courts was the Quarterly Court, established March 3d, 1636.* An inspection of the records and files of this court will show that the practice, pleadings and rules of evidence pursued therein were not more singular than the range of its jurisdiction. Among other things, it exercised the functions of an ecclesiastical tribunal in correcting minor spiritual delinquencies, in sometimes decreeing divorces or sentences of nullity,† and in settling the estates of deceased persons. This last mentioned office, making it so far, the predecessor of the present Court of Probate, brings this court and its officers properly before us in this article.‡

The act establishing this court provided that four terms should be held annually in the several towns designated therein, viz:—Ipswich, Salem, New-Town§ and Boston, to be presided over by “such magistrates as shall be dwelling in or near such town and by such other persons of worth as shall from time to time be appointed by the General Court.” As many magistrates might sit as desired to; one at least, with two of the associates being necessary to constitute a quorum. The General Court designated what magistrates should specially belong to the Quarterly Court in every jurisdiction; and the associates were selected by the General Court from lists of such freemen as had been nominated by the towns or their deputies for that purpose. All civil controversies for more than ten pounds and all criminal matters the penalty whereof extended to life, loss of members or banishment, were reserved to the Great Quarter Court or Court of Assistants before mentioned, which was the judicial side

of the General Court and which held its sittings in Boston.*

The four terms of the Salem Court were to be held in March, June, September and December; and it is worthy of remark, that these are the four months in which the civil terms of the Superior Court, which succeeded the Court of Common Pleas, are held to this day. On the 25th of May following the passage of the act the judges of the court were nominated; and on the 27th of the next month Capt. John Endicott, Esq., Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Mr. Townsend Bishop and Mr. Thomas Seraggs, four of the five judges appointed for Salem,—Humphrey, who stands first on the General Court list,† being absent—were assembled: and all, except Endicott, who was a magistrate, took the oath of “Commissioners” and proceeded with the business of the first court held in Salem.

The act establishing a court makes no mention of a clerk; but at the first session of the Salem Court such an officer was appointed, evidently by the judges.‡ The proposed limits of this article will not admit of a full notice of the Colonial magistrates and freemen who administered the laws in this court. Hereafter, perhaps, such a notice may be given in another article; but as we are now considering the probate jurisdiction, and as no particular judge assumed that exclusively, our business will be for the present with the early clerks, who were the first registers of probate.

The first clerk of the Salem Court, who held office from JUNE 27, 1636, to AUG. 13, 1647, was

RALPH FOGG.

He came originally to Plymouth,§ where he was admitted a freeman and had lands granted to him in 1623, and was taxed in March, 1634.

* Prof. Washburn, and Dane before him, make the date of this act 1639; but this is clearly erroneous, as a reference to the Colonial Company and County Court records will show. This mistake they were probably led into by relying on the Ed. of Col. Laws published in 1814—which is incorrect.

† See *Ellinwood v. Ellinwood*, June, 1682, Essex, Salem Court.

‡ See court records, Essex.

§ Now Cambridge.

* Col. Rec.

† Col. Rec.

‡ Essex Co. Court Rec.

§ See Plymouth Col. Records, published by authority of the Legislature.

Moving thence to Massachusetts Bay, he was made a freeman of the latter Colony, Sept. 3, 1634, and joined the first church in Salem as early as 1636. He was also "Treasurer" as early as 1637; an office which appears not to have been confined to the town of Salem, nor to have extended to what afterwards became the whole county, but to have been co-extensive with the jurisdictional territory of the Salem Court; clerks of the quarterly courts being, probably, *ex officio*, treasurers throughout the jurisdiction of their respective courts. By an order of the General Court, passed April 1, 1634, the constable and four or more of the chief inhabitants of every town were to survey all improved and inclosed lands, or such lands as had been granted by special order of the Court, and to make a full record of the same with their metes and bounds; and in 1637 it appears that these records were kept at Salem by Mr. Fogg, who had specified fees therefor. In the same year also, for want of a "print howse," strangers are directed to repair to Mr. Fogg, "who keeps the records," to learn the by-laws.* In Sept. 7th, 1639, he records, "It was agreed and I was appointed Marshal."† This office was the prototype of the present shrievalty; and though it seems preposterous to us that one man should hold the office of clerk of the courts and sheriff at the same time, yet such was the general practice then and for some time thereafter. In 1641, Dec. 10, the office of clerk of the writs was established in every town, for granting writs and other processes, and Mr. Fogg was made by the act the first incumbent for Salem, to hold for a year and until a new one be chosen. In 1644 he was a member of the Artillery Company.‡ And the same year the General Court

ordered, on his petition, that what shall be wanting in his fees be made up to him out of the fines of the Court. In 1645 he was appointed to receive the names of such as would contribute towards maintaining "poore skollers at the colledge in Cambridge."§ And the next February he was allowed by the court ten pounds, "in consideration of his attendance upon the court in the severall employments wherein he is betruste * * * besides the fees which do of right belong to his places of trust."

But the unhappy clerk did not enjoy his numerous and lucrative offices long. On the 9th of July, 1647, he was obliged to record an indictment against himself, found by the grand jury, in which he was charged with extortion "for taking fees two and three times." He resigned or was removed from office by the middle of the next month, and managed to elude further action of the court till two years afterwards, when, having in the meantime incurred further displeasure of the magistrates, or not having succeeded in compromising with his victims, he was again ordered to appear at court, to answer to the complaint of the marshal, his successor, "in behalf of the country," "concerning the account he gave at his departure, wherein are many errors." He appeared in court in answer thereto in Sept., 1649, and after a hearing he was ordered by the court to pay various sums of money to different persons, amounting to twenty-three in all.

Exasperated by this sentence of the court, which he attributed solely to the malice of Endicott, who was the magistrate of the court, and also that year governor of the colony, he took occasion at the close of the services one Sunday shortly after, on being dealt with by the church for his alleged misdemeanors, to defend himself before the congregation, and complained to Endicott of the wrong he had done him in church and court. Among other things he declared that neither the church nor any one member had ever informed him with

* Felt's An.

† Essex Co. Court Rec.

‡ "A Genealogical Register of the first settlers of New England, by John Farmer." Lancaster: 1829. Also "A Genealogical Dictionary of the first settlers of New England, &c." by James Savage. Boston: 1860.

§ Felt's An.

what offence he had stood charged by them ; and that the Governor was the grand jury and the grand jury the Governor.

To thus abuse the Governor, especially on the Lord's day, was an offence not to be overlooked even in a freeman. Accordingly on the 8th of February he was indicted for this offence ; convicted of course, and sentenced as follows :—to pay 10 shillings for lying and two and sixpence costs of court. And for abusing the Governor he was ordered to make an acknowledgment the next Lord's day—being called forth from the congregation for that purpose by the constable—in which he was to declare that he had done “ wickedly and sinfully,” for all which he was “ very sorry ;” and in case of refusal he was to stand the next day at the whipping-post for a half hour immediately after lecture, with a paper in his hat, upon which was to be written in capital letters “FOR SLANDERING OF THE CHURCH AND FOR ABUSING OF THE GOVERNOR ;” and if he should not stand quietly with his back to the post then the constable was to bind him to it ; all of which was to be done in the presence of Mr. Downing and Capt. Hathorne.*

It does not appear which penalty he suffered ; but as he had his election, we may infer that he deemed it discreet to make the retraction ordered by the court, since, according to Felt, as late as 1652, he petitioned the general court for leave to keep an “ intelligence office or exchange,” which, says Savage, “ being refused, he soon went home ; was a livery-man of London, of the Skinner's Company, and died in 1674.” According to the same author his wife's name was Susanna ; he had two sons born here, and another son, John, a merchant of Barnstaple in Devon ; but it is not known whether John was born here or in England.

* These facts and all others relating to the proceedings of the court have been gleaned from the records and files in the Clerk's Office, Salem—when derived from other sources the authorities will be given.

Mr. Fogg was a correct and beautiful penman ; and if the records of the Colony throughout had been as exactly and fully kept as were the records during his official term, much interesting matter illustrative of our earliest history might have been preserved which is now irretrievably lost. The first will presented in this court for probate is Elizabeth or Bethiah Cartwright's, now in the court files, folded and neatly indorsed by Fogg in June, 1640.*

AUG. 13, 1647, TO NOV. 20, 1653.

HENRY BARTHOLOMEW.

The foreman of the grand jury that presented Ralph Fogg for extortion was Henry Bartholomew, who immediately succeeded Fogg in the clerk's office.† He is said to have been a London merchant ; was born about 1600, and came to Salem Nov. 7, 1635.‡ His four brothers, William, Thomas, Abraham and Richard, were here also ;§ the first rose to considerable distinction in the Colony and the last died in Salem, 1646. He had a sister Sarah, also here quite early.

Henry was made a freeman of the Massachusetts Colony May 17, 1637—having become a member of the first church in Salem—and in 1645 he took his seat as deputy or representative to the General Court, to which office he had been chosen by the freemen of Salem. This was his first term in an office which he held at different times for seventeen years, and in which, by the courage, intelligence, industry, tact and liberality of sentiment that he invariably displayed, he did the Colony eminent service. Some idea of the variety and impor-

* This will is signed Elizabeth C, though the testatrix is described in the body of the will as Bethiah. See court files—also Mr. Patch's abstracts in No. 1 of Vol. 1 of Hist. Coll. Essex Institute.

† Essex Court Records.

‡ I am indebted for many genealogical facts to the labors of that indefatigable genealogist, Mr. Perley Derby, who has compiled in MSS. a volume in royal 8vo. of nearly 600 pages, which, I understand, he has presented to the Essex Institute.

§ Will of Richard, Essex Court files.

tance of his public labors may be got from the following list of committees on which he served by appointment of the General Court:—May, 1660—a committee to settle disputed boundaries, &c., at Jeffrey's Creek, now Manchester. May, 1662—to regulate matters of trade in Boston. May, 1663—to answer the letter of King Charles II. in which his majesty ordered the company to respect the rights of citizens under the charter and especially to remove certain disabilities in the matter of the elective franchise. 1663, 72, 73, 74, 76—committees to audit the Treasurers' accounts. Oct., 1667—to consider and report on the return made by the Commissioners of the United Colonies; and another committee to adjust difficulties between the Nipmucks and Narragansetts. 1673—to decide and report on three important questions concerning the veto power. 1674—to settle difficulties at Marblehead between the commoners and non-commoners as to rights in the common lands. 1679—to approve of a minister at Chebacco Parish, Ipswich—now Essex—which resulted in the settlement of the Rev. John Wise. 1684—to convey the thanks of the General Court to the Rev. John Hale of Beverly and to request a copy of his election sermon for publication. Same year to settle a difficulty with the Praying Indians at Marlboro'. 1685—to revise the laws of the Colony. Besides these he served on several other committees which were not so important.

He was always, I believe, enlisted on the liberal side in every contest involving the jeopardy of individual rights as against the claims of persons in authority. Thus when in 1646 the right of petition was invaded in the persons of Dr. Childs and others, remonstrants, who were heavily fined for presuming to protest against the illegal acts of the General Court, Mr. Bartholomew's name with four others appears opposed to the vote of punishment, or "twelve chardges," as they were called. In 1650 Mr. William Pinchon had imported a book printed for him in London,

called the "Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, &c.," which, containing doctrines at variance with those entertained by the rulers, was, by its heresy, the cause of great commotion throughout the Colony and especially among the members of the Court, who resolved, 1st—To protest against the doctrines of the book. 2d—To have it answered by Elder Norton of Ipswich. 3d—To have it burned by the public executioner. 4th—To bring its author to punishment. Against all this ridiculous display of tyranny and furious zeal Mr. Bartholomew and five others appear "*contradicente*." Again, in 1651 he with 14 others refused to endorse the Book of Discipline, a scheme of divinity which had been devised for a standard by which to enforce uniformity in matters of religion.

He and his brother William patriotically advanced money for the public use, which in 1650 was voted back to them, to carry interest if not paid before a specified time.

As a clerk he was faithful and correct. He wrote a legible but not beautiful hand. The second book of Essex Court records, beginning Nov., 1648, was commenced by him. In 1649–50 he was allowed by the court five pounds per year for his services, which were continued till Nov. 29, 1653. In August, 1665, he was confirmed as cornet of the Salem troop; and in April, 1668, he was appointed commissioner of customs with Edmund Batter for the port of Salem, &c.*

He was also licensed as a retailer, though it does not appear that he ever kept an ordinary.† His enterprise was shown in building the old mill on South river, where the City Mills now stand. This had been proposed for some time, when in 1663 he, with three others, assumed the undertaking and shortly completed it.‡

He practised much in the courts, and was

* Col. Rec.

† Essex Court Rec., Salem.

‡ Felt's Annals.

often consulted in the settlement of estates of deceased persons. At one time he held by mortgage deed a tract of land eight miles square on the Merrimac River, conveyed to him April 17, 1652, by an Indian chief. He died Nov. 23d, 1692, aged 92 years,* and is probably buried in the old Charter street burying-ground, known anciently as Burying Point. The gravestone of his wife Elizabeth, who died Sept., 1682, is still standing there, but nothing else remains to indicate the place of his interment. By Elizabeth he had five daughters and five sons, the youngest of whom, Henry, administered his estate July 13th, 1694. By the inventory it appears that he died seized of one-quarter part of the mill and dwelling-house attached thereto.†

The name of Bartholomew is conspicuously preserved to us, solely, I believe, in connection with the beautiful pond bearing that name.

Nov. 29, 1653, to JUNE 29, 1658,

ELIAS STILEMAN.

On the 29th of Nov., 1653, the records show that, "The court hath chosen Elias Stileman clerk until they shall take further order." He came hither with his father, Elias Stileman, sen'r, as early as 1629. The latter was admitted a freeman July 3d, 1632, and was one of the commissioners authorized in certain contingencies to administer the official oath to Governor Endicott.‡ He was an inkeeper Sept. 3, 1635; the next month he appears as constable; and he died before June 1639,§ though his inventory was not filed till Nov., 1663.

His son, the subject of this sketch, was admitted to the First Church in Salem in 1639, and was made a freeman May 18, 1642. May 10, 1643, he was appointed by the General

Court to serve on a committee to lay out a way to Woburn. In 1645 he was a member of the Artillery Company. In 1653 he represented, according to Felt, that he had kept a house of entertainment but desired to sell wine. In June, 1654, the court having probably confirmed his appointment, his predecessor, Bartholomew, is ordered by the court to give up all records to him. July 1, 1657, he propounded a query to the General Court from the County Court—whether the town of Ipswich was bound by a vote of a meeting of the inhabitants in 1655 to raise one hundred pounds for building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbett—resolved affirmatively. Oct. 19, 1658—he having resigned the office of clerk at Salem and removed to Portsmouth, was nominated by the inhabitants there as a commissioner or associate judge, and was confirmed by the General Court.* Oct. 9, 1665—he was a selectman of Portsmouth, and as such, protested against the petition of certain persons for a separation of the colonial governments. May 23, 1666—He was a commissioner on fortifications at Portsmouth. May 15, 1667—He was a deputy from Portsmouth to the General Court—which office he held in 1671 and 1677, and again after the deposition of Andros—and was appointed on petition of the inhabitants of Dover and Portsmouth to act as a magistrate in the courts at those places. 1668—He was appointed by the colonial commissioners, Leverett and Tyng, to act as a magistrate for York, and was confirmed therein by the General Court in November of that year. May 19, 1669—He was appointed a commissioner "for Piscataqua" to search vessels suspected of exporting specie; an officer sometimes called "searcher of coin." And the same year was again invested with magisterial powers for the Portsmouth and Dover courts. In those courts and in York he sat as associate with general or special powers from the years 1670 to 1679 inclusive; and the last

* Derby's Mss.

† Essex Probate Rec. Salem.

‡ Hubbard's "General History of N. E." Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d series, Vol. 5, p. 122.

§ Farmer and others have it that he died in 1663, but I find 25th 4 mo., 1639, an action in Essex Qu. Ct. of Geo. Ropes against Elias Stileman, senior, deceased.

* Col. Rec. Essex Ct. Rec., Salem.

year he appears to have acted as clerk.* May 15, 1672—He was appointed a commissioner to set bounds between Portsmouth and Hampton, and the next year he was commissioned Lieutenant of the Company "at the fort on the Great Island" at Piscataqua, and in February, 1675-6, he succeeded Capt. Richard Cutts in the command of the fort. August, 1676—he was appointed to collect evidence to substantiate allegations made in a letter of the company to the king concerning the claims of Mason and Gorges. He also served in 1677 on the same committee with Bartholomew, to regulate trade in Boston; and was appointed that year to receive the account of the stewards of the "new Brick Building at the College" and to collect contributions therefor. In 1680—King Charles II. having erected New Hampshire into a Royal Province the previous year, thus dividing the old County of Norfolk, of which I shall say more in another place—John Cutts was commissioned President and Mr. Stileman was made Secretary. The next year President Cutts died, Major Waldron succeeding to the Presidency, and Mr. Stileman was appointed his deputy, having been ousted from the secretaryship by the new commission, which named Richard Chamberlayne for that office. On Governor Cranfield's appointment in 1682, Stileman was commissioned as councillor, and in November of that year wrote a memorable letter to the governor, answering the arguments urged by Mason in support of his claim, which was followed the next January by his suspension from the council and removal from the command of the fort—ostensibly for the reason that he had offered a vessel under seizure to leave the harbor, but in reality, without doubt, because he was found too honest to join the conspiracy fostered by that government against the rights of the people. The notorious Barefoot succeeded to the command of the fort; which contained eleven guns not above six-

pounders, and was erected by the inhabitants of Dover and Portsmouth at the beginning of the Dutch war in 1665, on an island at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and afterwards called *Nbiwcastle*. In February, 1684, his pastor, the Rev. Joshua Moodey, having refused to administer the sacrament to some of the public officers who were not in his communion, was indicted under the statutes against non-conformists and was sentenced to the prison; but by entreaty was allowed to remain at Stileman's house, with Mr. Vaughan, another prisoner, who has left an interesting journal covering that period. Here he was at first confined to his chamber but afterwards allowed the liberty of the yard. The next April Nathaniel Fox, who married his wife's daughter, demanded the bride's portion of Stileman in money, though the court had ordered another tender, which Stileman stood ready to give, and offered his house and contents as security therefor, notwithstanding which Mrs. Stileman, his wife, was arrested and imprisoned over one night and the next morning released by Mason, who was, probably, the instigator of all the outrages above described.*

But Mason and his confederates were suddenly checked by the arrival of President Dudley's commission over all New England, published May 25, 1686, ten days after its arrival. This was succeeded by the arrival of Andros on the 20th of December following, who continued to govern till April 18, 1689, when he was arrested and sent home from Boston, and the New Hampshire Colony the next spring reunited with and merged into the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, which was in 1691 erected into a Province by King William and Queen Mary. In the language of another, "The interval between the death of Charles II. in 1685 and the revolution in 1688, when

* In 1681 he appears to have been Recorder of the court at Hampton. See Norfolk Co. Rec. at Reg. Deeds Salem.

* For most of these facts see "The History of New Hampshire by Jeremy Belknap, A. M." Philadelphia: 1784—with an appendix of valuable documents, among the rest Vaughan's Journal, often referred to above.

Andros, Cranfield and Barefoot governed in that province, is a blank in the history of its laws and jurisprudence.”* But after the revolution Mr. Stileman reappears as a deputy to the General Court.†

While at Salem he practised in the courts to some extent.

In the year 1640 an officer was appointed for each court, called the Recorder, whose duty was to record deeds—which before that time had been recorded in the towns—or, as the act was generally understood, to record all wills, inventories, bargains, sales and deeds. To this office Samuel Symonds was appointed for the Ipswich Court and Emanuel Downing for the Salem Court.‡ But on the appointment of Stileman to the office of clerk, he seems to have assumed the duties of Recorder of deeds, &c.—and after him the two offices were held by the same person till the Province Charter.

Mr. Stileman was married to Ruth Maynard in 1667,§ who, as we have seen, was alive in 1684, but of his children, if he had any, I find no account. As early as 1671 he was a member of the first church in Portsmouth, which was then gathering under Rev Joshua Moody,|| who died distinguished, at Boston. Stileman closed his long and eventful life in 1695.¶

JUNE 29, 1658, TO DEC. 20, 1683,

HILLIARD VEREN.

When Mr. Stileman resigned his office the court called upon the clerk of the Ipswich Court, Mr. Robert Lord, to act *pro tempore* at Salem during the June term. At this term a petition was received, which, as it briefly sets forth the character of the next clerk, I give in full:

29th 4th, '58. To the Worshipfull Court now assembled at Salem.

we whose names are subscribed havinge considered that this Court is at present destitute of a Clarke by reason he that was last chosen there vnto is now removed to the eastward are hold to present Hilliard Verin vnto yor worships consideration as one whom we conceiue meete for that place he beinge at present Clarke of the writts here and his calinge beinge such as doth occasion his abode at whom also he beinge one that for his integritie we can confide in and doubt not but if yor worships shall see meete to make tryall of him he will give good sattisfaction:

JOHN GEDNEY,
RICHARD PRINCE,
JACOB BARNEY,
THOMAS GARDNER,
RICH'D MORE,
MOSES MAVERICKE,
HENRY BARTHOLMEW.

Mr. Veren was accordingly appointed.

He was the son of Philip Veren of Salisbury in Wiltshire, England. The date of his baptism on the parish register is March 3, 1621–2, O. S.* His father came to New England in 1635, was a constable in Salem, where he joined the church in September of the same year, and was afterwards punished for being a quaker.† Hilliard joined the First Church in Salem in 1648—of which he was afterward a deacon‡—and was probably admitted a freeman soon after, though no record of his admission remains. He was clerk of the writs some years. In October, 1663, he was appointed by the General Court a commissioner of customs and to enforce the observance of the Navigation Act in Salem, Marblehead and Gloucester.

* Holmes, Vol. 1, 395, quoting Farmer and Moore.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3d series, Vol. 4, p. 292.

‡ Col. Rec. and his handwriting in Essex Reg. Deeds.

§ Farmer.

|| Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st Series, Vol. 10, p. 43.

¶ Farmer.

* Mr. Savage's Gleanings, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3d series, Vol. 10, p. 138.

† This is generally said of the father, though I am not sure that his son Philip, Hilliard's older brother, was not the quaker.

‡ Jan. 9, 1680.

May 18, 1664—he was chosen ensign of the Salem foot company. 1665—a searcher, sealer and gauger.* Oct. 15, 1679—he is ordered to collect 12d. per ton of all vessels of more than 12 tons burthen for support of the public fortifications; (this was called powder money). In this office he was succeeded by Benjamin Gerrish in 1684. Oct. 12, 1681—William Bowditch, collector of taxes, having died suddenly, intestate, Mr. Veren, Wm. Browne and Mr. Gedney, were appointed a committee to examine his books and collect arrears.

During the last twenty-five years of his life his official duties were numerous, important and laborious. Essex County had grown rapidly in population and trade. But notwithstanding the increase of court business and of commerce, Mr. Veren personally performed, thoroughly and neatly, all the duties of clerk of the writs, clerk of the courts, register of deeds, register of probate and collector of customs, besides what time he devoted to his private business as a merchant and what was absorbed by his relations to the church and the militia.

The first books of Probate Records for Salem are in his own hand writing. These begin in 1671; and there is a tradition that the earlier books were destroyed by fire, though it is more probable that they are now existing in some garret or antiquarian cabinet.†

* Felt.

† It is possible that there were no earlier probate records for Salem than those mentioned above. The act of Sept. 9, 1639—passed probably on the recommendation of Lechford, (see his Plain Dealing)—made provision for recording judgments, wills, administrations, inventories, births, marriages, deaths and “men’s houses and lands.” To the office of Recorder Stephen Winthrop was appointed at Boston, for the whole Colony, it appears. Oct. 7, 1640, Mr. Emanuel Downing was appointed Recorder for Salem Court, under the act to prevent fraudulent conveyances, passed at that date. He was to “enter all bargains, sales, &c., of all lands, &c.,” “the rest to be entered by Mr. Stephen Winthrop of Boston.” By the act then he seems to have had no authority to record anything but deeds and assurances of land,

Mr. Veren married, April 12, 1641, Mary Conant, cousin of Roger Conant,* the pioneer settler of Salem, and by her he had three daughters and one son, Hilliard, jr., who died at sea between November, 1679, and June, 1680, aged something over thirty years.†

About 1650 he built the house known in later years as the “Henfield House,” which stood back of the old First Meeting House, and was taken down when the Eastern Railroad tunnel was constructed under Washington street, about 1838 or 9.‡ His last entry in the records bears date December 4, 1683. He died only sixteen days after and was buried in the Charter street burying-ground, where his grave stone still stands.

(To be continued.)

FIRST VOYAGE TO JAPAN.

BY J. F. ALLEN.

The following account of the voyage of the ship *Margaret*, of Salem, to Japan, in the year 1801, is compiled from the private journal of the late GEORGE CLEVELAND, Esq., who sailed in the *Margaret* as captain’s clerk, and who for many years in the later period of his life, was known and respected of all men here, as the President of the Commercial Insurance Company.

Of the individuals named as part of the ship’s company, on leaving Salem, James Stewart the 1st officer, and Anthony D. Caulfield, did not go to Japan in the ship, but were detailed at Batavia to go to the Isle of France and charter a vessel and bring her to Batavia, to meet the *Margaret* on her return there, and assist in bringing home, the returns of the voyage to Japan.

MR. CLEVELAND’S JOURNAL.

In the autumn of 1800, the ship *Margaret*, built by Mr. Becket, of this town, and owned by the late

and he may have so understood it, being a lawyer, though the act was elsewhere construed to authorize the several Recorders to register wills, &c., as well as deeds.

* Vide will of Roger Conant, Essex Prob. Rec.

† Farmer says the son died about one month before father, but his will was proved June, 1680.

‡ See Salem Register of June 17, 1839.

Col. Benj. Pickman, John Derby, Esq., and Capt. Samuel Derby, who was to command her, was launched. On the 25th November we left Salem Harbor, bound to the East Indies, and probably a finer, a better fitted, or better manned ship, never left the port before. We carried 6 guns and 20 men; most of the crew were fine young men, in the bloom of youth. I will enumerate those who lived many years after, namely: S. G. Derby, captain Thomas West, 2d mate, L. Stetson, carpenter, Samuel Rea, Joseph Preston, Israel Phippen, Anthony D. Caulfield, P. Dwyer, ——— Thatcher, and myself. Wm. Messervey was shipped in Batavia, and returned to Salem in the ship. (Most of these names are familiar to the present generation as those of commanders of ships.) We soon found on leaving port what a fast sailing ship the Margaret was. When we were out eleven days we fell in with the barque Two Brothers, captain John Holman, who had left Salem some days before us, bound to Lezhorn. We made him ahead in the afternoon, steering the same course we were, and before night we were up alongside and spoke him. The next day, we fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, convoyed by a frigate. As we had to cross the track of these vessels, the frigate, which was under very short sail, kept all snug until she had got into our wake, when she set all sail in chase, but we distanced her so much that in a very short time she gave it up, took in her sails, and rejoined the fleet.

On the 4th February, 1801, we anchored in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope. We saluted the admiral's ship, which civility was returned. On the 10th February, we left, bound to Sumatra, and found it difficult to get to the westward, as winds and currents were against us, and, after a tedious passage, we anchored in Bencoolen Roads, on the 10th of April, 1801, after being 136 days from Salem, including our stoppage at the Cape. As nothing could be done to advantage here, we proceeded to Batavia, and arrived there on the 25th of April.

Captain Derby soon made a bargain with the agents of the East India Company, to take the annual freights to and from Japan, and as it was the custom from time immemorial that the Japan ship should sail on a certain day, and as that day was some time ahead, it was necessary to find some employment for the vessel previously, as it was dangerous to the health of crews to be lying any time in Batavia roads. The Company offered captain Derby a freight of Coffee from a port a short distance to the eastward, which he readily accepted. This wore away twelve or fourteen days of the time, and added to the profits

of the voyage. I remained at Batavia during the absence of the ship. The cargo for Japan, consisted of a great variety of articles, such as the Dutch had been in the habit of shipping for nearly two centuries. It was composed of sugar, spices, sapan wood, sandal wood, rattans, glass and glass ware, cloths, medicines and various other articles; and as every thing was to be done according to a prescribed rule, and we were not to sail until a certain day in June, we had time enough to do all things right as regards receiving and stowing the cargo. We weighed anchor at 8 A.M., on the 20th June, 1801. We had as a passenger, a young Dutchman, who was going out as clerk to the establishment in Japan. On the morning of July 16th, made the Islands of Casique and St. Clara, which are near the harbour of Nangasacca, our destined port. On the 18th, two fishing boats came along side and supplied us with fish. On Sunday, 19th, we were so near, that we hoisted twenty different colors, and in the afternoon, entered the harbor of Nangasacca. We had much ceremony to go through, in entering this port, which is considered indispenstble; among other things to fire several salutes.

The day after our arrival, I landed on the Island of Decima, a little island connected with the city of Nangasacca, by a bridge; it is walled all round, and here the Dutch residents are obliged to pass their lives. Provisions are very dear, as every thing had to pass through the hands of a compradore and he no doubt put upon them a large profit. We had excellent sweet potatoes and mackerel, and sometimes pork and fowls, and the bread was as good as any country could produce. Capt. Derby, Mr. West and myself, carried several articles of merchandize, on our own account. This has always been allowed to the Dutch Captains, but then the sale of these articles must be made by the Japanese Government. All these articles were landed on the island, opened and displayed in a ware house, and on certain days the merchants were allowed to go on the Island to examine them. Nothing could exceed the minuteness with which they examined every thing. Among other articles we had a quantity of tumblers and wine glasses; these they measured with the greatest care, running their fingers over every part to determine what irregularities there were on the surface, and then holding each piece up to the light to see the color. They also made drawings of the different description of pieces. After this investigation, they marked on their memorandums the number of the lot and the result of their investigations. Every thing we had to sell went through a similar

ordeal, so that to us, who were lookers on and owners of the property, nothing could be more tedious. After the goods had been sufficiently examined, a day was appointed for a sale, in the city of Nangasacka, and was conducted with the greatest fairness. Capt. D. and myself went into the city, attended by the requisite number of officers, and proceeded to what the Dutch call the Geltechamber, where we found one or more upper Banyoses seated in their usual state, and a general attendance of merchants. We were placed where we could see all that was going on, and receive such explanations, as were requisite to a thorough understanding of the whole business. The goods being all disposed of, we were escorted back to the island, with much formality, not however, until a day had been appointed by the great mon for the delivery of the goods. Delivering those adventures was a great affair, and it was a number of days before the whole were taken away. No person in this country, (who has not traded with people who have so little intercourse with the world,) can have an idea of the trouble we had in delivering this little invoice, which would not have been an hour's work in Salem. We finally, after a great trial of our patience, finished delivering goods, and articles that did not come up to the pattern, were taken at diminished prices.

On the 20th September, 1801, we went into the city of Nangasacka. The first place we went to was Facquia's, an eminent stuff merchant. Here we were received with great politeness and entertained in such a manner as we little expected. We had set before us, for a repast, pork, fowls, meso, eggs, boiled fish, sweetmeats, cake, various kinds of fruit and sacky and tea. The lady of the house was introduced, who drank tea with each of us, as is the custom of Japan. She appeared to be a modest woman. The place we next visited was a temple, to which we ascended from the street by at least two hundred stone steps. We saw nothing very remarkable in this building, excepting its size, which was very large, though in fact we were only admitted into an outer apartment, as there appeared to be religious ceremonies going on within. Adjoining this was the burying ground. In this ground was the tomb of one of their Governors, which was made of stone and very beautifully wrought. We next visited another temple, also on the side of a hill and built of stone. The inside presented a great degree of neatness. It consisted of a great many apartments, in some of which were images; in one, over a kind of altar, was a lamp, which was continually burning. In another were several long pieces of boards, painted

black, with an inscription to the memory of some deceased Emperor or Governor; before each of these was a cup of tea, which they informed us was renewed every day. There were other apartments, which the priests probably occupied, as there were many of them passing in and out. These are dressed like the other Japanese, excepting that their outside garments were all black, their heads all shaved over. From this we went to the glass house, which was on a small scale; thence to a lac ware merchant's, where we were entertained with great hospitality. Thence we went to a Tea House or Hotel, where we dined. After dinner we were entertained with various feats of dancing and tumbling. Towards dark we returned to the island, and so much was the crowd in the streets to see us pass that it was with difficulty that we could get along. The number of children we saw was truly astonishing. The streets of the city are narrow and inconvenient to walk in, as they are covered with loose stones, as large as paving stones. At short distances you have to go up or down flights of stone steps. At the end of every street is a gate, which is locked at night. They have no kind of carriages, as it would be impossible to use them in such streets. The houses are of two stories, built of wood; the exterior appearance is mean, but within they are very clean and neat. The floors are covered with mats, and it is considered a piece of ill manners to tread on them without first taking off the shoes. The Japanese dress much alike. That of the men consists first of a loose gown, which comes down as low as the ankles; over this is worn a kind of petticoat, which comes as low as the other; these are made of silk or cotton. The petticoat does not go higher than the hips. Over the shoulders they wear a shawl, generally of black crape, and around the waist a band of silk or cotton; through this band the officers of the government put their swords, and they are the only persons allowed to carry these instruments. The middle part of the head is all shaved, the remaining hair, which is left on each side and behind, is then combed together and made very stiff with gum mixed with oil, and then turned up on top of the head in a little club, about as large as a man's thumb. This is the universal fashion with rich and poor, excepting the priests. The poorer classes do not wear the silk petticoat, and the coolies and other laborers, at the time we were there, threw all their clothing off (excepting a cloth around their middle) when at work. The dress of the women is the long gown, with large sleeves, and is very like that of the men. They suffer the hair to grow long, which is made stiff with

gum and oil and then is turned up on top of the head, where it is secured with various turtle-shell ornaments.

The Japanese observed one fast when we were there. It was in remembrance of the dead. The ceremonies were principally in the night. The first of which was devoted to feasting, at which they fancy their friends to be present; the second and third nights the graves, which are lighted with paper lamps and situated as they are on the side of a hill, make a most brilliant appearance. On the fourth night, at 3 o'clock, the lamps are all brought down to the water and put into small straw barques, with paper sails, made for the occasion, and after putting in rice, fruit, &c., they are set afloat. This exhibition was very fine. They on the death of their parents abstain from flesh and fish forty-nine days, and on the anniversary they keep the same fast, but do not do it for any other relations.

As the time was approaching for our departure we began to receive our returns from the interior, brought many hundred miles. These consisted of the most beautiful lacquered ware, such as waiters, writing desks, tea caddies, knife boxes, tables, &c., &c. These were packed in boxes so neat, that in any other country they would be considered cabinet work. We also received a great variety of silks, fans in large quantities, & great variety of porcelain, and house brooms of superior quality. The East India Company's cargo had been loading some time previous. The principal article was copper in small bars; other things were camphor, soy, sacky, porcelain, etc., etc. The company's ships have been obliged to take their departure from the anchorage opposite Nengasacca on a certain day to the lower roads, no matter whether it blew high or low, fair or foul, even if a gale, and a thousand boats should be required to tow them down. We of course had to do as our predecessors had done. Early in November we went to this anchorage and remained a few days, when we sailed for Batavia, where we arrived safely after a passage of one month.

PAPER ON A SPARED RECORD OF THE SALEM CUSTOM HOUSE.

Read at a Meeting of the Institute, Thursday, April
26, 1860.

BY DAVID ROBERTS.

The fifteen years, prior to the American Rev-

olution are intensely interesting to the student of American History. From 1760 to 1775, more historical events of importance occurred, than during any other like period of our history. The most stirring scenes, preceding and precipitating the Revolution, were crowded into this brief space of time. On both sides of the Atlantic men of mark appeared. Of the Tories, in England, were North, Dartmouth, Grenville, Hillsborough, &c.; while Bernard, Hutchinson, the Olivers, Gage, Bernard, &c., were prominent in the same school of politics here. Of the Whigs in the old country, Chatham, Camden, Burke and Col. Barre were conspicuous; while here occur James Otis, O. Thatcher, the Adamses, Hancock, Warren, Bowdoin, Cushing and others, seemed alike honored and trusted, as tribunes of the people, among the Colonial patriots.

During this period, and just following the French war, (which in 1759 terminated French dominion in America) the effort to enforce the acts of trade, and thus raise a revenue to pay Colonial expenses consequent on this war, seemed to be the cardinal policy of the British Ministry. Hence the non-importation agreement of the N. E. merchants; the passage of the Stamp Act and its repeal, with the unwise and impolitic reservation of the right to tax the Colonies without representation; Writs of Assistance for Revenue Officers or substitutes thereof; the ruin of Hutchinson's, the Oliver's and others' property; the resignation of Oliver as Stamp Distributor; the presence in September, 1765, of Col. Dalrymple's two regiments; the destruction of the Tea in Boston Harbor; the Boston Town Meeting and its doings; the Boston Port Bill; Leslie's Retreat and the Assembly at Salem; the affair of Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775; of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775; and finally the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776; so many and such grave events, resulting from British policy, and all crowded into this particular period, that we may be justly grateful for anything brought to light, which may, by possibility, tend to illustrate it.

These general topics may be fully discussed

in Hildreth, Hutchinson, Bancroft, Barry and other writers; but John Adams has emphatically declared, that the true origin and exact history of the American Revolution must measurably be a myth because of the loss of—

1—The Papers of James Otis.

2—The Record Books of the Revenue Officers and Court Records.

The first never can be recovered, because in one of his moody states of mind, James Otis deliberately burned all his papers.

If the Revenue Books shall ever be recovered, it must be by some accident or luck, as in the present case. That they were carried away to England, or Halifax, or burned, or otherwise destroyed may be true; yet our rescued volume enables us to ascertain what other Salem Custom House volumes then existed, and to indulge the hope, at least, that more of them may yet be recovered.

By a fly-leaf memorandum, it appears, that this "Book of Records for the Custom House in Salem was commenced Sept. 28th, 1763;" not only after the legality of Writs of Assistance was discussed by Gridley and Otis, but after the Superior Court had decided that suit of the Salem merchants on one side and Cockle, the Salem Custom House Collector, on the other side.

In this book there is found "a list of appurtenances belonging to the Custom House," and among other things is "one seaman's chest for keeping papers."

Among the books belonging to the Salem Custom House were—

- 8 nos. for Foreign Entries outwards from 1713 to Dec. 5, 1766
- 7 " Foreign Entries inwards f'm Oct. 27, 1712, to Dec. 27, 1766
- 3 " Coasting Entries outw'ds f'm Oct. 11, 1723, to Jy 9, 1763
- 3 " " inwards f'm Nov. 27, 1727, to May 22, 1766
- 6 " New Duties account f'm June 24, 1737, to April 5, 1765
- 6 " Enumerated Du's " f'm Aug. 25, 1736, to April 5, 1765
- 5 " Records of Registers f'm May 29, 1724, to Jan'y 9, 1763
- 3 " Hospital accounts from Aug. 14, 1730, to Jan'y 10, 1760
- 5 " Acts of Parliament, &c., from 1660 to 1770
- 1 " Books of Reports from Oct. 20, 1763 to
- 1 " Entries for vessels outward bound from M'ch 20, 1738, to
- 1 " Copies of Letters } from Jan'y 15, 1729, to
- Orders and Commis'sns }

Beside this tabular statement of revenue books, there is to be also found, in the present

volume, the names of the Lords Commissioners of Revenue, at the Custom House in London; their correspondence with and commissions to revenue officers here; their instructions to the Surveyor General of the customs at Boston, and to Naval Officers in the station ships of the Crown on the Colonial coast; the names of the Board of Customs' Commissioners, who, in 1767, were to reside in the Colony; their commissions, correspondence, instructions, and general management of the revenue to and with the Collector, Comptroller, Surveyor and Searcher and other under revenue officers; the suspension of James Cockle, the Salem Collector, for taking a bribe; his official neglect and insult to John Temple, the Surveyor General; Cockle's restoration to office and the renewal of his commission by the Lords Commissioners residing in London; the proceedings in Admiralty against 59 pipes of wine of the *Schr. Pembroke*, (Capt. Silsbee) belonging to George Crowninshield; its condemnation and sale upon and after seizure; letters of Samuel Fitch, Jonathan Sewell, and other counsel of the Crown; promised rewards to base informers and paid rewards to useful informers; accounts of Customs' Officers and how settled, by the Crown Commissioners; the offices and names of Crown officers, how paid, and when subsidized by gratuities; for what rebuked, suspended, or dismissed; what relation they held toward the Governor, Council and other high officers of the Crown; how they demeaned themselves toward the Colonists in general and the merchants in particular; the whole presenting a picture in itself so graphic, as will not permit any one to be surprised at the Colonists tipping the tea overboard in Boston harbor; the merchants' non-importation agreement, and the various towns, by pledges and protests, backing the Boston and Salem merchants; the high-toned conduct and speech of Samuel Adams toward Lt. Gov. Hutchinson and Col. Dalrymple; the organization of Committees of Correspondence and Safety; the demolition of Crown officers' dwellings at Boston; the collision of the Colonists with the military, March

5, 1770; the general resistance to Writs of Assistance, Revenue Laws and Stamp Acts; the affairs at North Bridge in Salem, at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill; and finally the tone and temper of the Declaration of Independence made on July 4, 1776; in which the great men, who prepared that famous document, but echoed the popular sentiment and feeling of the Colonists of that day when they penned those words of fire against the King of Great Britain, who (as it was said) "had sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance."

Now, it is curious, but none the less interesting, that a Custom House, after the lapse of eighty years or more, should give to American history a new phase, if not be the means and instrument of contributing to it a new chapter. The testimony of living cotemporary witnesses has failed to supply this want of Crown Books of Records; which were (as the tradition runs) transferred generally from here to Halifax or London; in some cases never to be returned.

It is true the Probate Office Records, after the peace of 1783, were returned to Boston from Halifax by Foster Hutchinson; but the Records of the Court of Admiralty never.

John Adams writes, January 14, 1818, to Mr. Niles, "that the true history of the American Revolution could not be recovered;" and gives as his reason for this hazarded opinion, that all the papers of James Otis were burned by his own act, and so, the history of writs of Assistance, their use and abuse, could never be fully known.

The arguments of Gridley for and Otis against them and their validity are substantially recalled by Adams, Tudor and Minot; but the ultimate decision and disposition of this vexed question does not plainly appear, either from the judicial records of the court or the histories of cotemporaries covering this period. Any means, therefore, tending to supply this defect, may historically atone, in a degree, for the papers which Otis destroyed.

Three questions, two of law and one of fact

or history, may serve to cover the whole ground:

1—What were Writs of Assistance? and were they, when issued under the seal of the Exchequer Court in England, valid as legal instruments there?

2—If so, were they valid legal instruments in the Colonies and could they be used here, to secure to the King his revenue, to be raised under the Acts of Trade, or in enforcing the Navigation Laws?

3—Were they ever so used here, and how, when and in what form, and by whom were they issued?

It may be, that Writs of Assistance were used in England; but *only under the seal of the Exchequer*: There, they were issued to enable customs officers to enter ships and buildings, and search for and seize smuggled and dutiable goods. These instruments were limited, and not general warrants; granted upon the oath of some applicant, by the Exchequer Court only; and returnable to that court.

The Court of Exchequer in England is an ancient court of record, (inferior to the Court of King's Bench and Court of Common Pleas,) and was instituted in the time of William the Conqueror; it was borrowed from the Exchequer of Normandy; and, in its jurisdiction, originally heard and determined all matters, touching revenue and the rights of the Crown.

In the time of Edward 1st, this court was organized upon its present basis, to regulate and order the revenues of the Crown and recover the King's debts and duties. It was held in the King's palace; and its doings were not re-examinable by the other Courts of the King. There were two divisions or branches of it—

1—A Receipt of Exchequer—managing the Royal Revenue.

2—A Court of Exchequer—which was again subdivided into—

a—Court of Equity.

b—Court of Law.

But, its equity powers were transferred to Chancery Courts by 5 Victoria ch. 5, and now

the Barons of the Exchequer and other judges sit and act in *Banc* together, as is believed.

So much for the origin and jurisdiction of this Court, as it existed in the time of Charles 2d; when was enacted ch. 11th of the 13 and 14 Charles 2d, which (if any act ever did) authorized *Writs of Assistance*. These were issued out of the Exchequer, to enable officers to enter ships, houses, warehouses and other places, to search for smuggled or prohibited goods; and issued on oath, that there is strong presumption to believe goods of those kinds are harbored; but, if they are to be executed in the night, the officers must be accompanied by a peace officer. This description of writs of assistance will be useful, when I come to compare the commissions issued respectively by the commissioners of customs from London before 1767 or Boston after 1767; whether such commissions be dated at the Custom House, Boston; Castle William, Boston Harbor; Frigate Lively, near Castle William; or were sworn to at the Custom House, Salem.

The names of the London Board of Commissioners were, Edward Hooper, W. Levinz, H. Pelham, B. Hotham—who signed the commission of Joseph Dowse (a renewal) as Searcher, Surveyor and Land Waiter, 22d May, 1761—and S. Tash, H. Levinz, J. Frederick and S. Mead—who signed a *renewed* commission to James Cockle as Collector, July 24th, 1762—also W. Musgrave, J. Pennington, H. Banks, Wm. Morris, H. Glenville, J. Jeffreys were commissioners at London and corresponded last with the Salem Collector on September 18, 1767. Wm. Mellish was Receiver General, J. Piggott was his clerk. Henry Hulton was, in London, clerk or register of the board; and when a Board of Commissioners was appointed to reside in the Colony, Hulton was a member here, and with John Temple, Wm. Burch and Charles Paxton, on 19th November, 1767, signed the circular announcing their appointment by letters patent of his Majesty, bearing date 8th September, 1767. Beside these four, John Robinson and B. Hallowell, jr., were also

Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs in America at Boston.

Richard Reeve was Register of Seizures,
James Porter, Comptroller General,
John Temple, Surveyor General.

Wm. Wootten, Inspector General, Sam'l Mather Sec.,
Charles Stewart, Rec. Gen. and Cashier of the Customs at Boston,

Thomas Irving, Inspector of Exports and Imports.

The officers at Salem, as we learn from this volume:

James Cockle, Collector;
Joseph Dowse, Surveyor, &c.,
John Mascarene, Comptroller,
Rich'd Routh and Charles Shimmis, D'y Collectors,
John Nutting, Comptroller,
John Fisher, Collector.

The earliest date, to be found in this volume, is that of Surveyor Dowse's commission, May 22, 1761; Otis having argued the great question in February, 1761, at Boston, that commission has in it after the word "vessel" this clause "whereby the Surveyor hath power to enter into any ship, bottom, boat, or other vessel, as also into any shop, house, warehouse, hostelry, or other place whatsoever, to make diligent search into any trunk, chest, pack, case, truss, or any other parcel or package whatsoever, for any goods, wares, or merchandise prohibited to be imported or exported, or whereof the customs or other duties have not been duly paid, and the same to seize to his Majesty's use, &c.," officers and ministers to aid and assist, &c.

James Cockle's commission as Collector is of like tenor and dated July 24, 1762—*renewal*.

Both sworn before Francis Bernard.

Sept. 28, 1764—J. Cockle was suspended by J. Temple, Surveyor General, and Wm. Brown substituted.

Cockle was restored as before stated.

The book contains also copies of the following commissions, with their dates:

J. Mascarene, Comptroller, Aug. 15, 1764—sworn Oct. 23d, cor F. Bernard,

J. Nutting, his Deputy, Dec. 18, 1764—sworn Dec. 19, '64, cor Benj. Lynde and Nath'l Ropes, of the Council.

John Fisher, Coll'r, Jan'y 10, 1765—sworn April 24, '65, cor F. Bernard.

Sampson Toovey, Oct. 7, 1766—waiter and preventive officer, cor J. Temple.

Philip Thrasher, Nov. 19, 1766—do., cor J. Fisher. And on p 55 his instructions are copied in full.

Rob't Wood, Oct. 1st, 1767—waiter, cor J. Temple.

On page 58 the general instructions to tide waiters are recorded.

Also in 1768 were appointed as tide waiters,

John Masury,	John Tulford,
John Wormstead,	Nath'l Homan,
Jona. Millett.	

All of whom had like commissions with Surveyor Dowse.

Then 30th March, 1768, comes to Rowland Savage from Paxton, Burch, Temple, Hulton and John Robinson, as C. Commissioners, the *amended form* of a commission, by inserting after *vessel* the words "By virtue whereof he hath power to enter into any ship, bottom, boat, or other vessel, and also in the daytime with a Writ of Assistance, granted by his Majesty's Superior or Supreme Court of Justice, and taking with him a constable, headborough, or public officer next inhabiting, to enter into any house, shop, cellar, warehouse, or other place whatsoever, not only within the said port but within any other port or place within our jurisdiction, there to make diligent search, and in case of resistance to break open any door, trunk, chest, case, pack, truss, or any other parcel or package whatsoever, for any goods, wares, or merchandize prohibited to be exported out of or imported into the said port, or whereof the customs or other duties have not been duly paid, and the same to seize to his Majesty's use and to put and secure into the warehouse in the port next to the place of seizure, &c." And so thereafter the commissioners at Boston, from the Custom House, continued to commission land waiters, weighers, gaugers, officers to seize, tide waiters, boatmen, tidesmen, tide surveyors, assistant weighers and gaugers, collectors even, (as J. Nutting p. 72) extra tidesmen, riding officers of the customs, extra boatmen, &c., until the 1st of April, 1775—all of which commissions contained the *modern* clause, as first inserted

by them in (*vide* p. 109) Rowland Savage's commission, March 30, 1768; probably manufactured in London expressly for the market here.

The only exceptions in the record are when the Surveyor, Jos. Dowse, deputed Jona. Dowse to act for him, August 12, 1772, and the Comptroller (John Mascarene) deputed Charles Shimmin (late of the Isle of Man in Great Britain) to act for him, April 6th, 1773; when the power clause was much the same as in the commissions issued at London to Dowse and Cockle. But on the 15th June, 1774, Paxton, Burch and Hallowell (the commissioners in Boston) issued a new commission to Jona. Dowse as *extra* surveyor, &c., with the more modern modifying clause inserted, to wit, "and also in the daytime, with writ of assistance, constable, &c., and in case of resistance to break open," &c. So, that of Charles Shimmin, as deputy collector, was in fact the only exception.

This inserted clause, in the commissions of revenue officers, insignificant. It had a meaning; as originally used in 1760, the writs themselves were not in form legal—were more general than even, (if issued in England by a Baron of the Exchequer,) the st. of 14 and 15 Charles 2d ch. 11 would authorize or uphold.

Under Gov. Shirley, collectors and inferior officers of the customs, by the mere authority of their commissions, entered by force houses, &c., to search for contraband or smuggled goods, upon information from others of the places where such goods were concealed.

This caused disquiet; such a course being deemed illegal, and subjecting officers to liability to suits for damages. Gov. Hutchinson himself pronounced these warrants of Shirley invalid and of course no protection to the revenue officers; Shirley recalled them and directed the officers to apply to the Superior Court for writs; and instruments, in the nature of writs of assistance from the Court of Exchequer of England, were issued, but not of the precise form.

All resident Crown officers were virtually

revenue officers, and of course as such must be protected. For this purpose the issued commissions were insufficient; Shirley's warrants were inadequate; and to enter, break open, search and seize was imperative upon the revenue officer, else his Majesty's revenue is lost. The Navigation Act of George Downing must be enforced, as well as what were designated and well known as the Acts of trade, else the Colonial revenue would fail to pay the salaries, French war debt and other Colonial expenses.

The brain of every Crown officer was taxed to its utmost to devise ways and means. The whole official force (military, naval, civil and legal) was put in requisition; and the Custom House minions performed their assigned parts. James Cockle, the Salem Collector, was put forward to petition for a Writ of Assistance, and did so at the Superior Court in November, 1760, and the hearing was had in Boston in February, 1761; and what Otis said is well known, but what the court did is not so certainly known.

Now my first inquiry, What were Writs of Assistance? is, I think, sufficiently answered; and the second branch of it may be deemed conceded; that is, these writs, under the seal of and returnable to the Court of Exchequer, may be issued in England to search for and seize smuggled goods when the officer, suspecting a place of concealment, makes application therefor on oath.

My second inquiry encounters the whole force of the objections urged by the Colonial Patriots, through Otis and Thatcher; also the intimation of John Adams that they were never used except *clandestinely*; the virtual abandonment of their validity by Gridley, the Crown Counsel in their behalf; the only known adjudication of the court adverse to them, to wit, the deferring to give final judgment till news could be had from England; because, as Hutchinson himself says, that "if judgment had been then given it is uncertain on which side it would have been," the significant conduct of the Board of Customs Commissioners in issuing new forms of commissions to *all* customs offi-

cers, even tidesmen and boatmen; all these facts imply doubts at least of the legality of such writs, if not concessions on the part of the crown of their illegality.

But the conclusive commentary is to be found in our recovered volume. There, in this volume, are to be found the new and the old commissions; the correspondence of the London and the Boston commissioners; the ignoring the old forms and adopting the new; the terms, character, force and effect of the additions to the new and alterations from the old commissions; the cautionary directions and injunctions how to get, and when gotten, how to use these writs; how to apply and through whom and to whom to make the application for them; the inserted provision that when used they may only be used in the daytime, with a constable, or headborough, or other public officer; not to *break open* except "in case of resistance;" with all the cautious requisitions, circumspect limitations and guarded injunctions and inhibitions which a wily and well-trained legal mind could suggest.

And commissions in this new form were issued to some *sixty* superior and inferior customs officers in Salem, including three naval officers of his Majesty's Station Ship Lively.

Names of those to whom commissions were issued by the Board of Customs Commissioners for the Northern District of the American Colonies, and the dates of such commissions:

1768, March 14—John Masury.

16—John Tulford.

17—John Wormstead.

21—Nath'l Homan.

29—Jona. Millett.

30—Rowland Savage.

April 19—Andrew F. Phillips.

May 2—John Butler.

June 13—Thomas Rowe.

Aug. 4—Nath'l Digadon.

" 5—Joseph Howard.

Sept. 26—Woodward Abraham.

" —John Nutting, Weigher.

Oct. 7 Same, Collector.

Dec. 12—Thos. Rowe.

1769, March 9—Abraham Norwood, (refused).

- 17—Nath'l Parsons.
 Ap. 9—Rob't Wood.
 " 17—Alex'r Cummings.
 May 2—John Fletcher.
 Aug. 23—Rich'd Routh, D'y Col. to J. Fisher.
- 1771, Jan'y 4—Rich'd Sylvester.
 29—Francis Norwood.
 Feb. 4—Rob't Jamieson.
 Dec. 16—Simeon Omsted.
 1772, July 13—Eben'r Norwood.
 Dec. 8—Gustavus Norwood.
 " —Simeon Omsted.
- 1773, March 16—Wm. Ward.
 19—Andrew Brown.
 Aug. 2—James Dillon.
 " —Jona. Millett.
 " 9—Wm. Luscumb, 3d.
 —Jos. Proctor.
 —Eleazer Giles.
 —John Ryan.
- 1774, J'ne 15—Jonathan Dowse, D'y Surveyor.
 " 21—Rich'd Shelton.
 —Joseph Pitman.
 —John Lewis.
 June 24—James Welch.
 —Hugh Mulcahy.
 July 9—Eli Vickery.
 24—Wm. Fennely.
 —Sam'l Norwood.
 Aug. 29—Andrew Reed.
 30—John Wormstead.
 " —Isaac Mills.
 Sept. 5—Sam'l Wellman.
 Oct. 1—Andrew Wiseacre.
 " 11—James Masury.
 " —Thomas Felton.
 " —John Bassett.
 Nov. 7—Ed'wd Mulhall.
 28—Sam'l Butler.
 Dec. 6—Joseph Steel.
 " 29—Wm. Lechmere, Lieut.
 " —Rob't Barton, Mid.
 " —Wm. Langman, Gunner.
- All of Frigate Lively and were
 sworn at the Salem Custom House Jan'y 6th, 1775.
- 1775, Jan'y 11—George Lilley.
 March 9—Nicholas Pickett.
 " 23—Peerd Fabins.
 27—Michael Field.
 30—James Richards.
 April 1—John Vickery.

I insert here a part of the Act of ch. 40,
 George III.

And whereas by an Act of Par-
 liament made in the Fourteenth
 Year of the Reign of King Charles
 the Second, intituled, An Act for
 preventing Frauds, and regulat-
 ing Abuses, in His Majesty's Cus-
 toms, and several other Acts now
 in Force, it is lawful for any Offi-
 cer of his Majesty's Customs, au-
 thorized by Writ of Assistants
 under the Seal of his Majesty's
 Court of Exchequer, to take a
 Constable, Headborough, or other
 Public Officer inhabiting near un-
 to the Place, and in the Day-time
 to enter and go into any House,
 Shop, Cellar, Warehouse, or Room
 or other Place, and, in case of
 Resistance, to break open Doors,
 Chests, Trunks, and other Pack-
 age there, to seize, and from thence
 to bring, any Kind of Goods or
 Merchandize whatsoever prohib-
 ited or uncustomed, and to put
 and secure the same in His Majes-
 ty's Store-house next to the Place
 where such Seizure shall be made:
 And whereas by an Act made in
 the Seventh and Eighth Years of
 the Reign of King William the
 Third, intituled, An Act for pre-
 venting Frauds, and regulating
 Abuses, in the Plantation Trade,
 it is, amongst other Things, enact-
 ed, that the Officers for collecting
 and managing His Majesty's Re-
 venue, and inspecting the Planta-
 tion Trade, in America, shall have
 the same Powers and Authorities
 to enter Houses or Warehouses,
 to search for and seize Goods pro-
 hibited to be imported or exported
 into or out of any of the said
 Plantations, or for which any Du-
 ties are payable, or ought to have
 been paid; and that the like As-
 sistance shall be given to the said
 Officers in the Execution of their
 Office, as, by the said recited Act
 of the Fourteenth Year of King
 Charles the Second, is provided
 for the Officers in England: But,
 no Authority being expressly given
 by the said Act, made in the Sev-
 enth and Eighth Years of the

Clauses in Act
 14 Car. II.

Act 7 & 8
 Wm III.

Writs of Assistants, pursuant to the recited Acts, to be granted by the Supreme Court of Justice having jurisdiction in the Colony.

Reign of King William the Third, to any particular Court to grant such Writs of Assistants for the Officers of the Customs in the said Plantations, it is doubted whether such Officers can legally enter Houses and other Places on Land, to search for and seize Goods, in the Manner directed by the said recited Acts: To obviate which Doubts for the future, and in order to carry the Intention of the said recited Acts into effectual Execution, be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the said Twentieth Day of November, One thousand seven hundred and sixty seven, such Writs of Assistants, to authorize and empower the Officers of His Majesty's Customs to enter and go into any House, Warehouse, Shop, Cellar, or other Place, in the British Colonies or Plantations in America, to search for and seize prohibited or uncustomed Goods, in the Manner directed by the said recited Acts, shall and may be granted by the said Superior or Supreme Court of Justice having Jurisdiction within such Colony or Plantation respectively.

Now why was this enactment, unless the Crown Counsel had abandoned the ground heretofore (in 1761,) taken, that the course pursued had been legal?

John Adams says, that if these writs were ever used it was only *clandestinely*.

Hutchinson says, in his third volume of history, they were not in the *exact form* of writs from the Exchequer.

And in a general letter to the Salem Collector, &c., signed by Charles Paxton, Henry Hulton, Wm. Burch, John Robinson and John Temple, January 11, 1768, this paragraph occurs:

p. 216—"You are to mention if you have received the Act of 7th of his present Majesty ch. 46, the directions of which you are strictly to observe, and particularly, if you are not already furnished with Writs of Assistance,

you are to apply by letter for such writs, to the Justice or Justices of the Superior or Supreme Court of your Province or Colony, *'who are, by said Act, empowered to grant the same.'*"

p. 279—The same write thus—"Gent.—Writs of Assistance having been issued by the Superior Court of this Province for the Officers of your Port, we direct you forthwith to apply for them to the Clerk of that Court, so that you may be furnished with the same, to be used as occasion may require."

Your Loving Friends, J. ROBINSON,
H. HUTTON,
J. TEMPLE,
W. BURCH,
C. PAXTON."

April 20, 1769.

p. 345—Another general letter—important—from commissioners, October 11th, 1771:

"You are also to acquaint us whether you have been furnished with Writs of Assistance by the Superior Court of your Province, agreeable to the form transmitted by our Solicitor, and if you have not, you are to assign the reasons why you have not been able to obtain them."

What is the deduction from these suggestions and extracts? Obviously this, that the Crown lawyers had hitherto been at fault, and had just recovered from the shaking which James Otis gave them six years before, in arguing the Salem Collector's petition. They had since then searched and weighed the authorities, found them adverse, rubbed open their eyes and brushed up their legal lore, and concluded to make an entire new movement. So in the 7th of George III. they got Parliament to pass ch. 46; the Crown Solicitor to prepare a new form; the Commissioners to issue new instructions and commissions to sixty officers in Salem; and gave up applying through the Surveyor General for writs; directed application to be made to a Justice or Clerk of the Superior Court, who are, by the Act of 7th George III, empowered to grant such writs, as, I submit, for the first time.

Now if this court had authority before 1767, why give it to them again? Why issue new commissions to a swarm of sixty officers in Salem, unless it were to "harass our people and eat out their substance?" Why ignore all the old forms, if, as pretended and contended in February, 1761, they were legal and valid? Why were the commissioners so very cautious to have the revenue officers attended by "a constable, headborough, or other public officer next inhabiting?" Why not let them go by night as well as day? Why so circumspect as to instruct them only to enter and break open "in case of resistance?" Why commission so many extra officers and call naval officers from the quarter-deck of the frigate Lively to be sworn in as revenue officers at the Salem Custom House?

The truth is, the Crown officers had become alarmed and wanted to make a show of force. They doubted their legal position and distrusted themselves, but wanted, like the British Ministry, to die game. Therefore it was that they kept up the semblance of authority and claimed to be right.

But these odious instruments of authority were never openly used in the Colony, and no revenue officer, from Gov. Bernard down to Nath'l Digadon, the extra tidesman, ever dared to use them.

This volume demonstrates, that these writs were deemed illegal in 1761. Hutchinson says they were never issued in the exact form of Writs of Assistance; the old form of commission is conceded to be inadequate to authorize "entering and breaking open," by its being abandoned; the new form indicates that the Crown lawyers deemed the old one illegal; and the Commissioners of Customs at Boston say that the Superior Court is empowered to grant them writs by the Act of 1767—instruct the officers to whom to apply and get them, and if they fail, direct and demand to know of the failure and the reasons.

If only this is made certain, that the Crown officers conceded that James Otis was sound in

his argument upon Cockle's petition in February, 1761, then the volume, which has now become the property of the Essex Institute, is worth all the time I have bestowed upon it; and whether it is worthy of being published will be for the management to consider hereafter. Why it did not share the fate of other records I know not. Evidently it was the intention of some minion to have destroyed it, as its gashed and mutilated condition plainly indicates.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 132.

"To the Honoured now assembled at Salem 27th 4th mo., 1676, Whereas it hath pleased my honoured Brother, Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, to present the honoured Court with a writting containing divers particulars, which if they did only concern my selfe I could the better keepe silence. But reflecting so much upon the memory of my deare husband, and being so exceeding contrary to the speeches and acting of my dear husband when he was with me, as I humbly conceive they are. I think if I should keepe silence I should sinne against God and against the memory of my deare husband, whose precious remembrance is as deare to mee as my life, and contrary to whose minde so far as he was pleased to expresse himselfe to me I would not willingly act, If I might gain thereby more than his whole estate is worth, and therefore I have cause to Blesse the Lord, and doe humbly returne humble thanks to the honoured court that they have bin pleased so to order it as to give me leave to fulfill my deare husband's desire. I Blesse the Lord I can approve my heart to him who is the searcher of the heart and tryer of the reines, that while my dear husband was with me I never was unwilling but very willing, yea very desirously willing that my deare husband should bestow of his

estate what hee pleased upon his dearly Beloved sister, Mrs. Ellin Cheever, and when I did desire him to make his will, which when he was sicke I did more than once or twice, and his answer to me was that he did looke upon it as that wt was very requisite and fitt should be done. But dear wife thee hast no cause to bee troubled if I should dye and not make a will it would be never the worse for thee, thy selfe would have the more. to which his speech I made this reply that I looked upon it as a duty which God required of a master off a family to sett his house in order, and I did earnestly desire if it were God's good pleasure that himselfe might have the free disposall of his estate and might dispose off what he pleased off it to his own kinred. I should be so far from beeing troubled at it that I should be very glad and Blesse ye Lord that it might be done according to his own free will and heart's desire and therefore bless the Lord I was no occasion of temptation to cause my deare husband to conceale his minde from me. But if my deare husband had advisedly forborn to make his will upon the account my honoured Brother is pleased to expresse, then he would not have expressed himselfe to me so farr as he did concerning the disposall of his estate; my deare and precious husband was well known to bee a man regarding truth and faithfulness both in his speeches and in his actions. Concerning my husband his adopted daughter, I humbly thus reply shee was not counted a stranger by himselfe neither did he put his name upon her for compliments sake, But as he owned her for his adopted child. She was dearer in his affections than I can express. If my deare husband had power to adopt a childe, then I humbly apprehend that he did as really and as truly accept of that childe for his adopted daughter as ever he accepted of me to be his wife, and that of his own free will without being persuaded to it by any person in the world. But as the father of the childe did freely tender it so did he freely accept of it; and after some discourse betwene themselves concerning this matter he

was pleased thus to express himselfe to the childe's father, Cousin if upon good consideration and the advice of your friends you think it best thus to dispose of your childe and are freely willing to give her to me as my childe then I doe freely accept of her and owne her for my child, and this moreover I say to you that if God give mee anything when I die I will leave her something to live upon. And while it was an infant my dear husband was a tender nursing father to it and many times when himselfe hath had her in his arms and when he hath sate by and I have held the childe he hath solemnly taken notice of the providence of God in disposing of the child from one place to another till it must be brought into his house, that he might be a father to it. And then solemnly presenting her in his desires to God for his blessing upon her as upon his deare childe. And as she grew capable of Instruction as a godly father he did instruct her; and amongst many arguments he was pleased to use with her to persuade her to her duty he was pleased many times to say to her Sarah if you love your father you must behave yourself soberly and dutifully in your place; there is no childe in the world that I have done that for I have done for you or look upon with such an eye as I looke upon you And when my deare husband tooke his last and sadd farewell of his house he was pleased to charge and commend her from his fatherly affection to her that if shee loved her father as she had often said to him she should now show her love in desiring to fear God and in carrying herselfe dutifully and loving to her mother, that if God brought him home againe he might have Joy of her. The Lord knows how little Joy I have had in making this Relation; were it not that it goes very neere my heart to have that annexed to the memory of my precious husband as his act which if himselfe were here present he would utterly disowne, I should not have dared to presume so far upon the patience of the honoured court I humbly request I may finde favor in the sight of the honoured court. I

humbly referr myselfe to the wisdom and pleasure of the honoured court, for the settlement of my estate. Yours humbly to serve, Bethiah Lawthropp, now Bethiah Grafton ”

“Whereas it is expressed by my Honoured Brother, Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, that my deare husband did not willingly take Sarah Gott into his house but was persuaded and prevailed with by others to doe it, Humbly requesting leave I shall humbly present the Honourable Court with the whole truth concerning this matter. When the child’s mother was dead my husband being with mee at my cousin’s burial and seeing our friends in so bad a condition, the poor babe having lost its mother and the woman that nursed it being fallen sick, I then did say to some of my friends that if my husband would give me leave I could be very willing to take my cousin’s little one and nurse it for him awhile till he could better dispose of it, whereupon the child’s father did moove it to my husband. My deare husband considering my weaknesse and the incumbrance I had in the family was pleased to returne this answer hee did not see how it was possible for his wife to undergoe such a burden. The next day there came a friend to our house a woman which gave suck and she understanding how the poor babe was left being intreated was willing to take it to nurse and forthwith it was brought to her, but it had not been with her 3 weeks before it pleased the Lord to visit that nurse with sickness also and the nurse’s mother came to me desiring I would take the child from her daughter, and then my deare husband observing the providence of God was freely willing to receive her into his house. But she was then received only as a nurse child and so she remained above a quarter of a yeare before her father did tender her to my husband to accept of her for his adopted child.

Yours humbly to serve you,

BETHIAH LAWTHROPP.”

“My deare husband never spake word to me concerning the giving of any of his land lying in the woods to his sister Cheever her chil-

dren, but only that lying in the woods about Snake hill. But seriously considering my deare husband’s expressions, I doe conclude he gave the plaine and the pasture by it together with the land at Snake hill to his sister Cheever. For thus my dear husband was pleased to expresse himselfe to me as we rode together to Wenham the last spring, in the week before the court of election. Speaking to mee concerning the disposall of his land, as he had formerly done, he said the house lott I give to the towne for the use of the ministry, not to any particular person, but to the town for the use of the ministry, hoping it will be an acceptable service to God. And as we were riding over part of his land belonging to Snake kill he said this land here I intend for my sister’s children except God take my Brother Cheever away before my sister, then it shall be for her use as long as she liveth and afterward for her children, whereupon I doe conclude he gave the other land mentioned which lyeth but a little way from it to his sisters; else that at Snake hill would not be so usefull for my sister if God should be pleased to take my brother away before her, and so I have faithfully declared what I apprehended was my husband’s will and pleasure concerning this matter, which he said he did intend to put in writting, but the providence of God was pleased to prevent it in calling him forth upon publick service.

BETHIAH LAWTHROPP.”

“Upon further consideracion and ——— of the declared mynde of Capt. Lathrope wee finde that hee intended the Legaceys of £40 bequeathed to Noah Fiske and the 4 youngest children of Josiah Rea should be paid out of the land that lyeth in the woods toward Joshua Rea his farm, which is part of that land which is assigned by the Court to Mr. Cheever. It is therefore ordered, with the consent of Mr. Grafton and his wife, the relict of the aforesaid Capt. Lathrop, that the said Mr. Cheever shall have present possession of all the lands formerly allotted to him by this Court excepting only the land in Beverly belonging too and now used with the house there, hee the said

Cheever paying the aforesaid Legacies of £40, and the Court doeth further declare and judge in equall that what disbursments shall be layd out upon the house or land in Beverly by Mr. Grafton or his assigns shall be repayed againe by the said Towne to whom the said house and land is given after the death of Mrs. Grafton, soe far as it shall be repared or made better than it was at the decease of the said Capt. Lathrop, and his division and proving of the said estate we judge equall and just according to the mynde of the deceased, which we submit to the honoured genall Court for further appbated and considered,"(?) 2: 4, 1676.

"My wife affirms that her brother hath oft spoke in her hearing dissatisfiedly concerning Noah Fisk being brought to his house when his mother was very weak and not able to look after him, being very weak also, yt he never knew upon wt termes he kept him and wondered what they did intend to do, then saith Lieut. Dixey told her, my brother told him when he had brought him as fit to go to apprentice he had done, he should do no more." Wife's Testimony. (Ezekiel Cheever's hand writting.)

1—"It does not appear that my brother ever set himself seriously as the thing requires to make his last will. But all that is said is, that he expressed such and such purposes at such times, but purposes and actions are different things.

2—No man but in case of absolute necessity, when he is surprised by sudden weakness and inability, will make such a nuncupative will, and then he will do it in the surest and strongest way that may be, by positive and peremptory declaring it his last will, and confirming it by sufficient witnesses that are legall. But in this case no such thing is found.

3—The persons testifying in this case are persons concerned and interested and so not competent witnesses in law in any case, much less in such a weighty one as a last will and testament. Beside they agree not in their testimony, but in some things directly contradict each other, which does demonstrate that

either they mistook my brother and he never expressed such purposes and desires, or that his purposes and desires altered.

4—It seems to be an act of prudent and deliberate choice in my brother not to make a will, For, 1—He was oft importuned to it by my sister but did not. 2—He had warning of death by a long and dangerous sickness last winter, in which, after some degree of recovery, he had several relapses. 3—After that by the mercy of God he was recovered to perfect health, he had time sufficient for such a work, if he had judged it expedient.

5—I conceive that the true reason of his not making a will was, he could not do for his own sister and her children what he thought was most just and right, and they might be likely to need after the decease of his brother Cheever, but he should displease his wife and her relations, who would be expecting more, though he had done in his lifetime so much for them, and nothing for his sister and her children. And he well knew the equity and justice of the law which makes provision for the widow and the next of kin, but nothing for strangers, as also the faithfullness of the Magistrates in doing things according to law.

6—The matter which they testify is so unjust and unreasonable, that none that knew my brother's goodness and love, will believe that my brother would be so unnatural to preferre strangers before his own natural sister and her children, whom he so dearly loved, as many that knew them both can abundantly testify.

7—My Brother, when he brought his sister from England with him from all her friends and relations very loth to part with her, used this as a great argument with her mother to perswade her, Viz., That he had no children of his own, nor was likely to have any, and otherwise he must give what he had to strangers. And her mother told this to friends in her hearing, that that was a great motive that induced her to be willing to part with her; and committed her to the love and care of her brother as a father, with great confidence and assurance of his tenderness toward her.

8—His sister by coming over lost the value of twenty-five pounds beside what her mother would have given her at her decease.

9—My brother having one of their relations with him already, viz., Noah Fisk, whom he brought up from a little one, was unwilling to take Sarah Gott, but was importuned and prevailed with to take her, not upon loose terms, as he did the other, but as his own, so that her father might not have power to take her away from him when she might grow up to be serviceable, as is oft done in such cases. As for her calling them father and mother it is no more but what is ordinarily done to nurses, or servants; and what another whom he had brought up before was used to doe, who went away from them when she might have been serviceable to them.

10—My sister brought no estate with her, as I ever heard of, hath no charge, her husband by her own confessions gave her none of the land to dispose of as her own."

"Left. William Dixie's Deposition:—He saith that coming to Capt. Lawthrope in the time of his last sickness, Mrs. Lawthrope and Mrs. Got did goe out of the room and Capt. Lawthrope said to him I am glad you are come, for I would have you to take notice that I give unto my wife all my estate so long as she liveth, and after her decease I give unto the Ministry of Beverly my tenn acre lott at home and my house upon the same; whereupon he asked the Capt. if he had acquainted his wife with it, and his answer was he had and she aproved well of it, and the ground in the woods he did give unto his Sister Cheever's children; and soe they had no further discourse about at that time or since. Sworne in Court at Salem 22 : 10, '75.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clerk.

Richard Prince, 10th mo., 1675.

The Will of Richard Prince of Salem, aged 67 years, dated 21st of 7th month, 1675, mentions to son Joseph Prince $\frac{1}{2}$ of ten acre lott bot of William Lord Sen'r, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of Marsh lying the further side of South field, of Salem, bound-

ed by marsh of Goody Lemmans that was and George Gardner. Son Samuel Prince " $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of marsh that lyeth by the bars that goeth out of ye South field;" son Richard Prince "a lot in South field near Joseph Hardye's five acre lott;" son Jonathan Prince a half acre of marsh known by the name of Walker's Half acre, also my dwelling house that standeth in the North part of my Orchard, my daughter Mary Daniel to my two grandchildren Stephen and Mary Daniel. I appoint my son Joseph Prince sole executor; mentions his wife —. I appoint my friends Mr. Henry Bartholmew and Mr. Joseph Grafton Sen'r overseers; witnesses, Stephen Daniell and Edward Norrice. Probated 22 10 mo., '75.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 21 of October, 1675, by Joseph Grafton and Francis Skerry. Amount £386, 18s, 0d.

Sam'l Crompton, 9th mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Crumpton, whoe was slaine in the warrs against the Indians, taken this 29 9 mo., 1675, by Hilliard Veren Sen'r and Henry West. Amount 46, 3s, 00d. Allowed 21 10 mo., 1675, and administration granted to Jane ye relict.

Richard Bishop, 9th mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the estate of Richard Bishop of Salem, taken 8th March, 1674-5, by Nathaniel Felton and Richard Croade. Amount £145 09s 11d. Allowed 29 March, 1675; presented by Mary ye late wife of the deceased and John Durlan, one of the administrators of ye estate.

"The Deposition of Thomas Robbins, aged about 55 years, saith that he being in the chamber with Richard Bishop the night before he died, did heare him say that he did thank God he was then of perfect memory and would have him and the rest of the company take notice what was his mind and will, in case it pleased God he should then die; which was this he would give his son Thomas Bishop his house and home lott where he lived, being in the whole about two acres, out of which he

would give his grandchild Mary Durlan half an acre at the upper end of the lott, because he said he did not know but shee might marry a traidesman or a seaman and so that part might be most convenient ffor her; also he said Thomas Bishop should not sell this but leave it to his (Thomas's) son Richard Bishop after him; and being pressed upon to know what he would give his sons at Long Island, he said he would give them nothing for they had no need of it, and for his son Nathaniel if he had not bin a churle he might have sent his ffather something, but never did send him so much as a side of pork though he killed 20 fatt hogs in a yeare; and further this deponent saith that Goodman Bishop hath severall tymes told him that he would give his Thomas after his wife's decease all the upland that he had in the north-field and the half acre of salt marsh he had there, only Thomas should not sell it but leave it to his son Richard after him, ffor he had an affection to that granchild and was minded the for the name sake should enjoy it after him, and this he hath said to this dependant at severall tymes. Saying take notice of it in case I should make no other will, that Thomas Bishop shall have all my land and this said he thou art able to swear to when I am dead. Taken upon oath 29 1 mo., '75.

WM. HATHORNE, Assist.

"The deposition of John Bligh, aged about 36 years, saith that ye night before his father Bishop died he heard him say," (in substance to the above deposition.)

"The deposition of Mary Bishop, aged about 64 years, testifieth," (in substance to the above deposition concerning the estate of her husband.)

"The deposition of Richard Croade, aged about 46 years," saith in the house of Goodman Bishop with Goodman Robbins he heard him say in substance what was testified to by Thomas Robbins, (all of the above depositions are of the same date.)

A Power of Attorney from John Bishop of South Hampton, in Long Island, to my brother

Fisherman, dated 22d day of May, 1675; witnesses, Samuel Williams and Hilliard Viren Sen'r.

"The 12th day of the 5 mo., 1660. Whereas Richard Bishop and Mary Goult intend by the permission of God in some tyme to joyne together in marriage and for the mutuall good of them both doe agree unto these articles and couenants hereafter exprest, viz., Impr. the John Dorlan of Salem, in the county of Essex, said Richard Bishop doth covenant to and with the said Mary Goult that in case God please to leave ye said Marie a widow then shee shall during yer naturall life have and enjoy the dwelling house of the said Richard Bishop with garden and orchard and the remayner of the 2 acre lott the said house standeth upon with a lott of upland opposit to the said house over the river with all timber and fyre wood wch she may nessessaralie use for and during her life tyme but not two gyue nor make sale of any of it; as alsoe one half acre of salt marsh lying upon the North River over against the house of the said Bishop to the said—Richard Bishop doth couenant to and with the said Marie Goult that if the said Richard Bishop doe dye before the said Marie and then leave her a widow that the said Richard Bishop shall grant half of the estate he dyes possessed of vnto the said Marie viz: of his cattell corne hay houshold goods and money as her own proper goods for ever *for ever*: 3. It is agreed mutuallie betwixd the said pties that the house wherein the said Marie Goult at present lyeth in and shall be sould by Henerie Skerrie senior and Jefferie Massey for the paymt of the debts William Goult left unpaid at the tyme of his death. 4. The said Marie doth promis and grant to and with the said Richard Bishop that he the said Bishop shall have the best bed that — no hath with all the furniture there unto belonging, and to the performance wherof I the said Richard Bishop have hereunto put my hand the day and year above written.

RICHARD BISHOP.

Witnesses thereto, Jefferie Massey, Henry Skerry."

George Ropes, 10th mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the estate of George Ropes taken by Edward Norris and Benjamin Gerrish. Amount \$29 0s 09d. Allowed 22 10, '75. Administration granted to Wm. Ropes, and after the debts are paid Mary the mother of the deceased, to have the rest.

Peter Wolfe, 9th mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the estate of Peter Woalfe of Beverly, who died the 6th of 10 mo., '75, taken by Humphrey Woodbury and John Hill. Amount £112 11s 10d; presented by John Black ye executor 21 10, '72. The widow is by the will to have £10.

George Coal, 9th mo., 1675.

The Will of George Cooll dated 8th November, 1675, mentions "I give to Mary Davis whome I used to call mother;" "I give to my Master John Davis," "my sisters Mary Tuck and Elizabeth Cooll." I appoint my friend Daniell Johnson and my master John Davis overseers and executors; witnesses, Thomas Ferman and Samuel ffoster; probated the 30 9 mo., '75.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by Samuel Hurtt and Eleazer Linzy. Amount 25, 16s 0d.

John Bachelor, 9th mo., 1675.

"I John Batchelor, aged 63, being in pfect memory, do make this my last will and testament in the year of our Lord 1673 and the 25 year of the Reigne of or Sovereigne Lord Charlse the Second King of England." "I appoint my wife Elizabeth Executrix." "I give my son John Bachelor my house I dwell in after my decease, and twenty acres of land which I bought of John Seuder, (except six acres more or less as it is now bounded, which I give to John Cressy, as is hereafter expressed) and takes it beginning at Abram Warren's Well, so down to the brook to the Common, the brook being the bound between his land and his brother Joseph's, and allso a piece of land that lyes at the uper end of the said twenty acres without the fence, with the hither end of

my salt marsh up to a place commonly called the Rocks where they cart downe wood. I give my son Joseph Batchelor all my land in the field together with the orchard and barne and the salt marsh lying beyond said Rocks commonly called Duck Cove and half an acre of marsh yt I bought of Joseph Root and halfe an acre of Jeoffry Massey." "Also I give my daughter Hannah Corning ten pounds to be paide by my loving wife before her decease." "I give my grandchild John Cressy six acres of land lying within my sonne John's land as aforesaid along Royals neck and five pounds to be paid by my loving wife before her decease. I appoint Henry Bartholmew and Deacon Prince overseers; witnesses, John Swinnerton and Berthiah Archard, 22 10, '75."

An Inventory of the estate of John Batchelor of Salem, who dyed the 13 day of November, 1675, taken the 4th of December, 1675, by us John Raiment and Andrew Elliott. Amount 230 00 3d.

Samuel Stevens, 10th mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the estate of Samuell Stevens taken 30th of Nov., 1675, by Henry West and Nathaniel Puttnam. Amount £62 2s 0d. Allowed 22 10, '75. Administration granted unto Rebecca ye relict of the deceased. "£10 to be paid to Sarah the child of the deceased at the age of 18 years."

Allen Perley, Feb., 1675-6.

Will of Allen Perley of Ipswich, dated 23d June, 1670, mentions "my three elder sons, viz., John Perley, Samuel Perley and Thomas Perley takeing their liberty at the age of one and twenty to leave me and yet I have given unto them three parts of the land beyond Bachelours Brook and all that part of land which was Nathaniel deceased." Two daughters Sarah and Martha Perley, son Timothy when 23 years; wife Susanna extx. A codicil dated 16th November, 1671.

Thos. Small, 1st mo., 1676.

"To ye honored Court now held at Ipswich. The humble petition of Ruth Small late wife

of Thomas Small deceased, her husband dying intestate without making a will, shee having taken the advice of several of her friends as her ffather Small and her Unkell Grove her brother John Buxton and Mr. John Putnam, do humbly request yt her estate may bee settled on herself and fouer children as followeth, 1, yt ye Court would be pleased to make administration of ye whole estate; 2, yt shee may have ye liberty to bring up ther children herselfe and yt they may continue with her tel they cum of aig; 3, that her son William as soon as he becomes of aig to have halfe of the farne adjoining Mr. Nathaniel Putnams not meddling with the houseing; 4, yt as soone as my dafter Lidia and my dafter Hannah and my dafter Ann comes of eage I paying them as legacies forty pounds apiece out of ye estate left in my hands for yt end; 5, yt her ffather John Small and her Unkell Edward Grove and her Brother John Buxton and Mr. John Putnam be overseers."

On the above petition, that was dated Salem, 25th March, 1676, and signed by Ruth Small, John Small, Edward Grove, John Putnam and John Buxton, the Court doth order that the above be granted; only the £40 designed for the child deceased shall be equally divided between the mother and three children. Allowed Salem 30 9 m., '76.

George Gittings, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of George Giddings, late of Ipswich deceased, taken 19th of June, 1676, by John Whipple senr, Henry Benet and Nathaniel Wills. Amount 1021 12 6. Allowed 27 4, '76, and administration granted to Jane the relict of the deceased.

Henry Coleburn, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Henry Coleburn taken 26 June, 1676, by Richard Croade and Henry West. Amount £10 2 6; mentions that he carried the most of his estate with him to Virginia. Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted to Sarah the relict.

Joseph King, 4th mo., 1676.

"An Inventory of the estate of Joseph King,

who was slaine with Capt. Lawthrop in the wars against the Indians, taken this 13 4 mo., '76, by" by Hilliard Veren senr and John Burke senr. Amount £11 02 08d. Allowed 30 4, '76, and administratiron granted John Ruck.

Abel Osier, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Abel Osier, slayne in fight with the Indians, taken by Simon Horne and William Ross. Amount 3 1 10; returned by Edmond Batter the administrator, who is ordered to pay the balance to —, brother of the deceased, 28 4, '75.

Richard Sibly, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of ye estate of Richard Sibley. Amount 94 1 0d Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted to Hannah relict of the deceased, who is ordered to pay to the 7 children of the deceased, viz: Samuell the eldest £6 and to the rest £3 each, viz: Hana, Sara, Damaris, John, Mary and Elizabeth, to the sons when 21 years of age and the daughter at 18 years.

John Silsby, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of John Silsby, taken 26 June, 1676, by Hilliard Veren senr and Edmond ffoueryeare. Amount £74 16s 00d. Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted to Bethiah the relict, she to pay £20 to her son child of the deceased when 21 y.

John Kitchen, 4th mo., 1676.

The Will of John Kitchen, dated the 20 December, 1675, mentions my dwelling house and land belonging to it and about an acre of salt marsh by Castill Hill to my wife during her life and at her decease to my son Robert Kitchen; mentions the rest of my children. I appoint my wife and son Robert exrs; witnesses, Samuel Shattocke and Abraham Cole. Allowed 30 4, '76.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 30th May, 1676, by Edward Flint and Richard Croade. Amount £398 04 00.

PHILIP ENGLISH.

PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 144.

Another of the victims, with whose misdoings Mr. and Mrs. English were implicated, was Giles Cory or Corey, an octogenarian, whose barbarous fate stands on our records, as it ought to stand, in solitary cruelty. In his case, as was usual in these witchcraft cases, after the original accusation had been made, and the examination held before the magistrates, various witnesses were found, in addition to the original accusers,* to charge him before the Grand Jury with acts of witchcraft. He appears to have been rather a simple-minded man, whose character, however, acquired firmness and decision, perhaps, through the ordeal

* We have stated previously in the text, that the main body of the accusers, and as against those who were condemned and executed came from the village. We would here state, that by the term accusers, the *complainants*—those who began the persecution legally—are the rather intended, and not those *witnesses* who afterwards came in to swell the tide of testimony against the accused. The persecutions usually began by complaints before the magistrates from a comparatively small circle of afflicted ones, and then the cases went to the Grand Jury and trial; by which latter periods no lack of other witnesses was found, if needed. The original *complainants* or *accusers* we thus consider the legal cause of the persecutions, and the subsequent witnesses as only subordinate assistants—the result rather of the moving cause. The accusers began the complaints, and the other witnesses helped to confirm them. We state this, that we may not be misapprehended historically.

It is, however, more than probable, that the small circle of accusers at Salem Village indirectly caused the major number of all the witchcraft prosecutions, since some of that circle appear to have been freely sought and used as witch-detectors, and all may have been. They appeared as *original* accusers in very many cases, and thereby, as it were, set the fashion of so accusing.

to which he was subjected. When his wife Martha was arrested, April 12, (an event happening before his own arrest, April 19,) and examined, Giles Cory seems to have been more than half persuaded that she had some familiarity with evil powers, as he appears in evidence against her, and relates some trifling (though then thought strange) accidents or incidents happening in, or around his house, which might bear the construction of witchcraft. The drift of events, however, made him sensible, resolute and bold; and finally he preferred to be pressed to death rather than put himself on trial; and is said to have asked his executioners to put more weight upon him, the more quickly to end his misery. If he was overborne by the popular prejudice of that day in the beginning, he defied it the more sturdily at the end.

The testimony against Giles Cory before the Grand Jury, or the Court, (probably both) appears to have been taken by Depositions on Sept. 9. Ann Putnam appeared, and deposed that, on the 13th April, his apparition* came and afflicted her, urged her to write in his

* This apparition was, of course, the airy spectro shape or image of the accused in question, sent to represent them, and could do great mischief, being Satanic. It was considered a very detestable device on the part of the persons practicing this kind of witchcraft, as they themselves in the body could be absent, or be perhaps professing and practising kindness to their victims, and so use a diabolical treachery. Thus when Rebecca Nurse was examined, the magistrate said to her, "When this witchcraft came upon the stage there was no suspicion of Tituba—(Mr. Parris's Indian woman)—she professed much love to that child Betty Paris, but it was her apparition did the mischief, and why should not you also be guilty, for your apparition doth hurt also."

In some of the examinations, the accusers charged the accused of tormenting them in their own shape, which means in their own personal shape, and not in their spectral shape, which was rather a diabolical substitute, very often used and sent instead. It will be remembered that all covenant witches or wizards, by their compact with the Devil, became owners of evil spectres or apparitions.

book, and so continued hurting her until April 19, being the day of his examination—also during that examination and several times since, grievously tormenting her—almost choking her to death, &c.; that she believed him a dreadful wizard, for since he had been in prison, he or his appearance had come to her a great many times and afflicted her; and she owns upon her oath that this is the truth!

Mercy Lewis says about the same, except that his apparition had come and beaten her at times, “almost braking my back,” &c.

Sarah Vibber says about the same, except that she had seen him or his appearance tormenting Walcott and the other two girls—that he whipped her—urged her vehemently to read and write in his book,† and cut her with his knife, &c.

Mary Warren had pretty much the same beating, biting, pinching and choking story to tell, and saw him afflict all the others.

Elizabeth Woodwell solemnly swore, and Mary Walcott confirmed it, that she saw Giles Cory or his appearance at meeting at Salem, since he has been in prison, being the lecture day before Bridget Bishop was hanged, come in and sit “in ye middlemost seat of ye men’s seats by ye Post,” and then “saw him come out with ye rest of ye people.”

† The book which the witches or wizards carried, was often red, and contained, it would seem, some covenant or covenants with the Devil, and to sign it was to sign his laws and become an enrolled follower of his, and an accomplice in the plot against the Church. One of the charges made against about all the accused, whether in person or by their spectre, was their persistent efforts to induce the afflicted to sign this book, and very many of the torments inflicted upon them were in consequence of their refusing so to do. Mary Warren stated, in her examination, that her master (John Proctor) made her put her finger to this book, and her finger made a black mark upon it, and she trembled, and said she was undone, body and soul, and that she did so under threats of being drowned, &c. So potent and deadly was the Book, that Mary Warren said, that after she touched it, she eat bread and butter, and her finger blacked the bread and butter also! See her examinations, ages 134 to 144, Vol. Salem Witchcraft.

Benj’n Gould, aged about 23 years, said that, on the 6th day of April, Giles Cory and his wife came to his bedside, looked upon him some time and then went away, “and emediate I had two penches [pinches] upon my side.” Another time he saw Giles Cory and John Proctor, “and I had such a paine in one of my feet that I could not ware my shu for 2 or 3 days.”

Susannah Sheldon said that “ye spectre of Giles Corey* murdered his first wife & would

* According to Cotton Mather, Cory was charged privately by Ann Putnam with a murder committed some 17 years before, in or about his house, and we append the account Mather gives, and evidently believes in. Cory was, as *Calef* says, pressed to death for refusing to put himself upon trial, knowing from the nature and character of the witnesses what his fate would be, (none having been cleared) preferring to bear whatever fate they might choose to inflict upon him; and in pressing him to death, (says *Calef*, page 226) “his tongue being pressed out of his mouth, the Sheriff with his cane forced it in again, when he was dying.” Mather gives the following story, with a peculiar preface of his own:

“Tis a thousand pitties that we should permit our eyes to be so Blood-shot with passions as to loose the sight of many wonderful Things, wherein the Wisdom and Justice of God would be Glorify’d. Some of those Things are the frequent Apparitions of Ghosts, whereby many Old Murders among us come to be considered. And, among many instances of this kind, I will single out one, which concerned a poor man, lately Prest unto Death because of his Refusing to Plead for his Life. I shall make an Extract of a Letter which was written to my Honourable Friend, Samuel Sewal, Esq., by Mr. Putnam, to this purpose: “The Last Night my Daughter Ann ‘was grievously Tormented by Witches, Threatning ‘that she should be Pressed to Death before Giles ‘Cory. But thro’ the Goodness of a Gracious God ‘she had at last a little Respite. Whereupon there ‘appeared unto her (she said) a man in a Winding ‘Sheet, who told her that Giles Cory had Murdered ‘him by Pressing him to Death with his Feet; but ‘that the Devil there appeared unto him, and Cove- ‘nanted with him, and promised him, He should not ‘be Hanged. The Apparition said God Hardened ‘his Heart, that he should not hearken to the Advice ‘of the Court and so Dy an easy Death; because as ‘it said, It must be done to him as he has done to

have murdered this to, if she had not been a witch—yt his first wife gave him nothing but skim milk & he did it & yt Goody Procter's spectre told her she murdered her owne child & yt it was sick & she did it because she would not be troubled with it, &c."

John Dorick, (Doritch) aged about 16, testified among other things, that Giles Cory came to him on the 20th August, and told him he wanted some "platers" (platters) for he was going to a feast (witch-feast) and that he had a good mind to ask his "dame" (mistress) for them, but she would not let him have them, "so he took the platers and cared them away, being gown (gone) about half a oure with them, then he brot them againe gowen (going) away and sayd nothing."

Elizabeth Booth, the wife of George Booth,

'me. The Apparition also said, That Giles Cory was 'carry'd to the Court for this, and that the Jury had 'found the Murder, and that her Father knew the 'man, and the thing was done before she was born. 'Now Sir, This is not a little strange to us that nobody should Remember these things all the while 'that Giles Cory was in Prison, and so often before 'the Court. For all people now Remember very 'well, (and the Records of the Court also mention 'it,) That about Seventeen Years ago Giles Cory 'kept a man in his House that was almost a Natural 'Fool; which man Dy'd suddenly. A Jury was 'Impannel'd upon him, among whom was Dr. Zorobabel Endicot, who found the man bruised to Death 'and having clodders of Blood about his Heart. The 'Jury, whereof several are yet alive, brought in the 'man murdered; but as if some Enchantment had 'hindered the Prosecution of the Matter, the Court 'Proceeded not against Giles Cory, tho' it cost him 'a great deal of money to get off.'"—*"Wonders of Invisible World,"* pages 145-6.

This Ann Putnam was one of the prominent accusers in 1692, it must be remembered. Everything of a mysterious character, which could be found against the accused for the preceding twenty or thirty years was brought to the light at that day, and the death (murder) of this servant—of which there was no proof that his death was not accidental, the man's mental incapacity favoring the idea—was thus made the vindication of the barbarous punishment of Cory himself!

and Alies (Alice) Booth testified, that on the 12th of this September at ye widow Shadfin's house, in Salem, there appeared to us "a grate number of wiethes (witches) as near as we could tell about fifty; thirteen of which we knew, who did receive the sacrament [this was a spectral meeting of the Devil's Church] in our sight, amongst whieth we saw Giles Cory, who brought to us bread and wine urging us to partake thereof, but because we Refused he did most grievously afflict and torment us, and we believe in our hearts that Giles Cory is a wizzard, &c."

Cory had refused to be put upon his trial, as not one had been cleared of those accused and tried. He was silent, and was sentenced to be pressed, and was pressed to death on the 19th Sept. The First Church, of which he was a member, had excommunicated him on the 18th. Thus was added another martyr to the delusion or devilry of that day—another (supposed) plotter against the N. E. Church.

The Court which sentenced him, and which sat on the 9th September in Salem, also condemned his wife Martha with others at the same session, (says Felt) and then she too was formally excommunicated by the village church; and upon the 14th, two of the Deacons were desired to inform her of it in the prison here. On the 22d, she, in company with Alice Parker, Ann Pudeater, and five more were hung. The humble petition* of Ann Pudeater to the

* We herewith append a copy of her petition. Ann Pudeater was the widow of a Jacob Pudeater, who appears to have been a nephew of the Mr. John Brown, whose son or grandson married Mary, the daughter of Philip English. The name "Pudeater" was most probably a Jersey (French) name, and *Pudeator* only a New England version of *Pudetre* or *Pudestre*—just as Poindexter (a Jersey name) was originally Poindextre or Poindestre.

Ann P. was indicted for witchcraft committed upon Mary Warren, who was one of the principal witnesses against her. One of them, Sam'l Pickworth, testified, that as he was standing at or near the corner of Capt. Higginson's house, in the evening, a woman flew by him like a bird and went into Ann Pudeat-

Judge and Bench, after condemnation, is on file (with other papers in her case) among the records, and exhibits all the spirit of conscious and injured innocence, with the touching meekness of the true martyr.

Martha Cory at the time of her arrest (March 19) was a member of the church at the Village, and was arrested on the complaint of

her house, and he believed it to be her. [And no doubt returning from some witch meeting *through the air.*] Another witness said Ann P. admitted such a fact! She had moreover filled quite a number of little vessels or pots in her house with grease to make soap of, and these pots were supposed and believed to be filled with *witch ointments!* On such and similar evidence she was convicted.

Mrs. P. appears to have been, according to the evidence, a kind-hearted woman to her neighbors, who mistook her kindness for that malicious inquisitiveness, which only sought their confidence, that she might the more readily and easily injure them. It will be seen, by her petition, in what estimation one at least of her accusers had been publicly held:

"The humble petition of Ann Pudeator unto ye honoured Judge and Bench now Sitting in Judicature in Salem humbly sheweth—

That whereas your Poor and humble Petitioner being condemned to die and knowing on my own conscience as I shall shortly answer it before ye Great God of heaven, who is the searcher and knower of all hearts: That the Evidence of Jno Best Senr and Jno Best Junr and Samll Pickworth weh was giuen in against me in Court were all of them altogether false and untrue and besides the abovesaid Jno Best hath been formerly whipt and likewise is recorded for A Lyar. I would humbly begg of yor honours to Take it into your Judicious and Pious consideration, That my life may not be taken away by such false Evidences and witnesses, as these be, likewise ye Evidence given in against me by Sarah Church and Mary Warren I am altogether ignorant off and know nothing in ye least measure about it, nor nothing else concerning ye crime of witchcraft for weh I am condemned to die as will be known to men and angells att the great day of Judgment, begging and imploring your prayers att the throne of grace in my behalfe and your poor and humble petitioner shall for euer pray as she is bound in duty for your honr health and happiness in this life and eternal felicity in the world to come."

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 322-3.]

Edward Putnam and Henry Keney, yeomen, both of Salem Village, in behalf of Ann Putnam, wife of Thos. Putnam, Anna Putnam, daughter of Thos. P., Mercy Lewis,* living in Thos. P.'s family, Abigaile Williams, one of Mr. Parris' family, and Elizabeth Hubbard, (Hubbard†) Dr. Grigs' maid. Thus, in this case also, the first complaints came from the village. A long deposition appears in this case from Edward Putnam and Ezekiel Cheever, who, on the complaint of Ann Putnam that Martha C. was often tormenting her, visited Mrs. C. on the 12th March, and on a semi-inquisitorial errand; which Mrs. C. suspected, for she met them in a smiling manner, and told them that she knew their object, and that they had come to talk with her about being a witch, but that she was none—that she could not help peoples talking of her, &c.

There is something in this deposition which is somewhat obscure and unintelligible about Ann Putnam's testimony, ere they went, as to the clothes Mrs. C. was then wearing or should wear, and her refusal to tell them, &c., and their suspicions of witchcraft being confirmed

* The way in which Mercy Lewis may have been finally led to accuse Martha Cory can be seen, perhaps, in the following deposition now on the Court Records. Such suggestions were doubtless freely offered to the *afflicted* in 1692:

Ephraim Shelden v. Martha Cory.

"April 10, 1692. The deposition of Ephraim Shelden, aged 20 years, who testifieth and saith, I this deponent being at the house of Lewetent Ingersol when Mercy Lewes (Lewis) was in one of her fits I heard her cry out of Goodwife Cloyce, and when she came to herself she was asked who she saw, she answered she saw nobody, they demanded of her whether or noe she did not see Goodwife Nurse or Goodwife Cloyce or Goodwife Cory she answered she saw nobody. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 54.]

† According to the Court Records, Martha Cory was indicted for afflicting Elizabeth Hubbard. She may have been indicted more than once, but the papers be lost, as in the case of John Willard, two of the seven indictments in his case being missing. The witchcraft papers now on record are by no means perfect.

by questions asked by Mrs. C. herself, in confirmation of what Ann Putnam had said. It is very probable that these men put leading questions to Mrs. C. and then misunderstood her in turn. They talked a great deal with her on the complaint made against her, and how greatly the name of God and religion and the church was dishonored by these means, but she seemed in no ways concerned for anything about it, "but to stop the mouths of people that they might not say thus of her." She told them, she did not think that there were any witches,† whereupon they told her that they were fully satisfied that there were such persons. She gave them to understand, that if she had been (like some) slothful, and not mindful of anything good, she might be a witch, for the Devil could not be blanted for making witches of such persons; but they had no reason to think thus of her, for she had made a profession of Christ, and rejoiced to go and hear the word of God. They then told her, it was not her making an outward profession, which would clear her from being a witch, for witches had often "crept into the churches." "Much more discourse we had with her, but shee made her profession a cloake to cover all."

It is easy to see by this statement of the two church members, for such they were, that they were believers in her guilt.* She told them a

† This statement of Mrs. Cory—her disbelief in the existence of witches—such witches as were then supposed to be troubling the country—very probably operated against her. In the sense in which she intended it, she, however, was right, and the church members wrong, as history has proved. Mrs. Cory was a sincere Christian woman—died like a true martyr—and in all probability could scarcely conceive of the malignant power and acts then attributed to the supposed witches. Guiltless herself, she could imagine no such guilt in her neighbors. She was wise enough to perceive, however, that the Devil had indeed come into the neighborhood, when the innocent and virtuous there were suspected of such kinds of devilry.

* Martha Cory was executed Sept. 22d, *Calef* says this of her, "Martha Cory, wife to Giles Cory, protesting her innocence concluded her life

truth during this conversation, which was perhaps turned against her—"that the devill was come down amongst us in great rage, and that God had forsaken the earth." This was doubtless construed into a knowledge on her part of the designs and purposes of Sātān, gained by initiation into his secrets and iniquities.

In her case, the papers relating to an examination are wanting, nor are there many separate complaints. She, as well as her husband, are, however, occasionally mentioned in various complaints, as included with others,—a common custom with the circle of accusers, who thus doubly and trebly ensnared their victims: The "apparitions," "shapes," "spectres" and "appearances," to say nothing of the actual bodily presence of the accused, were visible here, there, and everywhere, when needed, either by the Devil, or the afflicted. Though invisible to ordinary eyes, yet these shapes, apparitions, spectres*, and the like, could

with an eminent prayer upon the ladder," (page 226). She evidently was considered as one of the plotters against the church, and her *excommunication* was most probably owing to this cause.

* The various powers with which *spectres* were believed to be endowed and the *object* of their malice, and which vexed our fathers to madness, are thus enumerated, in part, by *Cotton Mather*, ("*Wonders of Invisible World*," page 51):

"In the Prosecution of these Witchcrafts, among a thousand other unaccountable Things, the Spectres have an odd Faculty of Cloathing the most Substantial and Corporeal Instruments of Torture with Invisibility, while the Wounds thereby given have been the most palpable Things in the World; so that the Sufferers assaulted with Instruments of Iron wholly unseen to the Standers by, tho' to their cost seen by themselves, have upon snatching wrested the Instruments out of the Spectres' Hands, and every one has immediately not only beheld, but handled an Iron Instrument taken by a Devil from a Neighbor. These wicked Spectres have proceeded so far as to Steal several Quantities of Money from divers people, part of which Money has before sufficient Spectators been dropt out of the Air into the Hands of the Sufferers, while the Specters have been urging them to Subscribe their Covenant with Death. In

be seen by the afflicted; who, moreover, were most strangely and grievously tormented by them. In those days, to be sure, there were some sturdy disbelievers in these "fits" and torments of the afflicted. Good, honest, virtuous, sturdy John Procter, was one of these disbelievers,* and most probably lost his life

such extravagant wayes have these Wretches propounded the Dragooning of as many as they can into their own Combination, and the Destroying of others with Lingering, Spreading, Deadly Diseases; till our Country should at last become too hot for us."

This quotation from Cotton Mather is very important, as showing for what purpose and object the witches and wizards of 1692 tormented their victims. It was to force them into signing the Devil's Laws, and the *plot* against the church, or (perhaps failing that) to destroy them. This was the purpose and object of the witchcraft of 1692, and should be borne continually in mind while reading its details. The Devil was at the bottom of this plot; and the witches and wizards were aiding him, both in person and by their *spectres*, and endeavoring, by torments and the like, to compel innocent people to join *them* and the Devil in this work. Hence the witches and wizards of 1692 were considered as the *persecutors*, and their *accusers* as the suffering martyrs of the church! See note, pages 81-2-3.

*It would appear that John Procter thought some of the accusers were feigning fits and torments, and a good whipping, or sober, steady employment at any rate would cure them. His belief evidently was, that the Devils or spirits tormenting them, could be kept off by industry in *matters of this world*, and were only encouraged to create further mischief by or through those, who were industrious only in prosecuting their pursuits *into matters beyond this world*.

Some of the accusers of 1692 had good cause to hate and fear John Procter, as will appear in the text, but they were not the first in history, who diverted the public odium from themselves against the innocent. The Jesuits called Luther a wizard, and said that he himself confessed that he had familiarity with Satan! And at the time he died, all the possessed people in the Netherlands were quiet. The Devils in them said the reason was, because Luther had been a great friend of theirs, and they owed him that respect as to go as far as Germany to attend his funeral! The Waldenses were traduced as witches. The Huguenots are said to owe their name to *Hugon*, a diabolical spectre, which haunted

for expressing his honest convictions, as we shall endeavor to show. We will do this now, and as we consider, without a wide departure from our proposed plan, since one of his accusers (Mary Warren), to whom we shall call special attention, is named in two depositions—one left by Edward Bishop and wife, and the other by Mrs. English—as having expressed, *when in prison herself for witchcraft*, a strong assertion as to the utter worthlessness of the evidence generally given by the afflicted persons. Procter's case, moreover, reveals some of the personal causes of the persecution. It is but simple justice that the whole truth—both sides—of this witchcraft tragedy should appear.

John Procter or Procter is said to have been a resident of Salem proper, and also to have been arrested on account of the interest he took in his wife's behalf, when she was examined, having rendered himself disagreeable to the prosecuting witnesses. He therefore was accused on the spot, and subsequently condemned and executed. Both he and his wife had before this lived at Ipswich, and there is now on file (in the Essex Co. Records—Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 74-5-6) a Petition to the Honorable Court of Assistants then sitting in Boston, signed by *thirty-one* inhabitants of Ipswich, on the behalf of John Procter and his wife, "now in trouble and under suspicion of

a certain-city in France, and is said to have been seen (by Catholic Priests perhaps) near the place where a number of Protestants worshipped, and who were at once called *Hugonots* by the Papists, and as the servants and worshippers of that Demon, who went under the name of *Hugon*. Here too a pious fraud is perhaps perceptible, in order to crush the Protestants.

Increase Mather, father of Cotton Mather, in his tract (now rare) called "Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft," narrates these, and many such cases of fraud *abroad*, but appears to have been blind to the same arts *at home*—in Massachusetts—in 1692. Through the kindness of Mathew A. Stickney, Esq., we have been enabled to peruse this rare tract, (Mr. S. having a copy) which is filled with the lore of demonology.

witchcraft." In this petition they plainly intimate, that this witchcraft persecution is of the Devil, and "suppose it May be A Method weh in the Seveerer but Just Transactions of the Infinite Majesty of God yt he sometimes may permitt Sathan to prsonate, Dissemble and thereby abuse innocents, and such as Do in the fear of God Defie the Devill and all his works. The Great Rage he is prmitted to attempt holy Job wth—The abuse he does the famous Samuel in Disquieting his silent Dust, by Shad-dowing his venerable prson in answer to the Charms of Witchcraft, and other instances from Good hands, may be Argd, Besides the unsearchable footstepps of God's Judgments, yt are brought to Light every morning yt Astonish or weaker Reasons, To teach us Adoration, Trembling and Dependance, &c." Then the petitioners state they deem it a duty to offer thus much for "the clearing of or neighbors Innoceuce; viz, That we never had the least knowledge of such a nefarious wickedness in or said neighbors since they have been within or acquaintance. Neither doe we remember any such thoughts in us concerning them, or any action by them or either of them, Directly tending that way no more than might be in the lives of any other prsons of the Clearest Reputation as to any such Evills. What God may have left them to, we cannot Go into God's pavilions Cloathed with Cloudes of Darkness, Round About."

"But as to what we have ever seen or heard of them upon or Consciencs we Judge them Innocent of the crime objected."

"His Breeding (breeding) hath been amongst us, and was of Religious Parents in or place, and by reason of Relations and Properties wth in or Towne hath had constant intercourse with us." The Petitioners say they speak upon personal acquaintance and observation, and leave their neighbors' testimony, as their own "to the wise thoughts of yr Honors."

Thus much for the *character* of John Proctor* and his wife, from those who knew them.

On the 8th of April a warrant was issued for the arrest of his wife Elizabeth, and Sarah Cloyce, the wife of Peter Cloyce, both of the Village, for suspicion of witchcraft practised upon the bodies of Abigail Williams and John Indian of Rev. Mr. Parris' family, Mary Walcott, Ann Putnam and Mercy Lewis. It would seem by the Records that Mrs. Proctor and Mrs. Cloyce were brought before "a Council" held at Salem April 11, at which were present Thomas Danforth, Esq., Deputy Governor, James Russell, Maj'r Sam'l Appleton, John Hathorne, Capt. Sam'l Sewall, Isaac Adington and Jonathan Corwin, Esqrs. Rev. Sam'l Parris was appointed "to wright ye examination," and did so, according to the Record, though the examination is now missing. It seems by the Record, that John Proctor was personally present, and was accused also by Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam, of witchcraft practised on the body of Mrs. Pope, the wife of Mr. Joseph Pope, and others, "who ware at said time accordingly afflicted apparent to all." Mercy Lewis and — Gold charged Proctor at the same time. "Upon

tion to Mary Warren, as most probably his wife's also was due to the same cause. Thus he was indicted for afflicting Mary Warren on the 26th March, and Mary Walcott at the time corroborated the complaint of Mary W. The other two indictments against him were for afflicting Mary Walcott and Mercy Lewis on the 11th April. Mary Warren therefore appears to have been his first accuser.

The most prominent accusers and complainants *throughout* the witchcraft persecution were—to judge by the records—Elizabeth Booth, who appears in 8 cases—Elizabeth Hubbard in 20—Nathaniel Ingersoll in 6—Mercy Lewis in 10—Rev. Mr. Parris in 6—Thomas Putnam in 4—Edward Putnam in 7—John Putnam in 6—Thomas Putnam in 8—Ann Putnam in 19—Susannah Sheldon in 8—Sarah Vibber in 10—Mary Walcott in 16—Mary Warren in 12—Abigail Williams in 8.

The Putnams, (the men), as well as various other male inhabitants of the village, seem to have complained at times on the behalf of others, but with full bef liein the charges made—and sometimes appear as witnesses also.

* John Proctor appears to have owed his persecu-

which sd Jno Proctor and his wife,* and Sarah Cloyce were all committed to prison per advice of ye Council." This record on the Court files proves conclusively, as we have before shown, how deep seated was the belief of the witchcraft even in the minds of the high officers of the Council, and the prompt action taken unhesitatingly by them in such matters, as early as April 11. On the next day, moreover, these accused parties, with one Dorcas Good, were promptly sent to Boston jail, most probably for greater security.

Against both Mrs. and Mr. Proctor appeared, and with considerable virulence, one Mary Warren,† and against him, John Indian. Mary W.,

* In a previous note we have given *Calef's* version of the commitment of John Proctor, and of the experiment made upon one of the accused—making one of them repeat the Lord's prayer, &c. Felt in his *Annals of Salem* (Vol. 2, page 476) says that Elizabeth, wife of John Proctor, and of the person so experimented upon. This was done in the presence, and doubtless by the sanction, and most probably by the order of the Council then sitting, and shows the ignorance and fanaticism of the times, and that too in high quarters. The high officers of that day, it must, however, be said, were as wise, if not wiser than some of the then magistrates, in England, on such matters.

As evidence of the excitement in the village, and the supposed importance of the witchcraft there, *Felt* says (vol. 2, page 476) that by March 11 a fast was held there for the calamity, and on April 11, a month later, we see the highest council in the State assembling there to investigate for themselves the matter.

† This Mary Warren was a servant at John Proctor's when she accused him. It is a noticeable fact, that various prominent accusers in 1692 were *servants* in families. Thus Mary Warren was a servant at John Proctor's—Elizabeth Hubbard was a servant at Dr. Grigs'—Mercy Lewis belonged to Thos. Putnam's family—very probably a servant—Elizabeth Churchill was a servant at Geo. Jacobs, sen'r's. From all that can be gathered now, it is pretty certain that John Proctor and Geo. Jacobs, senior, owed their persecution to complaints *made by their own servants*; and in both these cases the complainants were taken to task for their fashion of "fits," and may have had

aged about 20, deposed before the Grand Jury, June 30, 1692, that she had often seen the apparition of Mrs. P. among the witches, [at witch meetings] and that she had often bitten, choked and pinched her, and *pressed her stomach until the blood came out of her mouth*, and that on the day of her (Mrs. P.'s) examination, she (Mary W.) saw her torture Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis, Ann Putnam, Elizabeth Hubbard and Abigail Williams, &c. Now this Mary Warren had been living as a servant maid at John Proctor's, and was living there when the delusion began, and appears to have fallen herself into the fashion of "fits" at a pretty early day. When Mrs. Nurse* was examined at the village, (March 24) this girl was left there overnight by Proctor, who perhaps went up with his family to see and hear the examination, or else the girl went up

revengeful feelings in consequence. As to the truth of this in the case also of Geo. Jacobs, see the confession made by Sarah Churchill in the trial of Ann Pudeator. (Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 314.)

* Mrs. Nurse fell a victim to the delusion, and was most inhumanly treated. Abigail Williams (the niece of Rev. Mr. Parris) thus brings her into connection with the plot against the church, and as murdering others by her spectre.

Abigail Williams on the 31st May deposed, that the apparition of Rebecca Nurse had vexed her greatly, particularly during seven days in March, and two each in April and May, and that she saw this apparition at a sacrament, sitting next to the man with a high crowned hat, [the Devil] and that this apparition confessed to her its guilt in committing several murders in company with Sarah Cloyce (the sister of Rebecca Nurse) or her apparition, upon Goodman Harwood, Benjn Porter, and Rebecca Shepard. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 95.]

Rebecca Nurse was imprisoned March 24th, but her spectre was out doing all this mischief. Harwood (one of the parties murdered) was killed by falling off from his cart, but the apparition of Mrs. Nurse was supposed to have pushed him off, and then beat the breath out of him. (p. 98) Rebecca Shepard died of a malignant fever. The other died, we may presume, by disease or accident, but the suspected had to bear the blame through the spectres they employed.

there by permission. The next morning he went to fetch her home, and met one Sam'l Sibley, who was then going to a Mr. Phillips', and asked him "how the folks did at the village?" which was then in an uproar on this witchcraft matter. Sibley answered (see his deposition, page 63, Vol. Salem Witchcraft,) "he heard they were very bad last night, [the afflicted ones perhaps] but he had heard nothing this morning." Proctor replied he was going to fetch home his jade, [Mary Warren] he left her there last night, and had rather given 40s than let her come up. Sd Sibley askt why he talkt so. Proctor replied if they were let alone, Sir, we should all be devills and witches† quickly; they should rather be had to the whipping post, but he would fetch his jade home and thrust the Devil out of her, and more to the like purpose, crying, hang them—hang them. And also added, that when she was first taken with fits, he kept her close to the wheele [spinning wheel] and threatend to thresh her, and then she had no more fits till the next day he was gone forth and then she must have her fits again forsooth." Proctor,†

† It seems that when Mary Warren was first afflicted with fits, her master told her that he wished she was more afflicted—she and all of the afflicted ones Mary Warren then said (she tells the story) "what makes you say so? He answered, because you goe to bring out Innocent persons." [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 139.]

This Mary Warren saw the apparition of Goody Cory at her master's house, and told her master she saw it, and he told her it was his shadow! In attempting to clutch at it, she pulled her master over. Whereupon he told her, that he now saw that no heed ought to be given to her "talkings"—that all the afflicted were "possessed with ye Devil," for that it (the apparition) was nothing but his shape! Mary Warren tells this herself. See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 141.

For a remarkable case of spectral illusion, see Sir David Brewster on Natural Magic, (Harpers' Fam. Lib., Vol. 50, Letter 3.)

‡ Proctor was indicted for afflicting Mary Warren on the 26th March—the day after his conversation with Sibley in regard to this Mary Warren—a fact not without significance,

moreover owned before the Court, that he meant Mary Warren as the girl spoken of in the deposition of Sibley.

Now Mrs. Proctor was accused shortly after this, and as Proctor most probably took this girl home, and kept her at the spinning wheel, and perhaps gave her a "threshing," we can see why she may have been desirous of revenge,—or why, at all events, Mr. and Mrs. Proctor would be no favorites of hers, as they most probably both agreed that the tormented "had rather be had to the whipping post," or at all events be kept busy at work.

Another witness, whom Proctor or his apparition previously tormented, was John Indian, a servant in Rev. Mr. Parris' family—the husband of Tituba. Now Proctor told Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll, who declares it in Court, (Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 66) "that John Proctor tould Joseph Pope (whose wife was one of the afflicted ones) yt if he had John Indian in his custody hee would boate ye devell out of him." John Indian doubtless heard this speech, and the whole charmed circle also, and, trembling in their shoes, made common cause, we may presume, against John Proctor.

The outcry against Mrs. Proctor, as well as her husband, at first came from a small circle, though, as is often the case in these prosecutions, by the time the affair reached the Grand Jury, as it naturally did, the list of witnesses swelled.* The madness was contagious. Mary

* As we have before stated, when persons were once arrested and committed for witchcraft in 1692, witnesses were not wanting to confirm the testimony of the first accusers. The testimony admitted at that day, however, was largely spectral and inferential. Our fathers were then much exercised, and even after the delusion of 1692, as to what testimony ought to be taken as proof of witchcraft. The Jews in all probability proved the crime of biblical sorcery, &c., by two direct witnesses—seeing or hearing the enchantments used, or conjurations or spells or charms made by the accused, that is, by visible or audible proof of the idolatrous crime of forsaking the true God and cleaving to false Gods or the Devil or evil spirits for strength and assistance. The Jews

Warren† and her compeers were then well sup-

most probably used no other methods to detect witches and witchcraft. None appear at least.

Our fathers mistook the illusion, or the *apparent* sin of witchcraft of 1692 for the biblical sin itself—whatever that may have been—and continued the error also in the matter of the testimony used to prove the crime. Thus the accused of 1692 were often arraigned, not (as it were) for *visible*, but *invisible* crimes—for tormenting by and through *spectres*, or on a species of circumstantial and inferential evidence—and that most manifestly inconclusive and unreliable.

Perplexed as they were about the evidence, (as they evidently were perplexed,) one course did appear clear to them, and that was to obtain *confessions* of guilt. They then felt themselves secure, since confession was *self-condemnation*—allowable in Scripture—as in the case where David punished the Amalekite, who confessed (though falsely perhaps) that he had killed Saul. Confession of guilt was then the most reliable proof, and hence strenuous efforts were made to obtain such confession. It was even *extorted* from some of the accused of that day. They were importuned, and even tortured to obtain such confession; nor was *extorted* confession then thought to be unreliable. Those, moreover, who confessed themselves guilty, and adhered to their confession, were *not punished* in 1692—only those who denied their guilt! Was this according to the Jewish Law?

† Mary Warren, after her own arrest for witchcraft, was examined April 19 at Salem Village, and then again in prison. At her first examination, she said she was innocent, but the current against her being very strong, she dexterously fell into fits herself, and had to call upon the Lord to save her from the vengeance of Bridget Bishop, Goody Cory and Proctor and his wife, who were then endeavoring by apparition to choke her, that she might not confess and expose them. Then she was examined privately before the magistrates and ministers at the same date. Her whole conduct at that time appears to have been a master piece of *acting*.

At her examination in prison, she confesses the very first thing—"that her Master Proctor was always very averse to putting up bills for public prayer, —and wished her to sign the Devil's book, &c. [See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 132.]

We see in this confession the religious drift of the persecution. Proctor was evidently considered as a backslider from the church—one of the plotters against it. He was one of those present at the Dev-

ported by others. It so happened, that just after Mrs. and Mr. Proctor were arrested, *Mary Warren* herself was also arrested (April 18) in company with Giles Cory and others for practising witchcraft upon Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard, and was examined on the 19th. She had assisted those very girls in the accusation of the Proctors, and was now accused by them in turn. The secret of this accusation was most probably divulged by "Betty Hubbard," who testified on the examination of Mary W. "that a little after this Mary was well, she, the said Mary, said, that the afflicted persons did but dissemble." (See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 130.) While in prison, this Mary Warren seems to have come to some sense of the truth of affairs, as the following testimony will show; though when examined subsequently, and denounced by the small circle as afflicting them, she soon retracted her plea of innocence, and already committed in the matter, and to save her own life, confessed herself a witch, and accused* right

il's sacrament, according to Deliverance Hobbs's confession.

* It is evident that Mary Warren believed that the accusers did dissemble, but on finding that such an expression was endangering her own life, as she was now accused in turn, she appears to have entered for safety's sake the lists again as an accuser. Did not the girls at the village whom she accused of dissembling, and she made no exception among them in her accusation, intend that she should not break their charm, and forthwith draw her, therefore, into the terrors of the persecution? [This is a dark fact [her testimony] in the nature and origin of this witchcraft "outcry." And then again these girls (the accusers) had all the sanction of the magistrates, the clergy, and the more influential in the course they were pursuing; and from the first, it is very likely, took that path for their operations, which was almost unconsciously laid out for them by the credulous and profiguring and almost intimating imaginations of Rev. Mr. Parris, and some others at the village. It is a noticeable fact, that the girls began at first simply with strange actions, which may have been the results of disease, mental or bodily, or the determination to have some mysterious fun—to mystify the

and left to the thorough satisfaction of the magistrates or others.

It may have been with the intention of being of some service to Mrs. or Mr. Proctor, or both, that the following depositions were given, as also to induce the magistrates to pause in their career. By the tenor of them, it appears that Mary Warren, one of the afflicted ones, when in Salem jail, and with the prospect of a dark fate before her, told truths that ought to have been known to the Court and acted upon. We give the two depositions on file against her—both parties having been in Salem prison with her:

“Edward Bishop Aged Aboute 44 yeares, Sarah Bishop Aged Aboute 41 yeares, And Mary Easty Aged Aboute 56 yeares, all Testifie and say that Aboute three weekes Agoe, to say, when wee was in Salem Goale then and there we heard Mary Warrin seuerall times say that the Magistrates might as well examine Key-sar’s Daughter that had Bin Distracted Many Yeares. And Take notice of what shee said: as well as any of the Afflicted prsons, for said Mary Warrin when I was Afflicted I thought I saw the Apparissions of A hundred persons: for shee said hir Head was Distempered that shee could not tell what shee said. And the said Mary Tould us that when shee was well againce shee could not say that shee saw any of the Apparissions at the Time aforesaid.”

household--and that no accusations came until experiments had been made to find out the witch who was afflicting them. Then Tituba and others were accused, and the children may have heard these very parties as persons suspected of it, and thereupon followed in the channel that credulity opened for them. The witchcraft case in the Morse family (1679-86) seems evidently to have been the act, partially, if not wholly, of a mere boy working upon the fears of his old and credulous grandparents. As the subject of witchcraft was very probably thoroughly discussed at that day in almost all families, what more natural than that young and keen wits, employed by the Satan or Devil that possesses, or reigns in mischievous heads, should see what could be done that way? Like a conflagration, the matter was easy to start, but perhaps impossible afterwards to stop.

Edward Bishop, Sarah Bishop & Mary Eastey

v.

Mary Warren.

1 June, 1692. Mary English Aged about 39 years Testifyeth that about a month ago at Salem That I heard the said Mary Warrine to speak the same words (as is Testified too by Edward Bishop, Sarah Bishop and Mary Eastey) that she said that the magistrates might as well Examen Keyzers Daughter that had been distracted many years. And take notice of what she said as well as any of the Efflicted persons, &c.

As witness my hand, MARY ENGLISH.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 145-6.]

[NOTE.—The Mary Warren named above was a servant maid living at John Proctor’s, and accused him and his wife of witchcraft, and was then accused herself by some of the afflicted, and put in prison as a witch. This Mary Warren admits, it will be seen, that she was out of her mind when she saw spectres.]

There is, however, still more evidence going to show that the accusation against Mrs. Proctor was frivolous, if not even positively malicious, and which we herewith append; for wherever such evidence exist in one case, such or similar evidence may have once existed in others, and such proof should be presented, at all events, as a part of the history of the matter.

In the latter part of March one Wm. Rayment (Raymond?) was at the house of Lt. Ingersoll, and thus deposes:

Wm. Rayment vs. Elizabeth Proctor.

The testimony of William Rayment aged 26 years or thereabout, testifyeth and saith that I being at the house of Leftut Ingersoll some time in the later end of March, there discoursing concerning the examyning of seuerall persons suspected for witches, I was saying that I heard that Goody Proctor was to be examyned tomorrow, to which Goody Ingersoll replied she did not believe it for she heard nothing of it; som of the afflicted persons being present, one of them or more cryed out, there Goody Proctor, there goody Proctor, and [an] old wich Ile

have her hang. Goody Ingersoll sharply reproved them, then they seemed to make a jist [jest] of it. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 118.]

[NOTE.—Such testimony as this of Wm. Rayment's presents us with the darkest view, and most mischievous and wanton and wicked side of the witchcraft persecution of 1692, as originating in the wanton desire for mischief. How far, however, the persecution is to be attributed to such causes, and how far to a sincere, though mistaken belief in the diabolical agency of the accused, it is difficult to determine. We think we see clearly both *deception* and *delusion* at times in the charges made by the afflicted and the witnesses in 1692, and have attributed both to the agency of the Devil or demoniac power acting upon or through the then accusers, or as the effects of bodily or mental disease. Another cause may be hinted at, namely, a diseased state of the visual organs themselves, by which the sufferers saw spectral shapes and were deluded by them. Sir Walter Scott appears thus to account for "apparitions" seen by various parties, including those phantoms who visited and even spoke to Mons. Nicolai, the celebrated bookseller of Berlin, and who himself knew them to be phantoms. (See letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, pages 26-7 et seq.) That there was more or less bodily disease in those who saw "spectres" in 1692 may indeed be true, but the spirit manifested by those accusers, in their complaints, was often so false, malicious and wicked, that we infer them to have been acting—not from themselves—but from a false and perverted and diabolical nature—truly Satanic. How far those accusers permitted themselves to be so used, and thus were guilty, and how far they were the unwitting tools of evil, are questions somewhat difficult of solution.

We have frequently spoken of the accusers, in the text, as possessed of the Devil. We have, however, used this phraseology, not only in its Scriptural, but ordinary sense. The possessed of the Devil in the Scriptures appear to have been demoniacs—involuntary actors; but this does not appear to be the case with various of the accusers and witnesses in 1692. It is not unlikely indeed that some of those accusers and many of the witnesses were sincere believers in the witchcraft of the accused—were deluded. Abigail Williams and Mary Walcott appear to have been *mediums*, through whom some other influence accused others. We have often spoken of the accusers as being possessed of the Devil, but the more strict and proper language defining such accusers

Here is the testimony of Sam'l Barton and John Houghton in the matter:

Samuel Barton and John Houghton for Eliz.

Proctor.

the testimony of Samuel Barton aged 25 years or therabouts who testifieth and saith that I being at Thomas Putnams a helping to tend the afflicted folks I heard them tell Mercy Lewes that she cried out of Goody Prockter and Mercy Lewes said that she did not cry out of Goody Procter nor nobody, she said she did say there she is, but did not tell them who, and Thomas Putnam and his wife and others told her that she cried out of Goody Procter and Mercy Lewes said if she did it was when she was out in her head for she said she saw nobody, this being the 20 of March in the year 1691-2.

John Houghton aged 23 testifyeth and saith I this deponent was present at the same time above written, and I heard Thomas Putnam and his wife say that Mercy Lewis saw or named the wife of John Procter in her fit and we heard the sayd Mercy Lewis affirme that she never sayed that euer she saw her:

would be, as being moved and instigated by a demoniac spirit. It is not probable that the accusers of that day could have been moved in all of their accusations by *personal* malice against the accused, as the latter appear often to have been personally unknown to them. We therefore do not charge upon them *revenge* as the prevailing motive, or mere *personal* malice or mischief, though at times there are symptoms of them. When it is remembered that the prevailing belief of the day favored witchcraft—that the accusers were in the very centre of such belief—that they were urged on or used by others to accuse—were consulted frequently, and sent for, far and near, to detect witchcrafts—we cannot lay all the blame to the accusers themselves. In the centre of so much credulity and fanaticism as they were, is it uncharitable to suppose, that some of them were at times beside themselves in making those accusations, and did not know what mischief they did, or were doing—and so far involuntary, or at least unconscious agents in the mischief? It is easier to say that the delusion was all fraud and imposture, than to prove it. There was

[NOTE.—It will be noticed in Sam'l Barton's testimony, that Mercy Lewis said, that if she did cry out of Goody Proctor, it was "when she was out in (of) her head." It would seem by this testimony, that M. L. must have been beside herself at times—in a state of delirium—either crazy or possessed, as we say, of the Devil. At all events, her perception of a spectral appearance is connected with *her own bodily disease*—an important physiological and psychological fact.]

Here is the testimony of Daniel Elliott, which is terribly significant of the cause, certainly, of a portion of this persecution:

Daniel Elliott for Eliz. Proctor.

the testimony of Daniel Elets aged 27 years or thereabouts who testifieth and saith that I being at the house of lieutenant ingasons [Ingersoll's] one the 28 of March, in the year 1692, there being present one of the afflicted persons which cried out and said thears Goody Proctor, William Raiment junior being theare present tould the garl she beleue she lyed for he saw nothing, then Goody ingerson told the garl she told a ly for theare was nothing, then the garl said that she did it for sport they must have some sport. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 125.]

[NOTE.—This testimony of Elliott suggests, whether or no some of the other accusations were not made also for sport? Still, it will not do to class the whole under that head, because of the language of *one* of the afflicted girls. It is indeed very probable that various of the afflicted of that day were suffering from disordered sensation and perception, and actually felt certain pains and torments, which they referred to the agency of the accused. (See Upham's Disordered Mental Action, Chap. IV. Tactual Disorders.)

Some of the accusers in 1692 appear to have resembled "the possessed of Devils" (or more properly demons) mentioned in the New Testament, and it is a question, whether they were not similarly afflicted, and from like causes, and believed the accused to be actually tormenting them. Some of the demoniacs of the Bible looked upon the Saviour as a *tempter*, and one of them said to him:—"Let us alone—what

have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us?" And again, as the Gadarene demoniac said:—"I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not." Here the demoniacs associated the idea of persecution and torment with the presence and acts of the Saviour; and to a far less, but still manifest degree, does all evil in the world, now, and ever, demand to be left alone, and believe itself to be persecuted and tormented by that which is good. Every evil or wrong denounces the good as its persecutor, and departs, with loud cries and fierce struggles, when exorcised by it. This is the common experience of history. The witchcraft delusion itself, with all its accompanying horrors, seems to have been only the coming forth of a fanatical spirit out of the distracted body-politic, exorcised by the spirit of a new era—by the advent of a more liberal faith and belief in New England.

It does not appear that the Jews ever associated the actions of such demoniacs with witchcraft, as resulting from, or caused by it, or believed that witches or wizards ever had such power to so torment. The belief in such power, like the derivation of the words witch and witchcraft, appears to be of Teutonic or German origin, and a legacy from the dark and gloomy mythology of Northern Europe—the fruit, very likely, of the old Oriental (Hindoo) imagination acting upon the ancient Celtic barbarism of Europe.]

It was in vain that the Salem neighbors, also, of Proctor and his wife came forward to say,* "that to our apprehension they lived a Chris-

* The following is a copy of the Petition in favor of John Proctor and his wife, and which appears to have come from their *Salem* neighbors:—

Petition in favor of John Proctor and Eliz. Proctor.

We whose names are vnderwritten hauing seuerall yeares knowne John Proctor and his wife do testifie that we neuer heard or understood that they were euer suspected to be guilty of the crime now charged vpon them and seuerall of us being their neare neighbors do testify that to our apprehension they liued Christian life in their famely and were euer ready to helpe such as stood in neede of theirs helpe.

Nathaniel Holton sen'r	George Smith,
and Mary his wife,	Ed. Edward Gaskill,
Samuel Marsh	
and Priscilla his wife,	
James Houlton and	
Ruthy his wife,	

much fanaticism, moreover, mixed up with this witchcraft, and fanaticism is always *sincere*.

tian life in their family and were ever ready to helpe such as stood in need of their helpe." One Elizabeth Booth appeared before the Grand Jury, June 30, and upon oath swore, that the spectres or ghosts of no less than *four* murdered persons had appeared to her, and charged Elizabeth Procter with killing them, and on truly frivolous grounds. The spectre of one Hugh Jones assured her, that Mrs. Procter killed him, "because he had a poght of sider of her which he had not paid her for." The spectre of Elizabeth Shaw told her Mrs. Procter and John Willard killed her, because she did not use the Doctors they advised her to. The spectre of John Felton's wife told her Mrs. Procter killed her, "because she would not give her Aples when she sent for sum." And lastly, that the spectre of Dr. Zerubabel Endecott told her Mrs. Procter killed him, "because they differed in their judgments about thomas verie's wife, and likewise ye said Elizabeth Procter wold have kiled doc. Endecott's wife But cold not, But lamed her a good while."

With, and by such testimony as this, Mr. and Mrs. Procter were condemned. He was executed,* and she only saved by pregnancy.

John Holton,
Nathaniel Holton jun'r,
Samuel fraytt
and An his wife,
Zachriah Marsh
and Mary his wife,
Samuel Endicott
and hanah his wife,
Samuel Stone,
George Locher,
Samuel Gaskill
and provided his wife.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 124-5.]

The more sensible and reasonable portion of the people in 1692 were wiser than their rulers in regard to these witchcraft accusations against creditable persons, but had little or no power to act in the matter.

* *Calef* says, (page 223) "He (Procter) pleaded very hard at the execution for a little respite of time, saying that he was not fit to die, but it was not granted." *Calef* further states, and we quote it as

The delusion was broken and dissipated ere many months, and so she was saved. None fell a more undeserved victim to it than John Procter, who, with a clear, strong mind, saw, from the first, how hopeless it was to expect any justice at the hands of the Court appointed to try him, and wrote to Rev. Mr. Mather, Allen, Moody, Willard and Bailey, to get their favorable assistance with the Governor, that,

an instance of the severity with which Procter and his family were treated,—“John Procter and his wife being in prison, the sheriff came to his house and seized all the goods, provisions, and cattle that he could come at, and sold some of the cattle at half-price, and killed others, and put them up for the West Indies; threw the beer out of a barrel, and carried away the barrel; emptied a pot of broth, and took away the pot, and left nothing in the house for the support of the children; no part of the said goods are known to be returned. Procter earnestly requested Mr. Noyes to pray with and for him, but it was wholly denied, because he would not own himself a witch,” (pages 221-2).

It would seem that Rev. Mr. Noyes must have been considered as largely instrumental in procuring the condemnation of John Procter and Mrs. Nurse, to judge by the following extract from the files of the General Sessions of the Peace—by which extract, though the defendant denied the *particular* words charged to him, yet he undoubtedly used language *similar* to that charged, and which must have been a rumor then current, as the defendant was not in Salem at the trial or execution of either Procter or Nurse:—

Att a General Session of the peace holden at Salem by adjournment Augst ye 1st, 1722.

Philip English senr of Salem being presented by ye Grand Jury for yt ye said Philip English did sometime in March or April last at Mr. Christopher Babbidge's Shop declare and say yt Mr. Noyes had murdered John Procter and Mrs. Nurse, sd Philip English appeared and pleaded not guilty. It's considered that it being fully proved yt he pay a fine of 20s and Costs and give £20 bond wt Security for his good behav'r until December Court next and Stand committed till pformed.

Sd Philip English appeals. Phillip English Sen'r Principal. Phillip English Jun'r and Sam'l Wakefield Sureties recognized in £20 to prosecute this appeal and be of good behaviour.

if possible, the innocent blood of himself and fellow petitioners might be spared, or that their trials might be had in Boston, or that the magistrates should be changed, and that some, or all of these first named gentlemen should be present at the trials. He states, that two of Carrier's sons (young men) would not confess their guilt, until they had tied them neck and heels, so that the blood was ready to come out of their noses. His son, Wm. Proctor, was so tied, for refusing on examination to confess his guilt, till the blood gushed out of his nose, and would have remained so tied twenty-four hours, had not one, more merciful than the rest, unbound him. John Proctor's letter can be found in *Calef's Work* and *Upham's Witchcraft*, and gives a vivid, but sad and true picture of the times.

In confirmation of what Proctor says of the abominable attempts made at that time to induce the accused to confess, we herewith append the deposition of Sarah Ingersoll v. Sarah Church—[probably Churchwell or Church-hill]:—

Sarah Ingersol v. Sarah Church.

The disposition of Sarah Ingelson Aged about 30 yers Saith that seeing Sarah Church after hur examination she came to me crieing and ringing her hands seeming to be mutch trobeled in Sparet I asked her what she ailed she answered she had undon herself I asked hur in what she saied in believing hursalfe and others in saieing she had seat hur hand to the dieulls Book whairas she saied she nauer did I told hur I beleved she had seat hur han to the Book she answered crieing and said no. no. no: I nauer nauer did. I asked then what had maed her say she did she answered because they threatened hur and told hur thay would put her into the dongin and put hur along with Mr. Borows and thus sauerall times she folowed one up and downe tealing me that she had undon hersalfe in belieueing and others I asked why she did writ it, she tould me because she had stood out so long in it that now she darst not, she saied allso yt If she told Mr. Noyes

but ons she had sat hur hand to ye Booke he would beleue her but If she told the truth and saied she had not seat her hand to ye Book a hundred times he would not beleue her.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 485-6.]

Here the young girl* was threatened with the dungeon unless she confessed—not the truth—but what they wished her to. The Rev. Mr. Noyes appears to be implicated in this statement of the girl's, and bitterly indeed he repented of his share in the whole matter when it was over. Mr. Upham states, in his Lectures on Witchcraft, that Rev. Mr. Noyes refused to pray with John Proctor, after his conviction, unless he confessed! When Sarah Good was executed, he strenuously urged her to confess, and told her, "she was a witch and she knew she was a witch." The old woman, roused into indignation, said—"You are a liar. I am no more a witch than you are a wizard; and if you take away my life, God will give you blood to drink." Tradition, so Hutchinson and Upham say, reports that this prophecy was strangely verified. Mr. Noyes was evidently sincere and earnest in his delusion at the time—an awful lesson on the fallibility of human opinions and judgments.

We come now to the fate of John Willard,

* This same Sarah Church [Churchwell or Church-hill, a servant at Geo. Jacobs?] was a prominent witness against Ann Pudeator, (see her petition on page 188 of this volume,) and helped materially to condemn her. It would appear, according to the deposition of Sarah Ingersol, that Sarah Church had been accused herself of witchcraft, and examined, and that her confession of guilt had been wrung from her by threats of the dungeon, and being placed with Rev. Mr. Burroughs, who was probably in the dungeon. After this examination, the girl evidently had compunctions of conscience at having confessed to a falsehood. Sarah Ingersol's deposition proves this. It is most probable, however, that seeing that no one believed her story that she was innocent, she joined in desperation the band of accusers, and seems then to have gone to the uttermost, as her wild and reckless testimony against Ann Pudeator goes to show. For how much of this was the girl herself to blame?

as he is one of those with whom Philip English and his wife were accused of being connected in witchcraft. A warrant was issued for his apprehension May 10, and his examination was to have taken place the next day, at the house of Thomas Beadle, in Salem. The names of no persons are personally mentioned in the complaint, and it may be, that he was arrested at the instigation of a private association, said to have been organized in Salem for the ferretting out the witches and wizards in the community. But Willard* fled, as is stated on the officer's return, though he was evidently taken before the 2d June, since on that day a surgeon and six other men, constituting a searching committee, examined the bodies of John Proctor and himself for witch marks, as will appear by the following document:—

Return of Searching Committee

v.

John Proctor and John Willard.

We whose names vnder written haueing searched ye bodyes of John Proctor sen'r and John Willard now in ye Goale and doe not find anything to farther suspect them.

Dated June 2, 1692.

N. Rondel,	apre testis,	J. Barton,	Chyrgn,
John Rogers,		John Gyles,	
Joshua Rea,	Jun'r,	William Hine,	
John Cooke,		Ezekel Cheever.	

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 63.]

[NOTE.—This search was for *Teats*, at which Imps

* According to *Calef*, (page 221) Willard had been employed to bring in several who were accused, but being dissatisfied at being sent to bring in "some that he had better thoughts of," he declined the service, and was vehemently accused of the same crime, and a pursuit made after him, as he had fled. He got "as far as Nashaway, about 40 miles from Salem; yet it is said those accusers did then presently tell the exact time, saying now *Willard* is taken."

Allowing the latter part of *Calef's* account to be literally true, and considering Willard's unwillingness to be made the instrument of persecuting those he deemed innocent of witchcraft, by *what* insight did the accusers determine the exact time of his arrest? Was it demoniacal or divine?

or Devils might suckle. If *any* excrescence, swelling, or mole was found on the body, into which a pin might be thrust, and the part proved bloodless and insensible to pain, it was accounted a witch mark or "tett." Such was one of the monstrous beliefs of that day.

By looking at the testimony of Geo. Herrick vs. Geo. Jacobs, S'r, (Vol. 2, No. 2, page 55 of the Hist. Coll. Essex Institute,) the reader will find a description of what was believed in 1692 to be a veritable witch mark. Geo. Jacobs, S'r, had such an one, and it is there described. Bridget Bishop also had a "preternatural excrescence," which was believed to be a witch mark—probably some slight dropsical swelling, to judge by the evidence, as the mark disappeared after a first examination. By these teats or excrescences they were supposed to nourish their attendant imps or devils.]

Willard seems to have been exceedingly unpopular for some cause,* for no less than *seven* indictments are recorded against him. In the indictments appear the same familiar accusers,† and at his trial, one accusation for murder, and beating his wife, &c., and two for dissuading witnesses from confessing themselves witches—the most heinous crime, perhaps, of all! We will not endeavor to analyze the testimony.‡ Suffice it to say, that he was condemned

* Upham, in his Lectures on Witchcraft, (pages 54–5,) states that Willard had been employed to guard the prisoners to and from the jail—that he sympathized with them, and expressed his unwillingness to continue any longer in the odious employment—that this was very offensive to the afflicted children. Upham then says—"They accordingly charged him with bewitching them. The unhappy man was condemned to death; he contrived to escape from prison; they were thrown into the greatest distress; the news came that he was retaken; their agonies were moderated; and at length he was hanged, and then they were wholly relieved." Is it *charity*, under the circumstances, to believe that such agonies were *real*?

† John Willard was indicted for afflicting Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, Susannah Sheldon, Ann Putnam, sr., Ann Putnam, jr., and Elizabeth Hubbard—all prominent accusers in 1692.

‡ One Thomas Bailey testified, at the trial of Willard, that as he was riding home from Groton by night, in company with W., he heard a multitude of

and executed, and prominent among his accusers, with a story bristling with spectral horrors, was Susannah Sheldon, one of whose stories, so far as it includes Mr. and Mrs. English with Willard, we shall give in connection with Mr. and Mrs. E.

Among others, with whom Philip English is mentioned as leagued in witchcraft, was Sarah Proctor, daughter of John Proctor; but what became of her, after her accusation, does not appear. She may not have been indicted, though it is evident, that testimony was given in against her before the magistrates or Grand Jury, and evidently received. The complaint against her bears date May 21, and before the magistrates or Grand Jury appears Susannah Sheldon, who, while accusing Sarah Proctor of various misdeeds, vents her complaint mainly against Philip English.

There is yet one more witness against Mr. and Mrs. English, and he appears in the accusation against Geo. Jacobs, S'r. As the prosecution of Mr. Jacobs has already been done justice to by a gentleman, who has performed that task historically, we shall simply refer to it, and only use what testimony is found therein against Mr. and Mrs. E.

We come now, and through all this labyrinth of accusations, evidences, facts, and reflections, to the arrest of Mrs. English. Why, for what cause,* she was arrested, is a myste-

strange noises, which greatly frightened him, for he thought they might be caused by evil spirits. He asked Willard what they were, and he simply replied *Locusts!* He (B.) heard the same noises some time after.

It is very probable, that by *Locusts*, the *Katy-Dids* were meant by W. The earth, and air, and the sea also, were well peopled with the Powers of darkness in 1692.

* In 1656 Ann Hibbins, of Boston, whose husband had been a magistrate, was hung, having been convicted of being a witch. Rev. Mr. Norton, who was settled in 1656 over the First Church in Boston, gives this as the cause of her condemnation, "it was because she had more wit than her neighbors." The same cause may have operated somewhat against

ry. She was said to have been haughty, but her accusers may have been mistaken. Dr. Bentley says some prejudices were at the bottom of the affair. One historian of Massachusetts plainly intimates, that the accusation against Mr. E. arose from envy at his great wealth. However that may be, both were arrested, examined, and doubtless would have been tried and executed, but for their flight from Boston jail to New York—an escape encouraged by the State authorities. As we have said, no record remains of the examination of either, after their arrest, and but a few papers connected with the accusations against them. We shall give, however, the examinations of those who were arrested with them, as being the nearest approach now remaining to their own examinations, and the charges made against themselves gathered from various sources.

On the 21st April the following warrant was

Mrs. English, who had received (for that day) a very superior education—proofs of which the late Dr. Bentley had in his possession as late as 1809.

In 1681 she was admitted to the First (Congregational) Church as a member, and when accused of witchcraft in 1692, was most probably suspected also of being concerned in the great *plot* against the N. E. Church, as was Mrs. Rebecca Nurse, (see Deliverance Hobbs' confession) who was also a member of the First Church, and who was excommunicated from that church, (after her condemnation as a witch) and executed. Giles Cory appears also to have been a member of the First Church in Salem, and he also was implicated in the plot against the church, and was likewise excommunicated, and pressed to death for refusing to be put upon his trial. It seems very probable that the indignation ran with especial wrath against the few, who, being members of the First Church in Salem, were believed guilty of aiding the Devil in his plot against the N. E. Church; as the First Church in S., as *being the first organized church in the Colony*, was believed to be an object of especial hate to Satan—to be the one which he desired above all others to overthrow; and his co-workers and agents in that church would be regarded as infamous and detestable beyond any and all other witches. This may account for these two excommunications there.

issued for the arrest of various parties, including Mrs. English:—

Warrant vs. Sarah Wildes and als.

Salem, Aprill the 21st, 1692.

There being Complaint this day made (before vs) by Thomas Putnam and John Buxton of Salem Village Yeomen in behalfe of theire Majesties for themselves and also for severall of theire neighbours Against William Hobs husbandman, Delivie his wife, Nehemiah Abot junior weaver, Mary Eastey, the wife of Isaac Eastey, and Sarah Wilds the wife of John Wilds, all of the Towne of Topsfield or Ipswich, and Edward Bishop husbandman and Sarah his wife of Salem Village, and Mary Black a negro of Leut. Nath. Putnam's of Salem Village also, And Mary English the wife of Phillip English merchant in Salem, for high Suspicion of Sundry acts of witchcraft donne or Committed by them lately vpon the Bodys of Anna putnam and Marcey Lewis belonging to the famly of ye abouesd Thomas Putnam complaint and Mary Walcot ye daughter of Capt. Jonathn Walcot of sd Salem Village and others, whereby great hurt and danmage hath benne donne to ye bodys of said persons abouenamed therefore craued Justice. You are therefore in their Majests names hereby com—required to Apprehend and bring before vs William Hobs husbandman and his wife, Nehemiah Abot Junr weaver, Mary Easty the wife of Isaac Eastey, and all the rest abouenamed tomorrow about ten of the clock in the forenoon at the house of Lieut. Nathl. Ingersolls in Salem Village in order to theire examination Relating to the premises abouesayd and hereof you are not to faile. Dated Salem, April 21st, 1692.

JOHN HATHORNE, } Assists.
JONATHAN CORWIN, }

To George Herrick, Marshall of Essex, and any or all ye Constables in Salem or Topsfield or any other Towne. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 196-7.]

The parties were promptly arrested, and the examination appears to have taken place at the

Village on the 22d. The examinations of Mr. Hobbs, his wife Deliverance, Mary Easty and Sarah Wildes are yet on file, though one or two of the papers are somewhat damaged by age, and small portions, though not very material ones, gone. We have already given a general idea of the testimony against Wm. Hobbs, Mary Easty, and Sarah Wildes. We will now give their examinations, together with the two examinations of Mrs. Hobbs, and also some other evidence, both direct and inferential, not only to reproduce the examination of Mrs. English, but to exhibit the bearing and drift and purpose of the witchcraft persecution itself—to bring into the light its more hidden causes.

It will be remembered, that Abigail Hobbs, of Topsfield, (*daughter* of Deliverance Hobbs, arrested with Mrs. English and others April 21st,) was arrested on a warrant on the 19th of April, and in company with Giles Cory, Mary Warren and Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver. On the 20th, Abigail B. was examined in Salem prison, and then confessed, that Judah White, who formerly lived at Cascoe, now at Boston, and Sarah Good, (arrested Feb. 29) appeared to her *by apparition*, urging her to fly, and not to go to examination before the magistrates. Upon telling them she should go, they charged her, if she did go, not to confess, but she said she should. They told her, moreover, that Osburn (also arrested Feb. 29) was a witch. She also confessed that the Devil* brought her

* The Devil in 1692 generally appeared to his followers at their church gatherings as a small black man, resembling, however, an Indian, (Holbomock?) Satan appeared as a black man at a Scotch church meeting in King James' time, when a union of witches and wizards had been formed against the King, not only because he was such a prosecutor of such persons, and as being the greatest enemy the Devil had, but on account of his match with Anne of Denmark—the union of a protestant prince with a protestant princess—and, in that case, the Devil and his adherents (who were then considered, perhaps, as aiding the Catholics,) began to plot and plan against him. The King and the Kirk (then sworn friends) made

the images of Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, and Abigail Williams (three prominent among the accusers) for her to stick thorns into, and afflict them, which she did, &c. She also confessed (and we wish to call particular attention to this part of her confession) that she "was at the great meeting in Mr. Parisse's pasture, when they administered the Sacrament, and did eat of the Red Bread and drink of the Red wine at the same time."

Abigail Hobbs here confesses, that not only she tormented three of the accusers, but was at the great witch meeting in Mr. Parris' pasture, but mentions, as will be seen, the names of no persons present. This great witch meet-

common cause against the Devil and his wizard crew. This was about 1590—a hundred years or more before the Devil again appeared as a black man, and in New England. See Scott on Demonology and Witchcraft, Letter IX. The Ethiopians made the Devil to be white, and the Europeans, black. Our fathers made him to be an Indian.

A belief in a personal Devil has always given great pith and point to supernaturalism, and appears to be only the natural result and personification of that principle of Evil, which, as far back certainly as the Chaldeans, was supposed to be warring against the principle of Good.—According to Scott Russell, the Old Testament has no such being in it as the moderns mean, or express by the term Devil—only Satan, (Sathan) which commonly means an adversary, and as such applied to human or idolatrous hindrances; and that the Diabolos or Satanas of the New Testament is not, and cannot be the Devil—as he is, or has been considered in popular belief. (See Russel's Scriptural Claims of the Devil.) Other Commentators, however, favor an opposite idea.

The ancient idolatries of the Bible do not recognize the Devil, it is said, and the false Gods of the Ancients were but mainly, if not wholly, deified mortals. It is an interesting query, however, how far the material worship of the heathens may have been based on spiritual beliefs lying behind the visible symbols and types they used? How far the esoteric doctrines of the heathen church were really spiritual and mystical, and recognized spiritual beings of different grades and ranks of good and evil. The Oriental and Egyptian philosophers seem to recognize such—also the Jewish Cabhala.

ing, moreover, has no date assigned it, though evidently happening before the 20th April. This meeting, however, was evidently held in furtherance of the destruction of "the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in these parts or the world," as Mather has it, and it may be the one which Abigail Williams first saw on March 31st, (Calef, page 200) or a similar one subsequently held. No names, however, of persons attending it are yet given. In this confession of Abigail Hobbs, there is mention made of Judah White's being a witch, who formerly lived at Cascoec, and it would appear, from the mention made of this woman with her former residence, and the administration of the Sacrament, that Rev. Mr. Burroughs was beginning to be entangled in the obscure web of this persecution; for Deliverance Hobbs, (mother of Abigail,) who was arrested on the 21st April, subsequently acknowledged that she was at one of these witch meetings, and that Rev. Mr. Burroughs* was the one who

* Rev. Mr. Burroughs was examined on a charge of witchcraft May 9th, and may have been cried out upon before the 22d of April. One of his chief crimes (to judge by his examination) appears to have been—absence from the Church Communion for a long time. Another was—the neglect to baptize his children, his eldest child only having been baptized. Over and above these crimes, however—the most important of all, doubtless, was his being the Preacher of the Devil's church—the administrator of its rites and sacraments—the clerical leader and instigator of the Devil's adherents. Deliverance Hobbs put him in this latter light by her confession—and her confession appears to have been only the accusations of the afflicted, who were themselves stating, perhaps, what they had heard from others behind them!

Rev. Mr. Burroughs may have been considered heretical in 1692, and it would be worth the research to ascertain how far, if at all, the accused, in 1692, were considered heretical in their religious opinions—how far they had been so considered before the outcry made against them? Witchcraft persecutions have too often been united with the charge of *heresy*. Thus the Catholics charged the Waldenses and Albigenses (Protestants) with sorcery, and identified their religious meetings with Sabbath gatherings of bags

administered the Sacrament, &c., and she, for the first time, appears to name various parties who were at such a meeting—accusing Mrs. Wildes, Good, Nurse, Bishop, Proctor and his wife, and Cory and his wife.

This confession of Deliverance Hobbs, the mother, (which we shall insert in due time,) confirmed and corroborated that of her daughter Abigail, and gave pith and point to the persecution—revealed the personal criminals in the plot against the church. *But Mrs. Hobbs did not originate even this confession!* It was made by her *after* her first examination, (April 22d) and on May 3d, and the following recorded abstract, made by the magistrates, of the evidence against Sarah Good, (pages 15-16-17, Vol. Salem Witchcraft,) clearly shows, we think, from whom this confession came—viz: the accusers—and to whom, therefore, it should be credited historically:—

“Delivrence Hobbs’ Confession.

being at a meeting of the witches in Mr. Parrisses field when Mr. Burroughs preached & administered the Sacrament to them saw Good amongst the rest & this fully agrees with what the afflicted persons relate, 22d April, (92).”

This abstract on the records goes to show, that the afflicted persons first made these per-

sonal charges of being present at this witch meeting, and that Mrs. Hobbs only confirmed their charges by her subsequent confession, and most probably to save her own life! It appears to show another fact also, that *all* the charges made by these afflicted ones do not appear on the Court Records—only those more immediately referring to their own personal torments, as caused by the accused of that day. The supposed grand plot against the church (of which these torments were only a part and parcel, and in furtherance thereof,) is in the dark and misty background of this persecution—the most potent, but at the same time most thoroughly concealed object of the witchcraft of 1692. To obtain light upon that plot—to reveal it—and to suppress it, appear to have been most prominent objects also of the clergy and the magistrates in 1692, and their objects too are wrapt in somewhat of darkness and mystery. That which is patent and apparent in the history of this witchcraft is its least interesting, and most unintelligible portion, and does not, and cannot explain the mystery.

The confession* of Mrs. Hobbs—made after, and upon the charges on the 22d April—the day when Mrs. Hobbs, and those arrested with her, were first examined, doubtless had its weight upon the magistrates, and as against the accused themselves.

and fiends. (See Scott's Demonology and Witchcraft, pages 174-5-6.) The Jesuit Delrio said, that “The Waldenses (of whom the Albigenes were a species) were never free from the most wretched excess of fascination.” It is a noticeable fact, that with the wide spread dissatisfaction with the Roman Church at the end of the 15th century, and the universal progress of *heresy*, came the vigorous efforts of that church to suppress *sorcerers* and *heretics*. The Calvinists were not behind their Catholic brethren in their hatred of witches and witchcraft, as well as heresy. Scott says, (page 210) “that the most severe of the laws against witchcraft originated with a Scottish King of England; and that the only extensive persecution following that Statute occurred during the time of the civil wars, when the Calvinists obtained, for a short period, a predominating influence in the Councils of Parliament.” Witchcraft persecutions have so often had a religious, or rather fanatical basis.

* Bancroft, Hist. U. S., Vol. 3, p. 87, states that up to the time of the confession of Mrs. Hobbs, there had been no success in obtaining confessions, though earnestly solicited, and says—“It had been hinted, also, that confessing was the avenue to safety. At last, Deliverance Hobbs owned everything that was asked of her, and was left unharmed.”

According to the evidence on the Records, it appears that the confession of Deliverance Hobbs *agreed* with what the afflicted persons themselves stated on the 22d April, and in all probability, was in the main, their statement put into her mouth; and the statement made by the “afflicted ones” may not have originated even with them, but from those behind them, who do not appear. The confession of Deliverance Hobbs, therefore, appears to stand on the same footing as that of Tituba's—wrung from her by fear—and not her own words or ideas, but those of others—and, therefore, neither voluntary, nor true.

NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY—No. 5.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

The first milled money coined in England was during the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1561. This improvement in coinage by the mill and screw was invented in France, during the reign of Henry II, by Antoine Brucher, and was first worked in a mint erected for that purpose at Paris, July, 1553. The use of this machine in the French Mints was of short continuance, having been forbidden by an edict of Henry III in 1585; it was again established in 1639, by Louis XIII, and in 1645 was permanently established by Louis XIV. The mill, from its first invention, was used in France for medals and jettons. The beauty of those executed during the reign of Louis XIV was probably the cause of its being finally adopted in coinage as preferable to the hammered money.

The mill and screw were introduced into the English Mint by Eloye Mestrell, of France, and were there continued to be used from 1561 to 1568, when he was convicted of coining counterfeit money, and was executed in 1569 at Tyburn. It was afterwards introduced in 1628, during the reign of Charles I, by Nicholas Briot, who had been the chief engraver of the coins of France, where he returned about 1645. Peter Blondeau, a Frenchman, in 1651 executed a few milled pattern pieces for the Commonwealth. All the coins of Oliver Cromwell were milled, and done by Thomas Simon, one of the most skilful artists that England ever produced. The coinage by the mill and screw was finally adopted in 1662, by Charles II, and has ever after, with some improvements, been used in England. The great change thus permanently established in England of the coinage of milled money, it is likely, suggested some of the improvements which appear after that period in the New England coins; the poverty of this country did not admit of their procuring such costly machinery, and the whole series, to its close, continued to be hammered.

It is likely, that not far from this period, the type of the pine-tree was adopted, which had then become of great value to New England, as an article of shipment to England for the use of her navy. Massachusetts, to conciliate Charles II for invading his prerogative in coining, sent him, in 1666, a shipload of these very trees. The government of Massachusetts then extended over New Hampshire and Maine, which were covered with these noble trees, the growth of ages. All which were suitable for masts were reserved by Acts of Parliament for that use. They were accounted the King's property, and heavy fines were annexed to cutting them without leave of the King's Surveyor, who was appointed to prevent their being cut down or destroyed. Dr. Belknap states, that for eighty years before the Revolution the British Navy was entirely supplied with masts from America. Williamson, in his History of Maine, says, that pines four feet through are frequently found, and they have been seen six feet in diameter and two hundred and forty in height. Until the Revolution, every tree two feet in diameter, growing in this State, except in Gorges' patent, was the property of the English crown. On account of its value and beauty, and as the greatest ornament of our forests, it was adopted as one of the emblems in the shield of the coat-of-arms of the State of Maine. It also, in 1775, formed a part of the coat-of-arms of New Hampshire, and in 1776 appears on the only coin she ever struck. Massachusetts showed her good taste in selecting the pine-tree for the third type of her coin; and might possibly have adopted it from a desire to please Charles II, it being the emblem of the tribute they paid him. The pine-tree gave a name to the whole issue of the Massachusetts Mint, and afterwards appears on her Colonial papers. At the commencement of the Revolution, in October, 1775, the floating batteries of Boston bore a flag, with the pine-tree upon a white field. April 29, 1776, the naval flag of the Colony of Massachusetts was ordered to be white, with a green pine-tree, and the inscription "Appeal to Heaven." It

was engraved on her bills of credit, and their motto reads, "Issued in defence of American Liberty."

The following are the actual weights of the best specimens of the pine-tree type in my collection:—Two one shilling pieces, seventy-two grains each, also two of seventy grains each, and one of sixty-one grains; three sixpences, one of thirty grains, one of thirty-two, and one of thirty-six grains; three-pence, seven-teen grains. No change of any consequence occurs in the type of these coins till near the close of their coinage, when an abbreviation of the inscription on the shilling appears, reading *An. Do.* instead of *An. Dom.* They are also better executed, of less circumference, and quite round, having the appearance of being done by improved machinery, and have altogether a more modern appearance. They, with the Spanish coins ordered to be stamped with *N. E.*, 1672, undoubtedly close the series.

NOTE 1.—From 1561 to 1662 hammered money was issued at the same time with the milled in England.

NOTE 2.—There are notices of the old New England ensign as early as 1686. A representation of one in 1701 has in one of its quarters the figure of a pine-tree.

NOTE 3.—In 1678 Massachusetts, through her agents in London, offered to change the impress on her coin, "if his Majesty will please to order one more acceptable." He appears to have been satisfied with the impress, as no notice seems to have been taken of it. They made a similar offer to James II, 1686. In reply they say, "they will take time to consider of it."

NOTE 4.—Weight of the coin of the Commonwealth of England ordered to be struck 1649:—one shilling, ninety-two grains; sixpence, forty-six grains; three-pence, none; two-pence, fifteen and a half grains. The hammered coins of Charles II, issued before 1662, weighed—one shilling, ninety-four grains; sixpence, forty-seven grains; three-pence, twenty-three grains; two-pence, sixteen grains; but few of these coins were struck. In a former note I said no three-pences were coined from 1647 to '70, but I then overlooked the hammered three-pence of his reign, which are supposed not to have been struck for circulation, but only "Maundy" money.

J. Colburn, Esq., of Boston, also informs me that he has four three-pences of the *N. E.* oak type; and on a catalogue of coins lately sent me (in Yale College) I find a *N. E.* three-pence.

MEMORIALS OF NATHANIEL WARD,
A. M., LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD COL-
LEGE, WHO DIED OCTOBER 13TH.,
1768.

COMPILED BY B. F. BROWNE.

NATHANIEL WARD was a native of Salem, and as will be perceived by the following contemporaneous notices of him,—was a young man of uncommon scientific attainments and one of the most promising scholars of his time. He was a son of Miles Ward, a merchant of Salem, by his second wife, Hannah, who was the widow of Benjamin Hathorne. Nathaniel W. is erroneously stated, in the *Annals of Salem*, page 473, to have been the son of John and Hannah Ward. He was born in 1746 and graduated at Harvard 1765. Miles Ward, his father, was born 18th April, 1704, and died June, 1792, aged 88. His first wife was Elizabeth Webb, and he had by both wives fifteen children. Those who grew up were, Abigail, married first Samuel Griffiths, of Portsmouth, N. H., second John Bass.

Miles married Experience Goodale, and his daughter Hannah was married to the late Capt. Jonathan Neal, and Polly married Henry Osborn.

Sarah married John Ives, grandfather to the present William, John M., and Stephen B. Ives.

Elizabeth married Wm. Poole of Danvers, grandfather to the editor of the *Wizard*.

Samuel married Priscilla Hodges, and was many years Naval Officer of Salem, and was father of Lieut. Henry Ward of the United States Navy, and of Mary, wife of Hon. Joseph R. Chandler of Philadelphia, and of several other sons and daughters.

Anna, who married first Jonathan Mansfield and second Joseph Henfield, who was for many years an assessor of Salem.

Nathaniel, the subject under notice, born 29th July, 1746.

Lucretia, who married Dr. Joseph Osgood of Salem. Dr. Joseph Osgood of South Danvers is a grandson.

Joshua, a merchant, who owned and lived in the house on Washington street now occupied by Dr. Fisk. Washington was his guest in that house on his visit to Salem in 1789. The late Judge Joshua Ward was his grandson.

Miles, the father of Nathaniel, was son of Deacon Miles, who was born 11th March, 1673-4, and died August 19th, 1764.—His wife was Sarah Massey, daughter of John Massey, who was the son of Jeffrey M., the original planter.

Of Deacon Miles it is related that "He said, within a week of his death, that there had been 19 weddings of his children, and all married into different families, that he had 91 children and grandchildren, 21 males of the name of Ward, 27 children of the 4th generation, and not a fatherless child in his family." See Boston News Letter, 20th September, 1764.

Deacon Miles was the son of Joshua Ward, who was born in the town of Huer, County of Kent, England, and who probably came to New England with his father, Miles Ward, who was a member of the church 1637, freeman 1641. Joshua married Hannah Flint, daughter of Wm. F. Her sister Alice, who married John Pickering, was presented at Court 1652 for wearing a silk hood, but was acquitted because she proved herself to be worth £200. Joshua was one of the crew of the ketch Providence, John Grafton master, which was cast away on a rock in the West Indies, the story of which is related by Mather in his *Magnalia* and by Felt in his *Annals of Salem*. He escaped a watery grave then, but found it about 1677 or 8, being lost in a shallop while fishing.

Miles, father of Joshua, died early in 1650, as the inventory of his estate in Court Records, 7th month, 1650, what debts to pay and what

debts to receive, related by himself in Virginia 3d 1st month, 1650: "In England given by his father as a legacy, fortie pounds, to be paid to said Miles by his brother, which he both giveth and bequeatheth to his four children." His wife Margaret was then living.

Nathaniel, at the time of his death, was engaged to Priscilla, youngest daughter of President Holyoke and sister of the late Dr. E. A. Holyoke of Salem, and who afterwards was the wife of Dr. Eliphalet Pearson of Andover. The publisher of the Salem Gazette advertises—"The Essex Almanac for 1769, the principal calculations, transits, eclipses, &c., made by the late ingenious Nathaniel Ward, A. M." From the Essex Gazette, Salem, October 18th, 1768.

"On Wednesday last died at Cambridge, after a few days illness, Nathaniel Ward, A. M., Librarian of Harvard College. As he was a Native of this Town and his parents are still living, his Corpse was brought here, where his funeral was attended on Friday last, with great decency and respect by the principal Inhabitants of this Town and a number of Gentlemen of the College. His Character justly drawn was published in the Boston Weekly News Letter of Thursday last, as follows, viz:—

"To give an high character to the Dead, in whom there was no merit while living, is the greatest Prostitution of Praise, and a real Injury to the deserving, who thereby, to all except their acquaintance, are put upon a level with the worthless. But to set forth distinguished worth to public view, where there is no danger of Imposition, is a Debt due to the Virtuous Dead, and a Service to the Living, as it may induce others to follow the bright Example. For these Reasons there seems to be a great propriety in exhibiting to the World a short Character of Mr. Nathaniel Ward, who departed this Life Yesterday, about 10 o'clock in the Forenoon, at this place.

"He was born in Salem, where he continued till the Commencement, A. D. 1761, when he was admitted a member of Harvard College, where he gave early Proofs of a lively and pen-

etrating Genius. Whatever Part of Science he engaged in the Pursuit of, he quickly gained, and far from being satisfied with a superficial acquaintance with things, he always endeavored to make himself Master of what he undertook. He acquired a very considerable Knowledge in various Branches of Literature, but as he had a peculiar Turn for Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, he applied much time to these Studies; in which his acquaintance was so considerable, that the Professorship of these Branches of Science at King's College, New York, being vacant, was offered him last year, to which Place he was recommended by Mr. Professor Winthrop, but for some particular Reasons he did not accept the Chair.

“His private Character was such as gained him the Universal esteem of his acquaintance. Of an open and frank Disposition, his mind was elevated above every Thing mean and groveling, and his whole Conduct discovered the Benevolence of his Soul. His Professions of Esteem were ever sincere; Though he treated all with Politeness, he would never pretend a Friendship for any whom he could not embrace with a Cordial Affection. His Company was very engaging; a warm and lively Imagination, joined with native good Sense, and many Acquirements in useful Literature, rendered his Conversation entertaining and agreeable. Though Sprightly, he was far from being Vain, and was often heard to express the utmost Dissatisfaction at those who have treated Sacred Things in a light manner. In short, he was a Gentleman of Strict Virtue and undissembled Piety, who exhibited in his Life the fruits of that divine Religion he professed, which made all his other amiable accomplishments appear the more lovely. He was well qualified to fill some Place of Trust at the College; and having declined the last vacant Tutorship, to which he might have been unanimously chosen by the Corporation, he was elected the week in which he was taken ill to the office of Librarian, a place he would have filled with great Reputation, and in which he promised himself much Happiness. But alas! Heaven

determined otherwise. Confined to his bed by a raging Fever, for about a week, he expired in the twenty-third year of his Age, to the utmost Grief of all his Relatives and acquaintance; to the great loss of the College which had high Expectations from him; and of the world, to which, had Providence continued him, he might have been very Serviceable.

And is it thus afflicted Virtue cries,
That Heaven distinguishes the early wise,
Thus crowns the tender parent's watchful care?
Celestial Piety, her sister fair,
With accents mild, and look serenely bright,
That scattered all the Horrors of the night,
Replyd—Cease thou their happy lot to mourn,
Who never more from rest to toil return.
Thy pupils who to things unseen aspire,
And endless joys, struck by my sacred fire,
Their task fulfilled, lay down this Mortal Load,
They cannot die too young who live to God.
Cambridge, Oct. 13th, 1768.”

The editor of the Gazette says:—“Since the foregoing Character of Mr. Ward, wrote in Cambridge, was prepared for this Paper, we received the following, wrote in this place; and as his friends here are numerous, and all most sensibly affected with his Death, the inserting this it is hoped will not be looked upon as ostentatious or superfluous:—

“As I am not used to lavish extravagant Encomiums on the dead, nor versed in Panegyric, which is often prostituted to the praise of the undeserving, and more admired than believed; the following short Sketch of the deceased Mr. Ward's character is dictated by sentiments from an intimate acquaintance and the feelings of a divided Friendship:—

“His particular merit could be known only to those who enjoyed the Happiness of a familiar Intercourse with him; let it suffice to say, that *they* have, in the sincere Friend, lost the *polite* Scholar, the agreeable Companion and useful Instructor; studious in the Principles, and careful in the Practice of pure *rational* Religion, he was precise, tho' not rigid, and firm without Obstinacy. Few young Gentlemen ever received such early Honors, or distinguished Tributes to superior accomplishments;

fewer so well deserved them. Naturally imbued with an acute Penetration, the Difficulty of no Science eluded the Force of his Application and Genius; and with a Temper mild and forgiving, he readily discerned and pardoned the Faults of the heedless and undesigning, and the Insults of Malice and Envy. These united, amiable qualities made his Life extremely desirable to all who knew him and his death sincerely lamented."

His Epitaph, written in Latin, with the following translation, was found among the papers of John and Margaret Mascarine, and is now in the possession of the family of the late Joshua Ward, Esq., to whom I am under obligations for this and other information. It is there stated to have been written by Mr. W——d—probably Rev. Joseph Willard, afterwards President of the College. The translation differs somewhat, though not essentially, from the inscription on his gravestone in Charter street burying-ground:—

"In this Grave are deposited
The remains of that worthy man,
NATHANIEL WARD, A. M.,
Son of Harvard College,
And, a few days before his Death,
Elected Librarian.

Whom

A penetrating Genius,
Improved by diligent Study,
And an extensive acquaintance
With the Liberal Arts and Sciences,
Rendered Superior to most.
His native good sense
And literary accomplishments;
His Amiable Disposition
And Social Virtues;
Especially

His undissembled Honesty and Frankness of mind,
Gained him Universal Esteem
And the Love of all.

He was a Son observant, dutiful;
A Brother most affectionate;
A Friend faithful, warm, constant;
A Companion pleasant, affable, entertaining;
A Piety sincere crowned his other Virtues,
And promised a distinguished usefulness,
But Ah! blasted hope!

In the Vigor of Youth,
Amidst happy prospects,
Cut off by a raging Fever,
He breathed forth his Soul

October xii, A. D. MDCLXVIII, Aetatis q XXIII."

ON THE DEATH OF N. WARD, BY MR. (JOHN)
MASCARINE.

Nature had form'd within his noble mind
A Love to Truth, to Virtue, to Mankind;
To all benevolent, in heart Sincere;
He always held the honest man most dear,
And shunn'd Hypocrisy's beguiling Leer;
Not apt to blame, when he could not commend;
Just to his Neighbour, faithful to his Friend;
Ever disposed to succour the distressed;
Largely his Bounty, or advice redress'd;
With eager steps in Wisdom's paths he trod,
And soar'd to Knowledge, Happiness and God;
Ripe thus for Heaven, mourn not his early doom;
Death summon'd, he obey'd, was welcom'd home.

COPIES OF UNPUBLISHED LETTERS
AND DOCUMENTS.—No. 1.

COMMUNICATED BY M. A. STICKNEY.

The following copy of an autograph letter of Gen'l Washington's is directed to Anthony White, Esq., of Brunswick, (New Jersey), favored by his son, who seems to have been expecting to become Secretary to Washington, but who, on account of a previous engagement, as appears by the letter, employed R. H. Harrison, who long faithfully served him in that capacity. The letter is 4to water-ruled French paper. The seal used by Washington has given a very fine impression on the wax, of a shield, bordered on its right by a suspended wreath of roses, and from the base of the left ascends a sprig of wheat. The shield in its chief quarter bears one star, (perhaps for Virginia,) and thirteen surround it, for the United Colonies. New Jersey afterwards adopted a very similar shield on the reverse of the coins she issued in 1786, '7, '8. It appears on the pattern Washington cents issued in 1791, '2, also on the arms of the United States, and on most of the early coinage of the U. S. Mint:

Camp at Cambridge, 28th Oct., 1775.

Sir:

I could not let Mr. White depart this camp without paying you the tribute of a letter. When I wrote to you last I thought it not at all unlikely that he might have been one of my Family before this, as I was not sanguine in my expectation of the Gentleman's (to whom I had written before I had spoke to y'r son on this Subject) coming this way. By the last Post I received a Letter from him, (that is Mr. Harrison,) informing me of his having received my Invitation, tho' long after date, and that he should immediately set out for this Camp; whereupon I advis'd Mr. White, as I learnt by a letter from a Member of Congress, that two Battalions were to be raised in the Jersey's to repair there without loss of time, being firmly persuaded that his merit would entitle him to an honorable appointment in one or the other of those Corps.

For the occurrences of this Camp I must refer you to Mr. White, who can relate matters more circumstantially than my time, or the limit of a Letter, will enable me to do. With great esteem I remain, Sir,

Y'r Most Obed't H'ble Serv't,
G^o. WASHINGTON.

MISCELLANEA.

ABSTRACTS OF OLD DEEDS.

Joseph Hilliard of Salem in the Co. of Essex, Ropemaker, and Rachel his wife, in consideration of Ninety pounds in bills of Credit to them in hand well and truly paid by Clifford Crowninshield, Mariner, do convey unto said Clifford "about three-quarters of an acre of land situate in Salem aforesaid, bounded westerly on Smith & Becket's land, northerly on Mascoll's land, easterly on land formerly Hollingsworth's, then southerly on English's land, then easterly on English in part and partly on Tapley's land, and then southerly on the South River, with the app'tenances,"

&c., &c. Signed and sealed, June 22, 1741, in presence of

JOHN HIGGINSON,
FRAN. CABOT.

Philip English of Salem, Innholder, with consent of Mary, his wife, in consideration of Ten pounds paid him by Clifford Crowninshield, Mariner, of said Salem, conveys unto said Clifford all that certain piece or parcel of land in Salem containing about fourteen poles, be the same more or less, Butting Southeasterly on land of Gilbert Tapley, Southwesterly and Northwesterly on said Clifford's land, and Northeasterly on a Lane, or however otherwise bounded, with the fences, &c., &c.

Signed and sealed this 24th day of April, A. D. 1744, in presence of

JOHN HIGGINSON, JR.,
HANNAH HIGGINSON.

Robert Gray of Salem, Shipwright, with the consent of Ruth his wife, in consideration of thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence paid him by Clifford Crowninshield Mariner, conveys unto said Clifford "a certain lot of land in Salem, bounded Easterly on English's Lane so called, Northerly on Tyler's land, Westerly on land of Mr. Samuel Fisk, and Southerly on land formerly Mascoll's, or however otherwise ye same is bounded, being ye land given by Joseph Swasey to my Grandmother Abigail Masury, by deed dated ye 21st day of April, A. D. 1688, with ye privileges," &c., &c.

Signed and sealed this 12th day of Dec'r, A. D. 1752. in presence of us,

ICHABOD PLAISTED,
WILLIAM BROWNE, JUN'R.

Philip English of Salem, Innholder, with consent of Mary his wife, in consideration of the sum of two hundred and sixteen pounds old tenor, to him paid by Clifford Crowninshield of Salem, mariner, conveys unto said Clifford "five acres and forty-six rods of land in the North Field so called in Salem, bounded Southwesterly on land set off to my sister Mary Browne in ye division of

ye real estate of my late Father Philip English, deceased, Merchant, and therein called Number One; West Northerly on land formerly John Foster's, there measuring sixteen rods and four tenths; Northeasterly on land set off to my brother John English in ye division aforesaid; and East Southerly on land of ye heirs of Josiah Orne, late deceased, there measuring fifteen rods and seven tenths; also five acres and forty-three rods of land in ye sd field and in Salem, bounded Southwesterly on ye sd land set off to my brother John; West Northerly on land formerly John Foster's, there measuring twenty rods and five tenths; Northeasterly on land set off to the heirs of my late sister Susannah Touzel, deceased, in ye division afd; and East Southerly on land of ye heirs of ye sd Josiah Orne dec'd, nineteen rods and six tenths in length, with ye privileges and appurtenances to sd premises belonging, both which pieces of land were set off to me in ye afd division, and ye first is therein called Number Two, and the second Number Four," &c., &c. Signed, sealed, &c., this 7th of May, 1746, in presence of us,

JOHN KNAP,
BENJA. FRY.

Zachariah Curtis of Salem, Cordwainer, and Abigail his wife, in consideration of Twelve Pounds to them paid by Robert Gray of Salem, shipwright, convey unto said Gray "The moiety of a certain lot of land in Salem, butting Easterly on English's Lane, Northerly on Tyler's land, Westerly on Mr. Fiske's land, Southerly on land formerly Mascoll's, being the land given by Joseph Swasey to our Grandmother Abigail Masury, with the privileges," &c., &c.

Signed, sealed, &c., this 10th day of April, 1738, in presence of us,

JOHN HIGGINSON,
JOHN HIGGINSON, JUN'R.

Abigail Curtice of Salem, widow of Zachariah Curtice, late of Salem, as guardian to the children and heirs of the said Zachariah, namely, Zachariah, Ebenezer, Abigail and Samuel

Curtice, all minors, in consideration of 40 shilling to her paid by Clifford Crowninshield, does demise, &c., to said Clifford a strip of land aforesd on the S. W. side of the homestead of said deed of 12 feet in width and 6 poles in length; viz., from the N. W. to the S. E. end of sd homestead quite thro' the same, keeping the width aforesaid, butting S. W. on land of Mascoll & Becket, N. E. on the remainder of sd homestead, and at each end on the land of sd Clifford, &c., to hold the same to him and his heirs for ye term of eleven years from this date, &c., &c.

Signed, &c., this 7th day of April, 1753, in presence of us,

MARY CASH,
SUSANNAH WEBB.

Joseph Hilliard of Salem, Ropemaker, and Rachel his wife, mortgage unto Andrew Belcher, Addington Davenport, Thomas Hutchinson, Esqrs., John White and Edward Hutchinson, Gents., "Trustees named and specially Impowred in and by an act of ye great and general Court or Assembly made and passed at their Session, held at Boston ye 20th day of October last, Entitled, An Act for ye making and emitting ye sum of fifty thousand pounds in bills of credit on this Province, in such manner as in ye sd Act is hereafter expressed, to let out ye sd bills," and unto "such others as shall from time to time be appointed by ye Generall Court," a certain piece of land in Salem, containing by estimation about one acre and one half of land, bounded Southerly by the salt water, N. E. by the land of Obed Carter, N. W. by the highway, S. W. by ye lands of Woodbery, Webb, and Whitford, &c., &c., for the sum of sixty pounds, redeemable within five years. Signed, &c., this 8th day of June, 1715, in presence of us,

THOMAS FLINT, JUN'R,
THOMAS MASSEY.

The last payment in redemption of the mortgage was made June 7th, 1720.

John Gavet of Salem, Labourer, and Mary, his wife, Samuel Clements of Salem, Tailor,

Wm. Crowell of Salem, Tailor, John Crowell of Danvers, Labourer, Samuel Crowell of Salem, Cooper, and Aaron Crowell, Glazier, and Robert Crowell, Labourer, both of Medford, Co. Middlesex, in consideration of five pounds, six shillings and eight pence to them paid by Clifford Crowninshield of said Salem, viz., $\frac{1}{3}$ to John Gavet and wife, $\frac{1}{3}$ to Sam'l Clements, and $\frac{1}{3}$ to Wm., John, Samuel, Aaron and Robert Crowell, convey unto sd Clifford a small piece of land in Salem, bounded S. by sd Crowninshield's land, W. by land of Samuel Whitford, N. on Frie's land, late Edward Hilliard's, and E. by a way on said Crowninshield's land, with privileges, &c., &c.

Signed, &c., this 24th day of June, 1754, in presence of us,

JOSEPH ROPES,
NATH'L NURSS,
NATH'L BROWN,
SAMUEL MOSES.
E. S. W.

NOTICE OF SAMUEL GARDNER.

In Mr. Dabney's list of Salem graduates (Gen'l Reg., Vol. 5, Page 51,) the name of Samuel Gardner occurs, but no names of parents given. He was the son of Jonathan and Elizabeth Gardner. These parents were distant relatives, the mother being Elizabeth Gardner before as after marriage. Samuel was born August 2d, 1740, and died February 4th, 1762, at Monte Christi, of small pox. He was a brother of my grandmother, and I have copied the dates from the family bible, now in possession of one of my cousins.

B. F. BROWNE.

Salem, July 16th, 1860.

NOTICE OF STEPHEN JAKUES.

Newbury, 21 July, 1860.

In one of the numbers of the Essex Institute

there are some inquiries concerning graduates from Harvard College. I will answer one of them.

Stephen Jaques of Newbury was born 28 July, 1686. Married Thankful Taylor of Yarmouth, where he taught school. He was married in Yarmouth, and brought his wife to Newbury, seated on a pillion behind him on a horse. Railways and stages were then unknown.

Rev. John Tufts was son of Capt. Peter and Mary T.; was born in Medford 5 May, 1689. He died in August, 1750, in either Amesbury or Salisbury, I do not know which, though I have it in some of my papers.

Yours truly,

JOSHUA COFFIN.

QUERIES.

Who was *Martha Derbe* whose intention of marriage with Thomas Elkins was published, March, 1735, in Salem. E. S. W.

In the Vol. Salem Witchcraft, as copied from our Records, we read that Wm. Morse (of Newbury) appeared against *Caleb* and *Abel* Powell, as accused of committing witchcrafts in his house in 1679-80. Is this correct? Were there *two* Powells? Or are the names Caleb and Abel confounded—making *two* out of one? *Coffin*, in his History of Newbury, takes a different view of the names of the two parties implicated in that witchcraft, and we have in the Vol. Salem Witchcraft merely a marginal record of the suit to guide us. C.

ERRATA.

On page 189, for "Now John Proctor told Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll," etc., read "Now Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll declares in Court, &c."

On page 202, (in note) for "Hobbomock" read "Hobbomock?"

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.]

October, 1860.

[No. 5.]

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE OFFICERS OF PROBATE FOR ESSEX COUNTY, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE COLONY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY A. C. GOODSELL.

Continued from Vol. II, No. 4, page 166.

DEC'R 20, 1683, TO MAY 15, 1686, AND NOV'R 8, 1689,
TO JUNE 18, 1692.

BENJAMIN GERRISH.

Only six days after the death of Mr. Veren the court passed an order that Mr. Bartholomew Gedney,* who was one of the judges, should act as clerk *pro tempore* till a new clerk should be chosen. On the 24th day of June, 1684, the judges had agreed upon Benjamin Gerrish as a proper person, and he was accordingly appointed clerk, and at once assumed the duties of that office.

Mr. Gerrish was the son of Capt. William Gerrish of Newbury,† who came hither from Bristol, England, about the year 1640, and settled in Newbury, where he was sent as deputy to the General Court, and appointed to other important civil and military offices. He married Joanna, the widow of John Oliver,

* Gedney afterwards became the first Judge of Probate for this county under the Province Charter, and a sketch of his life will be given in the proper place.

† Newbury and Salem Records, also Derby's Mss., for all the family history.

in 1645, and became the founder of a family which properly assumed a leading position among the best families of the Colony.

Benjamin was the fifth, in a family of ten children, and was born January 13, 1652-3. Of his early life and education, like that of most of his cotemporaries, it is impossible to learn anything of importance. As early as 1674 he appears as a subscribing witness to the will of Walter Price of Salem. He married, October 24, 1676, Hannah, the daughter of John Ruck, a man of note, who lived on the shore of a cove now filled in and called Creek street. His first wife died June 25, 1685, and he married Ann Paine on the 12th of November following. His second wife died in 1695, and September 24th, the next year, he married Elizabeth Turner. He had four children by his first wife, five by his second wife, and two by the last.*

Admitted a freeman May 11, 1681,† Mr. Gerrish was, on the 16th of the next February, appointed Naval Officer of the port of Salem, and to enforce the Navigation Acts; and May 7, 1684, he succeeded Mr. Hilliard Veren as collector of powder money. On the same day that he was made clerk of the court he was sworn in as clerk of the writs for the town of Salem.‡ He acted as clerk till the political troubles which ushered in the governments of Dudley and Andros had rendered the courts in-

* Derby's Mss.

† Col. Rec.

‡ Salem Court Rec.

efficient, and finally closed their sessions for a season.*

Edward Randolph had, in October, 1683, brought over from England a writ of *Quo Warranto*, summoning the Colonists to appear before His Majesty's High Court of Chancery, to show by what right they claimed and exercised their corporate functions. No sufficient appearance being made, in the opinion of the judges, they, on the 18th of June following, decreed against the company and adjudged the Colonial Charter forfeited. News of this decree was not long in finding its way to New England, where, of course, it had the effect of embarrassing judicial proceedings, especially after July 2d, 1685, when Edward Rawson, the Colonial Secretary, received a formal copy of the judgment.

The Colonists were thrown into a state of great excitement by this adjudication of a tribunal supposed to be in the interest of persons disposed to wrest from them their lands and offices of government; and from the South Shore to the Saco there was much discussion and diversity of opinion as to the proper course to pursue in this emergency. In some places a disposition to acquiesce in the decree and to accept a new charter from the sovereign prevailed, and had the effect to stop judicial action in the courts at once, as without warrant. In other places the courts continued to sit for a longer period. The demise of the Crown and the accession of James II, happening about this time, served to protract this delay of justice and to still further complicate political matters till May 15, 1686, when Joseph Dudley arrived with a commission of President over all New England, which was published ten days after.

President Dudley immediately set about reforming the judicial system of the Colony, reserving, by virtue of his commission, the juris-

diction over matters of probate to himself and his council. An Inferior Court of Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace was erected in place of the old Quarterly Court, to which, for Essex County, Stephen Sewall and John Appleton were appointed clerks, September 28, 1686.*

Sir Edmund Andros succeeded Dudley on the 20th of December of the same year, (1686) and still further remodelled the courts. But Mr. Stephen Sewall seems to have been the acting clerk in Essex County during the administrations of both Dudley and Andros.†

Mr. Gerrish, during this period, not only lost his clerkship but was superseded as officer of the customs by Thomas Offley.‡ The only appointment received by him during this time, that I can discover, was with two others to "take account of births and deaths.§"

But James II was forced to abdicate in 1688 in favor of William, Prince of Orange, and his consort, Mary; the fame of which, reaching New England, incited the Colonists to rebellion. Led on by the clergy and others of the old aristocracy, the people rose, April 18, 1689, seized and imprisoned Gov. Andros and some of his

* Essex Ct. Rec. in Clerk's Office.

† It is commonly said that during the administrations of Dudley and Andros all probate business was assumed exclusively by the Governor and Assistants or Council. This is not so; since the records of the County Court in Essex show at least one case, and the files several more, in which the estates of deceased persons were settled by the Courts of Pleas during that period. What was the precise limit of the jurisdiction claimed and exercised in such matters by the Governor and Council I have, from the scarcity and insufficiency of historical records, been unable to determine; but it is probable that estates above a certain value were administered by the Governor, in virtue of his prerogative, and all others left to the County Courts—or at least that these courts were specially authorized to act in such cases. See Essex Probate Records and files, Will and Inventory of Charles Browne, Sept. 14, 1687, and see Vol. 3, page 74, Prob. Rec.

‡ Felt.

§ Council Records, temp. Dudley.

* At the June Term, 1685, John Appleton, the clerk at Ipswich, came in and finished the term which Gerrish had commenced. It was about this time that Mr. Gerrish's first wife died.

retainers, and, recalling the venerable Simon Bradstreet to the office of Governor, and the old assistants and the deputies elected in 1686 to their respective places, proceeded as legitimately acting under the old charter.

The courts now re-commenced their sessions as under the old charter, and Andros' courts were in turn superseded. November 8, 1689, the judges, having reappointed Gerrish to the clerkship of the Salem Court,* ordered Mr. Sewall to give up the books and papers to him. This, Mr. Sewall refused to do, but yielded on receiving an order from the Governor and Assistants. Mr. Gerrish continued to act as clerk till, after the arrival of the Province Charter, the present Probate Court was, on the 18th of June, 1692, established in each county, and the other courts were again remodelled.

After the revolution Mr. Gerrish resumed his offices in the customs. April 20, 1689, he was appointed to receive fees for entries and clearances.† April 24, 1689, he was empowered to receive of Thomas Offley all bonds, money and gunpowder. These offices he probably held till his death. He also held other offices. June 10, 1689, he was appointed "clerk of the writs at Salem till some one is chosen in his place." August 20th, he was appointed one of a committee to take the names of persons come from the eastward. November 23, 1691, he and Sewall are allowed money to distribute to sick and wounded persons from the eastern war.‡

Like Mr. Veren, his predecessor, he was a member and afterwards deacon of the First Church in Salem.§

At one time he owned a warehouse on Winter Island, which he bought of that famous Quaker, Thomas Maule, who built the house, which stood in all its original quaintness till torn down to give place to the elegant mansion of the Messrs. Curwen on Essex street.||

Mr. Gerrish lived in the old house occupied by Mr. Benjamin Brown, on the corner of Forester and Essex streets. This, while he was officer of the customs, became the Custom House, and some of the original records remain there to this day, in the possession of Mr. Brown.*

Mr. Gerrish died April 24, 1713,† and is described in his will as a merchant.‡ He was a faithful, accurate and laborious clerk and a very legible penman. His chirography, and that of his cotemporaries, clearly indicate the period of transition from the old chancery hand to the modern running script.

IPSWICH COURT.

It will be remembered that the act establishing the Quarterly Courts in 1636 provided for four sessions annually at Ipswich. The magistrates appointed to hold the Ipswich Court were Mr. Dudley, Mr. Dummer, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Spencer.

This court, like the Salem court, undoubtedly organized and commenced its labors forthwith, though no regular records are preserved till from the year 1646.§ On the 31st day of March, that year, Mr. Robert Lord appears as clerk, and the records thenceforth, in regular order, are still existing in the handwriting of the respective clerks, biographical sketches of whom follow in this article.

It is perhaps proper, here, to say that the original act instituting the Quarterly Courts was modified June 2d, 1641, so that four Quarterly Courts were to be held at Ipswich and Salem by all the magistrates of both those places, who, sitting together, had an enlarged

* For these facts I am indebted to Benjamin F. Browne, Esq., a descendant of Gerrish.

† Derby's Mss.

‡ Probate Office.

§ In the Norfolk records frequent reference is made to the doings of the Court at Ipswich at a date much earlier than the first Ipswich record. And in the registry of deeds Mr. Symonds records some doings of that court as early as 1639.

* Council Records 1689, Sec'y State's Office, Boston.

† Col. Rec. in Sec'y's Office.

‡ Ibid.

§ Derby's Mss.

|| Essex Deeds.

jurisdiction. The March and September terms were held at Ipswich, and the June and December terms at Salem, at first, but the last term was afterwards changed to November, on account of the difficulty of travelling at a later season.

The act of 1641 provided that no jurors should be summoned from Salem to Ipswich, nor from Ipswich to Salem. But the clerks of these courts exchanged duties occasionally for mutual accommodation or at the command of the magistrates.

We commence, then, with

[SEPT. 1636, TO AUG. 21, 1683.]

ROBERT LORD.

Mr. Lord was probably son of the widow Katherine Lord,* who came to Ipswich with her son in 1635, or earlier. Robert was born in England about 1602 or 3, where he married Mary Wait about the year 1630.

In 1635-6 (March 3d, O. S.) he was made a freeman of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and was chosen a deputy to the General Court March 12, 1637-8, when he was immediately appointed on a committee to raise a levy of £1500 for the use of the Colony. He afterwards served on other committees for the purpose of fixing the boundaries of contiguous towns and private lands in Essex County, which indicates his probable knowledge of surveying.

In March, 1648, the General Court, having five years before erected the old county of Norfolk, established therein a court and appointed the first sitting to be held at Salisbury on the last Tuesday of the next month, by certain justices named, who were, some of them, of the Ipswich Court. To the office of clerk of this court Mr. Lord was appointed, and continued to hold till the 24th of April, 1649, when

he was succeeded in this office by Mr. Thomas Bradbury, who was then chosen recorder, but seems to have performed all the duties of clerk. In June, 1658, it will be remembered, Mr. Lord acted as clerk at the Salem Court during the absence of Stileman and before the appointment of Veren.* March 27, 1649, Mr. Lord was appointed sealer of weights and measures for Ipswich. March 30, 1652, he is empowered by the magistrates to "issue all executions in civil and criminal cases." August 22d, 1654, he is appointed searcher of coin.

In addition to the above named offices, he was many years Marshal or Sheriff of the Ipswich Court, and was succeeded in this office by his son Robert, March 27, 1660. He was also clerk of the writs and a member of the church, though I do not find that he ever held any high post in the militia, which in those days was considered almost indispensable to a public officer.

Mr. Lord wrote a very legible but not fluent hand.† His last entry was July 13, 1683.

He died very suddenly while seated in his chair, on or before August 21, 1683, and lies buried in the old High street burying-ground in Ipswich. His wife, with whom he had lived nearly fifty-three years, survived him, and also eight of his children, from one of whom two Registers of Probate, viz:—the late Nath'l Lord, and his son, Geo. R. Lord, Esq., are descended.

AUG. 21, 1683, TO APRIL 18, 1689.

JOHN APPLETON, JUNIOR.

On the death of Mr. Lord the judges, who were at Salem, passed the following order:—

* See *ante* Stileman.

* This is Mr. Felt's supposition, and it appears reasonable. There were several of the same name cotemporaries, and it is very difficult to distinguish frequently one from another. There were Robert Lord, junior, and Capt. Robert Lord of the ship George, and a Robert Lord who arrived with his father, Thomas Lord, in 1635, aged nine years—neither of whom was the clerk.

† Mr. David Pulsifer of Boston, who is an authority in such matters, relates a tradition of undoubted accuracy, that one of the early provincial judges, hearing a lawyer in court flippantly condemn the chirography of a deed, called for the paper, and finding it to be in the handwriting of Lord, burst into tears, exclaiming, "why, this is the hand of Mr. Lord—I knew him well—it is the good old London print!"

Salem, August 21, 1683. Whereas it hath pleased God to remove by death Mr. Rob't Lord sen'r, who was clarke unto the county court of Ipswich alsoe clarke of ye writts and considering the necessity of appointing some meet person to officiate in these services we doe hereby appoint and power Mr. John Appleton Jun'r thereunto and doe hereby order that ye bookes of Records with all other writtings that hath relation thereunto be delivered unto the sd Appleton, who is hereby desired and Impowered to grant attachments and alsoe coppies of Records and other writtings according to ye direction of ye law unto clerks of Courts et unto such persons as shall have ocaion and so to continue untill the next County Court held at Ipswich, when further order may be taken in the matter.

WILLIAM BROWNE, }
BARTHO. GEDNEY, } Assistants.
SAMUEL APPLETON, }

Ver Copia as is on file and order'd to be record'd.

Attest, JNO. APPLETON, Clericj.

This appointment of Mr. Appleton was confirmed on the 25th of September following, when he was sworn in and commenced his labors regularly as clerk.

Mr. Appleton was born at Ipswich, October 17, 1652, and was the son of John Appleton, who suffered imprisonment during Andros' administration for refusing to pay certain taxes, on the ground that where there was no representation there could be no legal taxation;* and who had been a deputy to the General Court,† and occupied various high positions in the militia and in the civil government.

The ancestry of Mr. Appleton were of Little Waldingfield, in the County of Suffolk, England, which was the birthplace of John's grandfather, Samuel, one of our earliest settlers.

* The author of the "Appleton Memorial" expresses a doubt whether this was the father or the son. I am inclined, for various reasons, to follow the general opinion that it was the father.

† Gov. Hutchinson says, erroneously, an assistant.

There they are readily traced back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.*

Mr. Appleton was married, November 23d, 1681, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Rev. John Rogers, the fifth President of Harvard College, and had by her five or six children; one of whom, Margaret, became the wife of President Holyoke, and the mother of the late Dr. E. A. Holyoke, the centennarian. Another child was Daniel, who was afterwards register of probate in this county for several years.

On the 30th of March, 1683, Mr. Appleton was chosen Lieutenant of the 2d foot company in Ipswich, and afterwards rose to the rank of Colonel of a regiment. October 4, the same year, he was one of the feoffees of the Ipswich Grammar School. July 29, 1684, Mr. Appleton was succeeded in the office of clerk of the writs by Mr. Thomas Wade. June 30, 1685, it will be remembered, he acted as clerk at Salem during the absence of Gerrish. July 21, 1685,† he was admitted a freeman of the Colony. September 28, 1686, he and Stephen Sewall were appointed under Dudley, clerks of the new courts for this county; and the same day he was appointed, with two others, to take account of births and deaths. August 23, 1687, he appears to be town clerk—this was during the administration of Andros. In 1697 he represented Ipswich at the General Court, and was a member of the council most of the time from 1698 to 1722 inclusive. He was also, for several years, County Treasurer.

On the 23d of October, 1702,‡ he was ap-

* See memorial of the descendants of Samuel Appleton, published in Boston.

† Savage says, 1682:—There were two admissions of John Appleton in that year, one in May and the other in October—which the accurate compilers of the index to the published edition of the Col. Rec. have marked "bis." John, *junior*, was admitted as above.

‡ Prof Washburn makes his appointment to the Probate bench to take place after his removal from the C. C. Pleas. This is inaccurate. He was appointed as above, and his biographer's error may

pointed by Governor Dudley, JUDGE OF PROBATE for Essex County. This office he held till his death, a period of thirty-seven years;* during all which time, it is said, no appeal was ever taken from his decisions.† In 1704 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County, but was removed in 1732‡ by Governor Belcher, on account of his great age and incidental failings. The office of judge of probate, we have seen, he still retained, —an office of less importance, inasmuch as the principal part of the labor fell upon the register—the judge having little more to do than occasionally to affix his signature to blanks, or prepared documents.

He acquired considerable property, and his house was hospitably thrown open for the entertainment of distinguished strangers. Thus in 1716, Gov. Shute, on his way to New Hampshire, was the guest of Mr. Appleton; and so at different times were members of the clergy, with whom, from the orthodoxy of his religious sentiments, his wealth, position and upright life, he was held in high esteem.

He died on the 11th day of September, 1739, full of years and loaded with honors. Eulogistic sermons were delivered on this occasion by the clergy—two of which, from the emi-

have sprung from the fact that frequently, on a change of governors, all inferior civil officers were re-appointed or removed by the new incumbent. See Council Records, in Office of Sec'y State, Boston.

* Felt, and others after him, say twenty years; yet it is clear that he held uninterruptedly for thirty-seven years.

† This is not so. Since the above was written I have had the curiosity to make some examination to see if this statement—made on good authority, (see Genealogical Register of the Rogers family—a very laborious work by our townsman, Augustus D. Rogers, Esq.—and other biographies of Appleton)—had any foundation in fact. I find, without going further, the appeal of Ebenezer Stevens of Andover, taken from the decree of Judge Appleton on the probate of the will of Capt. Benj. Stevens of Andover. The date of this appeal is July 6, 1730.

‡ Washburn.

nence of their authors and their supposed excellence, were printed and have been preserved. These were by the Revs. John and Nathaniel Rogers.

Mr. Appleton was a superior clerk; his chirography is bold, legible and flowing. He was the first clerk whose style of penmanship is distinctively modern.

As a judge, he occupied a place which is the connecting link between the ancient looseness of practice and the modern formal and exact method. Sir Edmund Andros has had the credit—I know not on what satisfactory authority—of introducing the existing forms of probate proceedings; but certain it is that these forms have most of them crept in by slow degrees from the adoption of the Province Charter to the present time—insomuch that the system is still incomplete and silently changing. During Judge Appleton's time apparently much was done to regulate the practice of the court and the registry. It was during this period that the first printed blanks were used for records; and an attempt was made for the first time to record letters of administration, of guardianship, and the like. This was continued for a few years, but was abandoned under his successor, Judge Berry, and not resumed till the appointment of Judge Daniel A. White, in 1815.

Mr. Appleton's wife survived him and died at Ipswich, March 13, 1754, aged 91 years.*

APRIL 18, 1689, to JUNE 18TH, 1692.

THOMAS WADE.

The political disturbance incidental to the revolution of 1689 extended to the judicial courts, and so embarrassed them that they did not at once commence their sessions, notwithstanding it was voted by the General Court, as early as the 4th of July that year, that all courts of judicature should be open as formerly.

* Felt and Washburn have it that Mr. Appleton commanded in the expedition against Port Royal, N. S., in 1707. I think this must have been Samuel Appleton, his cousin. In this opinion I am confirmed by Savage. See Genea. Dict.

Hence, perhaps, it is that I find no record of a court at Ipswich after the revolution, till some time after the Salem Court commenced. Benj. Gerrish at first acted as clerk at Ipswich, till March 25, 1690, when Thomas Wade was chosen clerk, and the terms thenceforth continued as formerly.

Thomas Wade was born at Ipswich in 1650. His father, Jonathan Wade, who immigrated from England, being one of the wealthiest men in the Colony.

Mr. Wade was married to Elizabeth Cogswell, February 22, 1670. She bore him at least nine children, who, with their mother, survived him. One son was killed at sea in a battle with the French in 1697, and another drowned at sea in 1702.

Mr. Wade was chosen clerk of the writs, July 29, 1684. July 3, 1689, he was chosen captain of the Ipswich troop. May 6, 1692, with John Appleton, he is empowered to settle a minister at Newbury. July 26, 1692, he is appointed a retailer of liquors without doors—an occupation much sought after by the lay aristocracy of that time, indeed, I do not remember a half dozen public officers of note during the Colonial period who were not applicants for inkeepers' or retailers' licenses. Rum-selling was then, as now, a *profitable* business, and not then, as now, disreputable.

After the arrival of the Province Charter Mr. Wade sat in the General Sessions of the Peace till his death.

On the 5th of April, 1696, he received orders, as Colonel of the Essex Middle Regiment, from Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, to call out his men against the French and Indians. This was probably his last public service, as on the fourth day of the following October he died, at the early age of forty-six years.

As a clerk, he was tolerably correct, and an excellent penman. His official term was very short, and the business done during that time comparatively unimportant.

He was, I believe, an ancestor of Col. Nathaniel Wade, who was called by Washington

to the command of the garrison at West Point immediately after the defection of Benedict Arnold, and who was for a long time County Treasurer, in which office he was followed by his son, the late Deacon William Foster Wade.

NORFOLK COUNTY.

On the 10th of May, 1643, the General Court established the old county of Norfolk,* to comprise the following towns, viz:—Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover and Strawberry-bank, (now Portsmouth, N. H.) As the records of this county properly belong to Essex, and as its history forms a part of our colonial and local history, a consideration of the court officers of Norfolk comes legitimately within the scope of this article.

No court was actually established in this county till March, 1648, when the General Court ordered that the first court should be held on the last Tuesday of the next April.† The court was to be held by certain magistrates, named, chiefly of the Ipswich Court.

The first clerk of the Norfolk Court, who held from

MARCH, 1648, TO APRIL 24, 1649, WAS
ROBERT LORD.

He was appointed by the Ipswich justices, and his biography has already been given. He was succeeded,

APRIL 24, 1649, TO FEB'Y 4, 1680, BY
THOMAS BRADBURY.

The name of this person occurs in our history as early as 1634, when he signs, with Thomas Morton, in attestation of a deed from Gorges and Mason.‡ He married Mary, daughter of John Perkins, in 1636.§ May 13, 1640, he was made a freeman. December 10, 1641, he was appointed the first clerk of the writs at

* Col. Rec.

† Ibid.

‡ N. E. Hist. and Genealog. Reg., Vol. 5, p 346.

§ Savage.

Salisbury. In March, 1648, he was appointed ensign of the train band at Salisbury. In 1650 he was appointed a "commissioner to end small causes" in Salisbury. In 1651 he was chosen deputy to the General Court, and again in 1652—6—7—60—61 and '66. Here he appears to have voted on the liberal side—in some instances, at least. In 1651 and '2 he was commissioned to lay out the bounds of Hampton; and he served on a similar committee to lay out a private grant to Emanuel Downing. In May, 1654, he was appointed a member of a special court, to examine certain petitioners who prayed the General Court to restore Lieut. Pike, he having been removed from office for some alleged refractory conduct. In October, the same year, and again in 1656, 1658, 1659, he was appointed on various committees to settle differences concerning lands, to fix boundaries and to locate grants. In May, 1657, the law providing for commissioners for ending small causes having been repealed, Mr. Bradbury was commissioned to bind over offenders in criminal cases. The same year, he was of a committee to inquire if ministers' widows and orphan children were properly provided for. In May, 1660, he was chosen to settle some difficulties at Portsmouth, requiring the intervention of the General Court. In 1666, he was of a committee to examine and report to the Legislature on the state of the defences in and about Boston, constructed by Major General John Leverett. In April, 1668, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Customs for Norfolk County. In 1675—6—7 and '9, he appears as one of the associate judges for Norfolk.

Although Mr. Bradbury's term as clerk properly expired with the separation of New Hampshire from Massachusetts Bay in February, 1680, he still acted as recorder or clerk up to July 8th. 1681;* and he appears to have kept the records even before his appointment. These, however, he may have completed from the memoranda of his predecessor.

* Norfolk Co. Records in Registry of Deeds and Clerk's Office, Salem.

In addition to the duties already enumerated, we find him acting as captain of a military company at Salisbury, and in 1686 on the committee with Appleton and Gerrish "to take account of births and deaths." To crown all, he was, of course, licensed as an innkeeper or retailer.

He died March 16, 1695; his wife, by whom he had six sons and five daughters, surviving him till December 20, 1700, when she died at an advanced age. During that mental epidemic, the witchcraft delusion, she was one of the accused, but was acquitted.*

Mr. Bradbury was an easy, legible and industrious penman, and evidently a man of sound judgment and more than ordinary ability.

THE PROVINCIAL JUDGES AND REGISTERS.

Bradbury, Wade and Gerrish close the list of colonial clerks and registers, and bring us to the time of the institution of a regular Probate Court, which was organized soon after the arrival of the Province Charter, and has remained substantially the same to the present day.

The peculiar system of the probate courts had been first suggested by President Dudley, in an order of council, May 28, 1686,† and Sir

* Savage.

† As the record of Dudley's order is of historical value I subjoin a transcript of the original:

At a Council held at Boston in New
England, 28th May, 1686. }

Present,

Joseph Dudley, Esqr., President,

Wm. Stoughton, Esqr., Deputy President,

[and Council.]

Ordered, That the Office for the Probate of Wills and granting Administrations be holden by the President for the time being, and his Clerk at the Council-house on Thursdayes at ten of the clock in the morning, and in other Provinces and remote Countreys by such Judge and Clerk as the said President under his hand and seal shall authorize, and at such time as shall be appointed, taking Fees according to the Statutes, the sd Clerks being herein accompted as Deputyes to the Secretary and Register, and from him to take Deputacon accordingly.

Edmund Andros, succeeding him, did little more than adopt the plan of his predecessor. This system was authorized by the new charter rather by implication than in express terms; yet Governor Phips and his council proceeded to organize the probate courts in the outset as if there could be no question that they were legitimately constituted by a delegation of authority from the Governor, as supreme ordinary of the Province, to the several judges and registers.* And al-

* Below is a copy of the original record of this order, taken from the Records of the Council in the Office of the Secretary of State. It will be seen by this that Prof. Washburn [see his Judicial History, p. 187] is incorrect in his supposition that the registers were first appointed at the suggestion of Gov. Pownall. Perhaps, however, he intended to say that the appointment of a Register to the Supreme Court of Probate dates from that time—which is correct:

At a Council held at the Council
Chamber in Boston, Saturday,
June 18th, 1692. }

Present,

His Excellency, Sr William Phips, Knt., &c.
William Stoughton, Esqre, Lt. Gov'r,
[and the Council.]

Pursuant to the Power granted in and by Their Majties Royal Charter unto the Governour for the time being, with the Council or Assistants to do, execute or perform all that is necessary for the Probate of Wills and granting Administrations, for touching or concerning any Interest or Estate, which any person or persons shall have within this Province or Territory. It is agreed, Resolved and Ordered, that henceforth there shall be one delegated Judge to be nominated and appointed by the Governour and Council, Commissioned and fully Impowered as the ordinary in each County within this Province, to take, allow and make due probate of the Wills of all such Deceased persons as did live and had Estates lying within the same County, and to grant Administration upon the Estates of all persons dying therein intestate; also to audit, examine and allow the Accounts of such Administrations and to make distribution of all such Intestate Estates, according to Law, and to make out all such processes, Citations, Orders and Determinations with reference unto the premises and every thing necessarily depending thereon, as is proper and usual in like cases, within any of their Majties Plantations. And as oft as it shall happen that any

though its legality was often doubted,* this system was finally confirmed in 1700, after mature deliberation in the council board, and so

person making his Will, or dying Intestate within this Province, having Goods, Rights or Estate in divers Countys usually called Bona Notabilia; in all such cases the Probate of the Will or granting of Administration and all other proceedings necessary thereupon, shall be made, had and prosecuted by and before the Judge to be Commissioned as above for the County of Suffolke and none other. And every delegated Judge in each county shall be attended with an able Register to be appointed by the Governour and Council to enter and Register all such Wills and Administrations &c., and shall be fully impowered to do and execute all and whatsoever is proper to the Office of a Register. Provided Nevertheless, That any Person or Persons agrieved at the Probate and allowance of any Will, grant of Administration, or distribution made of any Intestate Estate or any other order or Decree made by the Judge in any County, shall have liberty of Appeal unto the Gov'r and Council for reliefe therein. WILLIAM PHIPS.

Judges of Probate of Wills, granting Administrations, &c., and Registers appointed for the severall Countys following, vizt:

Suffolke	{ William Stoughton, Esqre, Judge, }	{ Consented unto William Phips.
	{ Mr. Isaac Addington, Registr.	
Essex	{ Barthol'mew Gedney, Esq, Judge, }	
	{ Mr. Stephen Sewall, Register. }	
Middlesex	{ James Russell, Esqr, Judge, }	
	{ Mr. Samuel Phips, Register. }	
Hampshire	{ John Pyncheon, Esqr, Judge, }	
	{ Mr. Samuel Partrigg, Reg, }	

* The following transcript from the council records shows that Dudley entertained this doubt in 1702:

At a Council held at the Council
Chamber in Boston upon Thurs-
day, the 13th of August, 1702, }

Present,

His Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esqre, Gov'r, &c.
The Hon'ble Thomas Povey, Esqre, Lt. Gov'r,
[and the Council.]

His Excellency declared to the Board that he had read and considered that clause in the Charter referring to the probate of wills, &c., lodging that power in the Governour and Council, without power of delegation.

But finding Courts established within the several Countys for that purpose, Saving the Rights and Powers contained in the Charter, he should continue those Courts, and nominate persons for the holding of them.

continued through the American revolution up to the present time.

A brief sketch of the history of the peculiar tribunals for settling posthumous estates, may serve to explain this somewhat technical matter to non-professional readers:—

The personal property of intestates during the middle ages was seized upon by the clergy,* who used it up, in eating and drinking and embellishing their religious houses; in consideration of which, they offered prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased, or its easy transit through purgatory; while the real estate, or that portion of it not devoted to pious uses, descended to the heir. After a while various statutes were enacted, requiring the clergy to render an account of portions of the personalty for the benefit of the creditors, the widow and the next of kin. These portions increased gradually, till, at length, the ecclesiastics had nothing more than the benefit—acruing in fees, more or less extortionate—of the settlement of the estates of deceased persons. But they had gradually acquired *exclusive jurisdiction* in such cases, and their courts, held by clergymen, (the Pope being the supreme ordinary or chief justice,) were entirely distinct from the courts of common law.

When Henry VIII. established the church of England he assumed the place of the Pope,† as supreme ordinary over England and its dependencies, and his successors have held that office to this day.

Now, one power exercised by the king in this capacity—which in our government is wisely conferred on the Legislature, or left to the people—was the power to constitute inferior tribunals, or rather to delegate his judicial functions to others to exercise in his name and behalf, according to the Roman or Civil Law, which admitted of a delegation of judicial powers.

* View of the state of Europe during the Middle Ages. By Henry Hallam. Chap. VII. Blackstone's Commentaries, Book 2d, Chap. 32.

† Black. Com., Book 1, Chap. 7th, Sec. 5 and notes.

Accordingly, King William and Queen Mary authorized the Governor and Council of this Province to “do, execute or perform *all that is necessary* for the probate of wills and granting of administrations for, touching or concerning any interest or estate which any person or persons shall have within our said province or territory.”

By virtue of the words “all that is necessary,” &c., the Governor and Council, in turn, claimed and exercised the right of delegating their authority as before mentioned; and a doubt arose and was settled, as I have already described, as to whether the sub-delegation were warranted by the charter and the laws of the realm.

The Governor and Council remained the Supreme Court of Probate, to which an appeal lay in all cases from the decisions of the county judges.

During the growth of the Colony the business of the probate department had largely increased, both in amount and variety.*

In March, 1649, the county court had been empowered to grant allowances to the widows of intestates and to divide and assign property among the children and heirs; and the October following, an ordinance was passed, providing for the punishment of such as embezzled or concealed any will or property of a deceased person, or neglected to administer or renounce executorship within a specified time after the decease of the testator or intestate. In October, 1673, the powers of guardians were defined, and they were ordered to give security to Court. In May, 1677, an ordinance was passed, authorizing the County Court to make distribution of insolvents' estates. In October, 1682, the County Courts were empowered to authorize executors and administrators to make specific performance of the contracts of their intestates or testators for the sale of lands. In May, 1685, the courts were further empowered to summon in executors and others to

* See Col. Rec. *passim*. and An. Charters; also White's Probate.

render inventories and accounts, and to impose penalties for disobedience and neglect; and the next February this law was amended and reaffirmed.

The simple practice of the earliest courts had been, arbitrarily, to treat all real estate as mere chattels, and it was administered accordingly, without regard to the title of the heir. This error had been partially corrected, and petitions were presented to the General Court, in some instances, for leave to sell.*

When the new Court of Probate was instituted the practice at once assumed the aspect of improvement. All that was valuable in the former practice was retained, and much that was improper was abandoned. Bonds, which in colonial times had run to the County Treasurer, were now made to the Judge of Probate; and, though many things remained imperfect and requiring correction, the court, in its leading features, started in substantially the same track that it is now pursuing, after a lapse of nearly one hundred and seventy years.†

Although no seal was formally adopted by either of the probate judges at first, yet, in Essex County, a small seal, once used in the old colonial courts, and now adopted by the County Commissioners,‡ was affixed, in a few instances, to letters, warrants, and some other papers, issuing from the court, till the year 1728, when a seal, represented in the following cut, was used by Judge Appleton, but abandoned not many years after.

The date of the order in council establishing this court is June 18, 1692; when Bartholomew

PROBATE SEAL,



ESSEX CO., 1728.
[See note, below.]

Gedney was appointed Judge, and Stephen Sewall Register.

JUNE 18, 1692, TO JUNE 3, 1698.

BARTHOLOMEW GEDNEY, 1ST. JUDGE.

Mr. Gedney, one of the most distinguished in the list of those who have held this office, was baptized June 14, 1640, and was the son of John Gedney, (and Catherine, his wife,) a merchant and dealer in wines, who came hither from Yarmouth, England, in 1637, and was admitted a freeman the next year.*

Bartholomew married Hannah Clark, De-

[The above cut was hastily prepared, with the assistance of the printers, and represents the old seal, so far as it can be restored, with tolerable accuracy. It was no small job to make out the character of this seal, and especially the legend, from the faded and imperfect fragments of the early impressions now on file. After examining many files, and by dint of some guesswork the whole seal has, I believe, been restored in this engraving.

My apology for inserting the above must be the fact, that (the original die having been missing from the time that "man's memory runneth not to the contrary," and as I have not found a person among the many intelligent gentlemen in this county familiar with the history of the court who was aware of the fact that such a seal was ever used,) I deemed it a matter worthy of being recorded, though in a form which, if time would allow, might be somewhat improved.

The present seal is a "lion rampant" in a circle, surrounded with the words "COUNTY OF ESSEX"—apparently taken from the old seal. The modern lion is not so shabby an animal as his predecessor.]

* Savage, and Derby's Mss.

* Col. Rec., Vol. 5, p. 479, and elsewhere.

† See Prob. Files and Rec. Essex.

‡ See some of the files in Essex Probate Office. The form of this seal is an ellipse, with its transverse axis, perpendicular, $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in length. In the centre is a figure, evidently a cypher for Essex; over the cypher is a nondescript bird—and beneath is a figure, representing either a dagger or fleur-de-lis, with two minute ornamental rosettes above, and two below the cypher.

ember 22d., 1662, and by her had four sons and five daughters.

He was by profession a physician, and practised as early as 1662.* He also appears to have been at sea some time before he was appointed judge.† He was made a freeman May 19, 1669, and appears soon after in the militia; his first appointment being that of ensign in Capt. John Corwin's Company, October 17, 1676. Two years afterwards he was made lieutenant in the same company; and on the 10th of October, 1683, on the death of Capt. Corwin, he was promoted to the vacancy. In 1689 he declined a re-appointment, and Stephen Sewall was chosen in his stead. He afterwards rose to be Colonel or "Commander-in-Chief" of the Essex Regiment.‡

May 8, 1678, he was chosen deputy to the General Court, and November of the next year chosen one of the Commissioners for Salem.

In June, 1680, he was appointed by the General Court one of a committee to manage the affairs of the new plantation at Casco Bay, formed the May previous, and called "Swegustagoe." Here, six years before, v.ith Henry Sayward of York, he had made a large purchase and contracted for the erection of a saw-mill.§

He was chosen assistant or councillor, May 19, 1680, and held that office the three following years; when, having advised a compliance with the requirements of the crown officers in regard to the charter, much against the wishes of the clergy and the people, he was omitted from the list of assistants the next year.||

When President Dudley arrived, in 1686, he

was reinstated in this office—being specially named in the royal commission—and again in Sir Edmund Andros' commission the December following. He served actively throughout the government of Andros, and exercised judicial powers in Essex County during that period—but was one of the number who addressed a letter to the Governor upon the rising of the people, requesting his Excellency to deliver up the defences to them and to submit himself as a prisoner.

He, and others, then constituted themselves a committee of safety, and, with commendable self-denial, convened the assistants and deputies chosen in 1686, and surrendered the government into their hands, with the former Governor, Simon Bradstreet, at the head.*

He was not again called to the board of assistants till after the arrival of the Province Charter, when his name was found in that instrument as one of the first council.†

After the revolution of 1689 he was appointed by the Governor and Council one of a committee to draw up a report of the illegal acts of Andros' administration.‡ This resulted in the well known pamphlet, "New England's Revolution Justified."§

* For these facts see Council Records and Hutchinson's History and Collections.

† See the charter in An. Charters.

‡ Col Rec.

§ Pub. in Force's Coll. "Tracts and other Papers," &c., Washington, 1838, Vol. 4th. The order in Council is dated January 1, 1690, and reads thus:—"Ordered that Wm. Stoughton, Bart. Gedney and Wm. Browne, Esquires, with such others as are members of Sir Edmund Andros's Gov't as they shall see fit to advise with, are hereby desired to draw up such information as they can give referring to the transactions of said gov't that were oppressive and injurious to the people, as well touching the manner of passing acts in said council as the execution of them and any other matters relating to the exercise of said government which were grievous and illegal and to transmitt the same speedily to the Council. The gentlemen above named are requested to perfect what is above desired of them some time the next week."

* Felt.

† See in Calef's "More Wonders of the Invisible World," trial of Capt. John Alden, senior, and Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 142, note by G. F. Chever, Esq.

‡ For these facts and many more see Col. Rec., Vol. 5th.

§ Felt's Annals.

|| Ibid and Col. Rec.

In 1681 he was of the committee to examine the books of William Bowditch, the officer of customs, then lately deceased. In June, 1692, he was one of the committee appointed to revise the laws. On November 7, 1683, he was one of the parties summoned in the writ of *quo warranto* against the Colony, and he was otherwise conspicuous on committees and in the government of the Colony.

As a military officer he was called upon to act in matters of great importance. Thus, January 10, 1690, he was one of a committee of seven to plan the successful expedition against Port Royal in Nova Scotia; and the 18th of March following, he was appointed Commander-in-chief of this expedition, which he seems to have declined in favor of Sir William Phips.* In February, 1691, he was of the committee on plunder—a large amount having been obtained at the sacking of Port Royal. April 14, 1692, he was appointed to go to Wells, in Maine, with thirty troopers, to make peace with the Indians and lengthen out the truce.†

In 1695 he was again appointed one of the commissioners for the war; and, August 16, 1696, he marched at the head of 460 men of his regiment, for Kittery.‡ A letter from the fort at Saco, dated the 13th of the same month, shows with what high expectation the inhabitants there regarded his coming.§ In October following, he writes back that Capt. Chubb had broken the faith of the Province with the Indians.||

* I have not met with a satisfactory explanation of the record of these appointments. Gedney was first chosen to command this expedition; the next day Phips was appointed to the same position; and afterwards Lieut. Pike was appointed Commander-in-chief. It may be that Phips commanded the naval expedition, while Pike led the land forces—Gedney having declined the command of the latter.

† See Col. Rec.

‡ Felt's An.

§ New England Hist. and Genea. Reg., Vol. 3, p. 163.

|| Felt's An.

His judicial offices were not less important. He was the first Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for this County, appointed thereto in 1692. The same year he was commissioned one of the judges of that unfortunate Court of Special Oyer and Terminer before which the unhappy victims of the witchcraft delusion were tried and convicted. He sat in these trials—and it is painful to record that he was not exempt from the influences of that mania.¶

The date of his appointment as Judge of Probate is June 18, 1692. This office, as well as his seat in the Common Pleas, he held till his death—which occurred, according to most authorities, February 28, 1698, though the inscription on his tombstone in the Charter street burying-ground puts it February 1, 1697.*

¶ See various accounts of witch trials, especially Calef, (as above). Mr. Chever, in his thorough article on Philip English, supposes John Gedney to be the magistrate before whom Capt. John Alden was examined, as narrated by Calef, but I see no reason for doubting that it was Bartholomew, the judge, a brother of John. See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. 3, p. 142.

* February 1697, old style, would of course come 1698 new style, though I cannot, satisfactorily, account for the discrepancy in the day of the month. Felt, Washburn and Derby all record it February 28—probably following the Salem town records. Judge Sewall, in his published diary, makes it March 1, 1698-9! The first three may be correct, and the error may have arisen from misinterpreting the inscription on his tombstone; which, being cut in a freestone slab, lying horizontally, with the face exposed to the weather, has become nearly effaced. It is, probably, for this reason that Mr. Derby has overlooked it in his record of inscriptions in the Charter street burying-ground.

The substructure of his monument is of granite or brick masonry, and it stands directly in front of the Charter street entrance. At the close of a long summer afternoon, spent, despairingly, in search of some memorial of the distinguished magistrate, I came upon this apparently smooth tablet;—but, noticing the empty excavation in which the family escutcheon was originally placed, I looked further for the name of the occupant, and succeeded

We have already seen that Mr. Gedney sometimes acted as clerk or register in addition to his other duties.*

I am not sure of the precise spot of his residence, but many things indicate that it was not far from the present Gedney Court. Probably the old house, formerly in that court, torn down several years since, and known as the "French House"—from its having been for some time the abode of the fugitive Acadians—was the dwelling house of the judge.

Like most of the Salem magistrates, Mr. Gedney was a member of the First Church, in Salem.

The facts of his life, so far as they have been preserved, exhibit the character of a brave and pious man; an able and patriotic public officer, who was at once conciliating, self-sacrificing and laborious; a magistrate, conscientious and diligent, though sometimes misguided; a military commander of comprehensive views, skilful and courageous; and a citizen, useful, enterprising and universally respected.

Truly, little more can be said in praise of any man, and yet, after due consideration, I think nothing less can, with justice, be said of him.

(To be Continued.)

in tracing with penknife and pencil (Old Mortality like) the name, the date of the death, and the age of the deceased—his 57th year, so the inscription reads.

As I surveyed the worn and battered sand-stone, moss-grown and covered with bits of broken crockery, placed there by the children of the neighborhood—who often spend a summer half-holiday in that quiet place—and considered that this monument and a few scattered records besides, scarcely served to transmit the name of one who, a few generations ago, stood pre-eminent among the illustrious of his countrymen, I could not repress a reflection on the fleeting nature of the fame acquired by the early great men of our country. Anywhere in Europe, with ordinary advantages, such a man as Gedney would undoubtedly have achieved the highest distinction and left an imperishable name.

* Ante, B. Gerrish, biog.

NEW ENGLAND GENEALOGY.

BY C. M. ENDICOTT.

Whoever writes a work upon this subject should possess the confidence of the public, not only for his extensive research, but for his candor and unprejudiced mind. Sir Walter Scott lost caste, as an impartial writer, when he undertook the history of NAPOLEON 1st, and brought to bear upon it all his Scotch and English prejudices. With the lapse of time every circumstance, however trivial, connected with the first settlement of Massachusetts or its rulers, receives increasing importance; those at all interested in the character and official honors of John Endicott have little reason to be flattered at the new attempt to degrade him and his office, by the author of a work entitled "Genealogy of New England," just issued from the press. To the *general* reader it is a matter of no interest who was, or was not, the *first* Governor of Massachusetts; and the discussion of such a question involving the integrity of history, if it be a question at all, to say the least, is in such a work out of place, and in bad taste, as it is calculated to provoke criticism and controversy. The ingenuity and sedulous industry with which this author labors to make the worse appear the better side is worthy a better cause.

The establishment of "*an absolute*" Government in New England with John Endicott *for Governor*, surrounded with thirteen counselors, before the arrival of Winthrop, and even before he was connected with the settlement in England, constitutes him *no governor* in his opinion, and he moves among the Company's Records, demolishing what he pleases which lies in the way of his argument, and labors to show that there was *no colony*, nor government, prior to 1630, the arrival of Winthrop.

It must be known to this author that there are many antiquarians among us, of equal research and knowledge of events, but perhaps less skilled as special pleaders, who have arrived at a different conclusion from him as to

the first governorship of New England. This author misstates some facts, suppresses others, forestalls many, and jumps at conclusions. He says, "After his (that is, Mr. E.'s) coming he was made head, or Superintendent, or Governor, of the first settlement at Salem."

These are the author's own words and conclusions. Who would believe, after so much difficulty in finding a *phrase* whereby to designate his office and station, that there is a record to this effect—"We have, with full *consent* and *authority* of this Court, *chosen* and *elected* the said Capt. John Endicott to the place of present governor of our plantation; not of any part of it, *as Salem*; but *of our plantation*." And again, in the Company's first general letter of instructions to Endicott and his Council are the following words: "We have, in prosecution of that good opinion we have always had of you, *confirmed you Governor of our plantation*." His oath of office also says, "you shall endeavor faithfully and carefully to carry yourself in the place of *Governor* so long as you shall continue in it." And once more in the same oath of office are these words:—"All these premises you shall keep to the uttermost of your power and skill so long as you continue in the place of *Governor of this fellowship*." So much for the propriety of the application of a phrase.

No student in New England history needs to be informed, that in the beginning, under the first organization of the Colony, Matthew Craddock was the first Governor of the Company in England, and that John Endicott under the same organization was the *first* Governor of our *plantation*. This author likewise asserts, "it was never consummated (that is, the organization of an absolute government in the colony) by *needful authority*, or at least, *cannot be proved*. Why can it not be proved? For the plain and simple reason, which the author must have known, but which he suppresses, that the records of the doings of the government under Mr. Endicott's administration, together with the records of the *first church* in Salem, and of the town of Salem itself, during that period, are lost. This circum-

stance has opened a wide field for speculation, and is the foundation of all the controversy ever had on the subject; and we conceive it to be unjust and illiberal to take advantage of this circumstance to assert that "*no organization was ever consummated*," because in the absence of those records it cannot be proved except *collaterally*.

Again, to degrade Endicott's position and office, he calls his authority "*a power of attorney*," when he knows the company expressly designated what that office should be called, viz., "Governor of our plantation" or "of this fellowship." It was the same "power of attorney" under which Winthrop and all his immediate successors acted, that is, a power derived from the company. In the absence of these records, he ignores all collateral evidence of the organization of the government, particularly Morton's statement, in his scurrilous publication, called the "New English Canaan," that he, "at a general appearance, (that is, a general court,) at the worshipful town of Salem, there in open assembly was tendered certain articles devised between him (Mr. Endicott) and their new pastor, Master Eager, (probably Rev. Mr. Skelton); to these articles every planter, old and new, must subscribe, or be expelled from any abode within the compass of the land contained within the grant *then showed*. The tenor of these articles was as follows:—That in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as political, we should follow the rule of God's word; and all the assembly (mine host only replied) did subscribe." This assembly was in accordance to the following instructions: "Let the laws be first published to forbid these disorders and all others you fear may grow up; whereby they may not pretend ignorance of the one, nor the privilege to offend; and then fear not to put good laws made upon good ground and warrant in due execution."

The author also ignores Edw. Howes's letter to John Winthrop, Jr., of the 25th March, 1633, in which he says, "there was presented to the Lords lately 22 of Indicut's laws." This would again indicate that an absolute

government had been consummated; if so, from the scrupulous uprightness of Endicott's character, there can be no doubt it was by "*needful authority*;" for Endicott's oath of office forbade him "to make statutes or ordinances without the consent of the council for the government of Massachusetts Bay." This reference from England to Endicott's laws would also indicate that these records were at this time (1633) in existence, probably in England. Again we quote from the company's records of the 30th of April, 1629:—"It is further ordered that the Governor, Mr. Endicott, [or his deputy] and the said Council, being chosen as aforesaid, and *having taken their oaths respectively to their places*.....at any of their meetings which the Governor at his discretion.....is hereby authorized to appoint, shall have full power and authority by power derived from His Majesty's letters patent to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes and ordinances, &c., &c., for the present government of our plantation, and the inhabitants residing within the limits of our plantation." No one, we presume, will charge Endicott and the Council with making laws *without having taken their oaths respectively to their places*.

It is conceded that Mr. Winthrop was *first* Governor *after* a new organization of the company, combining the two offices of Governor of the *company* and Governor of the Colony in one person; and that he was the first Governor who was at once chief officer of the corporation and chief administrator on the spot; combining the two characters which before Winthrop had been sustained by two persons, viz., Cradock and Endicott.

Winthrop does not appear to have exercised his authority as Governor until he was chosen at a court of the freemen on the soil, held 23d August, 1630. In his journal on his arrival he speaks of himself as an "*assistant*," and says, "We who were of the '*assistants*' and some of the gentlemen and some of the women returned with them to Naumkeag, where we

supped on a good venison pasty and good beer." The author admits "Endicott was the *first* and *only* Governor of London Plantation." This is a mere quibble. What, we would respectfully ask, was "London Plantation" but this very "Colony of Massachusetts Bay?"

We will pass over some minor errors, such as his having lived in Boston above twenty years, which a reference to the records of Massachusetts for the year 1655 would have corrected; and his son Zerubabel instead of his grandson having resided in Topsfield. It would be useless to follow this closely written article of four pages through all its devious windings, and, therefore, the writer would remark, in conclusion, that he will yield to no man in his respect and veneration for the virtues which adorned with almost unearthly splendor the life and character of Gov. Winthrop; nor will he allow that the high estimation which he has formed of the eminent services of that great and good man, in promoting the welfare of the infant settlement of Massachusetts, is surpassed, but he cannot permit those feelings to prompt him to violate the integrity of history or to claim for Gov. Winthrop any distinction which does not of right and in justice belong to him, or place upon his brow the laurels which belong to another.

NOTICE OF THE CURWEN HOUSE, AND OF ITS OCCUPANTS.

BY GEORGE R. CURWEN.



"Curwen House," on the corner of Essex and North streets, Salem, Mass., was erected, A. D. 1642, by Capt. George Corwin, and was occupied by him until his removal to the house in which he died,

which stood upon the site now occupied by Mr. Timothy Ropes's store and the building next west of it.

Capt. George Corwin was born in England, 10th December, 1610; and according to Farmer, at Workington, Cumberland County; which appears likely, from the fact that he and his descendants always used the Arms of the Curwens of Workington Hall, the same that stand at the head of this article.

Capt. George Corwin was an eminent merchant of Salem, and a very prominent man—holding various offices of trust and honor under the Colonial Government. He died in Salem, 3d January, 1685, leaving one of the largest estates that had been administered on in the Colony; one item mentioned in his inventory being 621 oz. of silver plate. His first wife was Elizabeth White, widow of John White; his second, Elizabeth, widow of Robert Brook, and daughter of Gov. Edward Winslow.

After the removal of Capt. George Corwin from the old house it was occupied by his son, Hon. Jonathan Corwin.

Hon. Jonathan Corwin, like his father, held many offices of honor in the Colonial and Provincial Governments; among the rest, he held at various times the offices of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County, Judge of Probate, Judge of the Superior Court, and Judge of the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer, established by Gov'r Phipps 2d July, 1692, for the trial of persons accused of witchcraft.

This last named court met five times, viz., 2d June, 28th June, 3d August, 9th September, and 17th September, during which time nineteen persons were tried, condemned and hanged for witchcraft, and one person (Giles Corey) pressed to death for standing mute.

It is said that in the eastern front lower room of this old house some of the unfortunate accused were brought before Judge Corwin and other magistrates for their preliminary examination, but they were tried and condemned in the meeting-house which stood

where the meeting-house of the First Religious Society now stands, at the corner of Essex and Washington streets.

Hon. Jonathan Corwin was born 14th of November, 1640. He married Elizabeth, widow of Robert Gibbs, and daughter of Jacob and Margaret Sheafe of Boston. Robert Gibbs was a son of Sir Henry Gibbs, and some plate given by Sir Henry to Mrs. Corwin is mentioned in her will. Judge Corwin died 25th July, 1718, and lies buried in the family tomb, in Broad street burying-ground, Salem.

The next occupant of the old house was Rev'd George Curwin, (as he invariably spelt his name); he was son of Hon. Jonathan Corwin.

Rev'd George Curwin was born 21st May, 1682; graduated at Harvard College 1701; and married Mehitable, daughter of Deliverance Parkman, Esq., (by his second wife, Mehitable, who was daughter of Hon. John Waite, Speaker of Massachusetts House of Representatives,) 27th July, 1711. For a number of years he was an assistant minister with Rev'd Mr. Noyes, minister of the First Religious Society in Salem, and was ordained pastor and colleague of that society on the 19th May, 1714. He died 23d November, 1717.

Capt. George Curwen, son of Rev'd George, was born 4th December, 1717. Graduated at Harvard College, with his brother Samuel, 1735; married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Pickman, (by his wife Abigail, daughter of Timothy and Mary (Veren) Lindall,) and occupied the old house until his death, which occurred 7th June, 1746, after which it was occupied by his widow and children. The survivor, Mehitable, the wife of Richard Ward, Esq., coming into possession of it at the death of her mother, 3d January, 1810.

Mrs. Sarah Cushing, the last of the family who owned it, and who came into possession of it by inheritance from her mother (Mrs. Ward) and by purchase from the other heirs, sold it to the present proprietor soon after her removal

to New York, where she now resides, at the advanced age of 91 years, and in the full enjoyment of all her faculties.

Capt. George Corwin, Sheriff for Essex County in 1692, was a nephew of Hon. Jonathan Corwin. He never occupied the Curwen mansion, (his house was near the spot now occupied by Dr. Fisk, on Washington street,) but is distinguished from his connection with the witch trials. He was Sheriff of the County at the time, and on him devolved the painful duty of executing the condemned persons. He was son of Capt. John Corwin, by his wife Margaret, third daughter of Gov'r John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut, and was born 26th February, 1666. He married Susanna and Lydia, both daughters of Hon. Bartholomew Gedney. Lydia survived him.

This is the Capt. George Corwin mentioned in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts as being in the expedition against Canada, under Sir William Phipps, in 1660. For the part which he, by virtue of his office, was obliged to take in executing the sentence of the law upon those condemned for witchcraft, he was severely persecuted by the friends of the deceased, and at the time of his death (1696) the excitement against him was so great that his friends were unable for a long time to carry his body to the family tomb, and his remains were kept buried in the cellar of his house until the excitement had subsided.

He, like his father, varied in the manner of spelling the name—signatures of his are in possession of the family, signed Corwin and Curwen, and sealed with the family arms.

The house in its original form was quite an imposing structure for the day in which it was built, and it is to be regretted that any change was ever made in its appearance.

As it was erected there were six stone steps from the ground to the front door, but from the street's being raised and the settling of the house, there is now but one. A porch with a gable end projected from the front of the house, with the front door in it, which opened into a

spacious hall, and over the hall was a chamber. On either side of the porch were gables, (all the gables being surmounted by ornaments,) and on the back of the house was a one story kitchen.

At the time of the death of Capt. George Curwen, in 1746, the gables and porch were removed by his widow, two kitchens, with chambers over them, were added on the back of the house, the one story kitchen taken away, and the gambrel roof put on in which it now appears.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, page 184.

Wm. Pickman, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of William Pickman, taken 28 June, 1676, by Robert Glanfield and John Sanders. Amount 20 17 00d. Allowed 27 4, '76. Administration granted to Elizabeth the relict and she is to pay to her child William son of ye deceased £40 when 21.

Jona. Wilds, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Jonathan Wiles taken 28 June, 1676, by John How and William Andrew. Amount 3 14 6d. Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted to John Wiles.

Wm. Pitcher, 4th mo., 1676.

The will of William Pitcher, dated 21 November, 1675, mentions, I bequeath to my elder brother John Pitcher living in England att Kenton in Devonshire £40, and in case of my brother's decease to be paid to my brother's eldest son living. the remainder of my estate I give to my friend Andrew Tucker, in whose house I now lye sick. I appoint Andrew Tucker and Richard Rith; witnesses, John Pederick and William Venning; probated the 30 4, '76.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 22 May, 1676, by Robert Hooper and Edward Humphrey. Amount 83 11 08.

Jeffrey Thistle, 4th mo., 1676.

Will of Jeffrey Thissell of Abbotsbury in the County of Dorset in old England, but at present in New England, mentions his eldest son Richard Thissell, money owed him by John Darlin of Salem and George Tuck, his chest at Clem. English house, daughter Jane Thissell now in Abbotsbury aforesaid, a bond that is in the hands of John Hedgecock of A. for £30 due to me from Henry Feavour, his grandchild Jeffrey his son Richard's son 15 acres of land at Bass River, son Richard's daughter Mary, mentions Ezekiel Waters; appoints Richard Rieth and Matthew Clark both of Marblehead exors; dated 29th October, 1675; his inventory amounts to £83 19s.

A paper dated 27 June, 1676, and signed by Robert White, who says he is aged 29 years and that the aforesaid Jeffrey Thissell being aboard the Waymouth Merchant sailing from Saltitudes, being bound for New England, was taken sick by the way. I was called together with Hen. Herman and he gave us £3 0s 6d to give to his daughter.

Edw'd Ireson, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Edward Ireson of Lynn, taken 20th of 11th mo., 1675, by Thomas Laughton, Henry Collings and Henry Sillsby. Allowed 27 4, '76; presented by Alce the relict.

The will of Edward Ireson, dated 26 of October, 1674, mentions son Samuall 40 acres of land of my farne lying by John lyokes (?) ground, my daughter Ruth; witnesses, Henry Sillsbey and Henry Collins; probated 27 4, '76. Alce the relict apt administratrix.

Wm. Dewe, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of William Dewe, taken by Edward Bishop. Amount 12 02 09d. Allowed 30 4, '76. Administration granted to said Edward Bishop.

Andrew Alger, 4th mo., 1676.

The Will of Andrew Alger of Scarbaroah in the county of York in N. E fisherman, dated 23 March, 1669-70, mentions wife Agnes, sons John, Andrew, and Matthew, daughters Elizabeth and Joanna. I appoint my wife executrix and my brother Arther Alger and my friend Andrew Brown senr, both of yead towne, overseers; witnesses, She; Fletcher and Roger Hill; allowed 30 4, 1676.

An Inventory of the above estate, amounting to £78 16 10d, was returned by Agnes the relict.

Arthur Auger, 4th mo., 1676.

The deposition of Robert Elliot, aged about 14 years, witnesseth that about ye 14th day of October, 1675, Arthur Allger was at Wm. Sheldon's house in perfect sence and memory and desired me and ye rest standing by to take notice yt he did give all his goods moveable and immoveable to his wife Ann, only she should pay ye children their portions and further saith not. Taken upon oath this 26th day of October, 1675, before me, John Wincoll, Associate.

The Deposition of Christopher Picket, aged about 60 years, testified to the above.

The deposition of John Corke testified to the above.

Ann Auger the relict had power of administration granted in Court 30 4, '76.

An Inventory of the estate of Arthur Auger of Blackpoint, wounded by the Indians and dying of his wounds Oct. 14th, 1675, at Marblehead. Amount 38 1 9d. Thaddeus Redden and Benjamin Redknapp apprisers; mentions "The portion of ye 3 children of brother Giles to Abraham A., David and Gilas Roberts £5 12s each." Presented by Ann the relict and administrators.

An Inventory of the estate of Auther Auger of Scarbrough, taken Jan'y 4, 1676, by Giles Bary and Ralph Allanson att Scarbrough als Blackpoint. Amount £108 03 6. "Ralph Allanson and Giles Bary appeared before me and gave oath to the truth of the above at

Scarborough the 1st of June, 1676 ;" mentions a parcell of upland and meadow which was Brother Giles Roberts.

Henry Kimball, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Henry Kimball, taken 16th of 4th mo., 1676, by Thomas Fiske and Richard Hutten. Amount £177 11 00. Administration granted to Elizabeth the relict of ye deceased 30 4, 1676.

Caleb Kimball, 4th mo., 1676.

An inventory of the estate of Caleb Kimball, slain with Capt. Lawthrop in the countries service, taken 25th of 9 mo., '75, by Charles Gott and Walter Fayerfield. Amount 50 05 00. Administration granted to Henry and Richard Kimball 30 9, '75. The said Henry being deceased sole administration is granted to ye said Richard the 30 4, '76, mentions he to pay the 12 children of the deceased Henry Kimball when they come of age.

Richard Kimball, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Richard Kimball, taken 17th of June, 1676, by Walter Fayerfield and Thomas Patch. Amount 986 16 06. Administration of the estate was granted to Samuell and Thomas Kimball, sons of the deceased, the 27 4 mo., '76.

Matthew Legroe, 4th mo., 1676.

"The Testimony of William Fannen, Agged about 30 years, saith that immediately before Mathu groe went away toward Hadly a souldiar the said groe desired me to bare witness to a will that hee the said groe was making in writing wherein he did will what he had to Nathaniel Bricket of Newbury, and having not time to finish it, the said Groe by word of mouth said to mee, take notice that I doe will and give what estate I have and what is due to me abroad to Nathaniel Brickit in case I com not again, in consideration of his kindness and charg, hee the said Brickit have bin at with me in my sickness and otherwise; and I doe order Nath. Brikit to pay sum debts I owe and this is my mind and will hearin. John Michell,

agged about 25 years, doe testify this above written. William Fannen and John Michell made oath to the truth of what is above written before Daniel Denison, June 26, '76."

Richard Dole testified in substance to the above in court at Salem, 27 4, '76.

Richard Bryer, aged 33 years, testifieth in substance to the above; mentions the said Matthew Groe was hurried away into servis and there he lost his life.

"The testimony of Moses Litell, of the age of about 19 years, and Joseph Poore, aged about 22 years, this deponent sath that Mathew legro was a servant to Elisha Ilslie when he was presed for that war; that he was a covenant servant; that he was to serve after the warres of an aprentis from about the beginning of May in the year '75 untill 2 years and 6 months were expired to learn his tread. Sworne before me, June 22, 1676, Daniel Denison."

An Inventory of the above estate. Amount £22 5 0d, and administration granted to Nathaniel Bricket 18 5, '76.

Eleanor Robinson, 4th mo., 1676.

The account of administration on the estate of Elinor Robinson, deceased the 21st 5th mo., 1675, returned by Edmon Battor.

Peter Barron, 4th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Peter Barron, deceased this 26 November, 1675, taken by Nathaniel Nelson and James Dennes. Amount 10 08 0d. Allowed 27 4, '76, and administration granted to Elias Hendly, he to fulfill the mind of the deceased.

Tho's Alexander, 4th mo., 1676.

"A true account of what Thomas Alexander left in Salem when he was prest away with captain Lawthrop upon the country's service;" taken the 30th June, 1676, by John Loomes and William Traske. Amount 9 7 6. Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted to Samuel Eborn.

Freegrace Norton, 9th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Freegrace Nor-

ton, taken 28 March, 1676, by Walter Poyar, (?) Thomas Burnam Sen'r, Abraham Tilton, Eliha Wardal. Amount 68 3 6. Allowed 30 March, 1676. Administration granted to John Wainwright.

Tho's Kimball.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Kimball, taken 18th May, 1676, by John Walker and Samuel Gage. Amount 556 3 0, and administration granted to Mary relict of the deceased 23 7, '76; mentions the 8 children, the eldest son Richard shall have £80.

Christ'r Waller, 9th mo., 1676.

The Will of Christopher Waller of Salem, made 17 day of October, 1676, mentions wife Margaret—to Joseph Woodman £10 if he will live with my wife as he now does until 21. I appoint my wife Margaret ext. Witnesses, Nathaniel Felton and Edward Berry. Allowed 30 9, '76.

Eph. Skerry, 9th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Ephraim Skerry, taken the 19th 8 mo., 1676, by Francis Skerry and Henry Skerry junr. Amount 177 11 09d. Allowed 29 4, '77; administration granted to Martha the relict; mentions the 3 children when 18 years old to have £10 each.

Samuel Putnam, 9th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Putnam, taken by Jacob Barney and Joshua Rea this 17 November, 1676. Amount 191 07 03d. Allowed 29 9, '76, and administration granted to Elizabeth the relict of the deceased.

John Hutchinson,

An Inventory of the estate of John Hutchinson, deceased about the 2 of August, 1676, taken the 8 November, by Nathaniel Ingersoll and Joshua Rea. Amount 273 5 6. Allowed 27 9 mo., '76, and administration granted to Sarah the relict.

A petition of Sarah Hutchinson, the relict of the deceased, requesting that she may have the use of all the property until the child comes to the age of 18 years.

Micha. Lambert, 9th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of Michael Lambert, taken by Thomas Faxax and William Bassett. Amount 48 13 00d; allowed 29 9 mo., 1676, and administration granted to Ellinor the relict; mentions that the deceased left 4 children, viz: Michael, Abigail, Moses and Rebecka—the sons at 21 years and maids at 18 years.

James Browne, 9th mo., 1676.

The Will of James Browne of Salem, mentions wife Sarah, eldest son John Browne, I have already given him some and I now give him the estate left by Henry Bright of Watertown. "Whereas there is a writing drawne betweene my said wife and my son James Browne, bearing date 10 March, 1672, wherein on my wife's part, all the houseing and land lying in Newbery, given and bequeathed to my said wife by her father, John Cutting deceased, in his last will and testament, are made over to my said son James Browne;" son Samuel my dwelling house with so much of the ground belonging thereunto, beginning next to Samuel Pickworth grounds and from thence northerly, to take in one pole beyond, on the north side of the barne and so right crost the ground from the highways to John Gedney deceased his ground, to have and to hold; son Abraham under age he to pay his 4 youngest sisters, viz: Anna, Mary, Abigail and Martha when 18 or married, daughter Sarah Beasley. I appoint my wife Sarah executrix and my brother Nicholas Noyce and Mr. Hilliard Veren Sen'r overseers; witnesses, Hilliard Veren Sen. and Samuel Pickworth. Allowed 29 9, '76.

An Inventory of the estate of James Browne Senr, who deceased ye 3 day of November, 1676, taken 30th of November by Nicholas Noyce and Nathaniell Beadle. Amount £119 20s 06. Allowed 26 4, '77.

John Porter, 9th mo., 1676.

An Inventory of the estate of John Porter Senior of Salem, taken 22d of September, 1676. Amount 2570 12 00d. Allowed 30 9, 1676; returned by Mary the relict and exctx.

Thos. Skillin, March, 1676-7.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Skillin, who deceased December 30th, at Salem, 1676, taken by Francis Neale and Henry Williams. Amount 17 03 00d. Allowed 14th March, 1676-7, and administration granted to Mary the relict of ye deceased.

John White, 4th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of John White, a Taylor, late deceased in the house of Mr. William Southend, taken ye 28th of April, 1677-8, by Edward Grove, Nicholas Manning and Thomas Bridge. Amount 5 1 0d. Allowed 26 4, '77, and administration granted to sd Southend.



Jeffrey Massey, 4th mo., 1677.

The Will of Jeffery Massey Sen'r of Salem, dated 6 9 mo., 1676, mentions Ellin his wife, to son John Massey and his wife Sarah. I appoint sone John Massey executor and Henry Skerry Sen'r and Francis Skerry, they are also the witnesses. Allowed 29 4, 1677.

An "Inventory of the Estate of Jeffery Massey of Salem, deceased, that he died possessed of the 25 of the 9th month, '76, taken by Henry Skerry Sen'r and Francis Skerry. Amount 163 12 6d."

Edmond Needham, 4th mo., 1677.

"The will and Last Testament of Edmund Needham of Lyn in Nu England, being, blessed be God, in his perfect knowledge, memory and understanding tho otherwise ill in Body, mak ye writin by min on hand and according to min on mind to my children and grandchildren as follows, and

"First, I humbly Desire my only true God, maker and creator of heaven, ye earth, the sea and all that istherein, ( Exodus 20, 11. Psalms 95, 3, 4, 5, and 146, 5, 6. Jonah 1, 9, ) and me his most poor and unworthy creature amungst ye Rest and to resone my poor and unworthy soull of his moor pur and only free Grace and love for ye sake of his only and well beloved son Jesus Christ sake alone, excluding

all things of min on carnall or corrupte natur in or of myself, in any natur or means in all or in part to my Justification but to Jesus Christ alon, my only and alon mediator, aduocat and intercessor at ye throne of grase and alon propisiation for all my sinnes. 1st John 2, 2.

"Next, I desiar and impower my son Esekiel Needham, my true and lawfull executor to this my last will and Testament, to se my body desently and Christianly burried as near my old wife, being his on mother, as may be.

"Next, I give to my son Daniell Needham beside all the housing, dwelling house he now dwells in, Barn and all ye out housing, all ye Lands that was laid out to him, planting lands, uplands and salt marsh, made conditionally as in a deed to him expressed towards my maintenance while I live in this world; and also ye bedstead yt stands in my best bedroom with ye bed I leve him and two blankets and the curtains Valence belonging to it, and to his five children fieve yu sheep, yt is to say, John Needham on and Ezekiel Needham on and judar Needham on(e) and Mary Needham on and Elizabeth Needham on.

"Next, I give to my sun Ezekeiell Needham all the Vpland and fresh and salt medo on both sides ye river and all the rest of my movables on the considerations mentioned in a deed to me, yet he should provide for me and my wife upon then the was living all things nessessary and convenient that we stood in need of for our comfortable livelyhood in health and sickness while we live here in this world every way sutabell to our old age and several condissions, and all my movables I give to him besides what as he my son Ezekeiell Needham my Lawfull Executor hath discharged yet to doctors and all other if any ar debted or demand what soever yt any can imply demand of me and allso my children and grandchildren's legasies in this my will expressed and then all the rest to be as his on proper goods; that is to say, my son Ezekeiell Needham's own proper goods, as proper to him as ever they were proper to me, and to his too (two) children to keepe.

“Next, I give to my dafter Hannah Dinon and her to children Twenty-Five pounds, to be paid them half in cattell and ye rest in goods and honest sussions pay, that is to say, fifteen pounds to herself present if living or ellst to her husband if he be living after her and five pounds to her dafter Hannah Armitage and five pounds to her last borne son John Dinon when they shall come to age; but if any one of them shall dy before they com to age the longest livell of them to have ye holl ten pounds, but if they both dye then their mother to have ye holl ten pounds at ye time yt if they had lived should come to age, but if ye mother and her son and dafter should all three dye then my son Ezekiell Need—to have ye holl ten pounds, only giving ye one half of it, that is to say, five pounds of it to his Brother my son Daniell Needham.

“Next, I give unto my son-in-Lawe Samuell Hart’s children—first to his dafter-in-Law born of her first husband Elizabeth How but now by marriage Elizabeth Hardwell, on yo sheep, next to his oldest sun Samuell Hart on cow and on yo sheep, ye sheep not exeding four years old—next to Joseph Hart one yo sheep, next to Abigall Hart one yo sheep and thirty shillings mor in goods and lawfull pay for her great car of me in my sickness besides the pay yt I shall give her for ye tim she staid wth me, and to his dafter Rebeck Hart one yo sheep, all the sheep not exceeding four years old.

“Next, I give to my son-in-law Joseph Mansfield’s children, first his son Joseph Mansfield one yo sheep, and to his next son John Mansfield, wth I have brot up ever since his childhood till now he is about fifteen years old, to him this John Mansfield I give on cow and on yo sheep not exceeding four years old, and to his dafter Elizabeth Wheat on yo sheep, and to Deborah Mansfield on yo sheep.

“And further, this I ad as a codasell or breefe inventory to this my last will and testament that my sun Ezekiell Needham, my Lawful Executor, shall not be put to any oath or oathes at any court or any manner or intent what

soever, therefor I have set this according to min own valuation of my holl estate, and if this will not save him from any oath in court he shall safly swer that yt is all my holl estate. I having firmly given him as his on propr estate as if it had never bin min, so son as ever ye breat is out of my body and I quite dead all ye rest. I well knowing yt he canot give any just othat wth out wronging his conscience, as I only know how my estate lieth and this min on valuation or inventory a following:

“First, all my housing, barn and out housing and all my lands wth all the range of ston wall fencing £400 0 0d; to holl peses of buies on red and ye other of ye collar of a chesnut on or to and forty yards apeace at ye lest £12 00 00; on holl peese of red peniston on or to and forti yards long at ye lest £6 00; 3 parsells of Canvis now about on hundred yards and other parselles of linin cloth and Calico £10 00 00; my silver watch and silver box and other silver cupes and spoones and othar plate £15 00 00d; My clock yt striks and another wach and larum that dus not strik £5 00 00d; sum putar, sum old and sum new £2 00 00d; sum parselles of Carsies and sum parsells of serges and my waring clothes £26 00 00d; sum pots and kettles and tramel and clothes and bedsteed £7 00 00; beds and beding £7 00 00; Debts in old England in sussions Bonds and most in Abell More’s hands as the company of ye marchant adventures and another like it as a great rith citizen fit for an Alderman of London, tho they do what they can to deseue us, yt is to say, my brothers and sisters to whom they o us about three thousand pounds £600.

£	s	d
400	0	0
12	0	0
06	0	0
10	0	0
15	0	0
5	0	0
2	0	0
26	0	0
7	0	0
7	0	0
600		
<hr/>		
1090		

and one horse yt was forgot	£3
and 4 cows and to young bul-	
locks forgot also	£17
and 20 sheepe forgot allso	£7

to be added to this inventory	27
to all with this addition is	£1117

“This addition was made before it was signed or sealed or confirmed by the witnesses.

But as for this debt in old England yt is sumthing unsartain what my to aturnies in England, being my to Brothers, may get for me and themselves with sumthing more yt may be coming both to themselves and me I desire to leve it to my children in ye best order as I ean amongst them. Thus first I institut my sun Ezekiell Needham my Lawfull executor and lawfull aturny in this *in this* business as in min on stead and in min on Nam as in mine on person to look ye best after it as possible he ean and what ever shall com over of it with ye charge about it discharged then for evar twenti pounds yt shall cum thus safe into his hands he shall pay unto his brother Daniell Needham if he be living six pounds, and to his sister Hannah Dinen four pounds if living or elis ye four pounds to her to children Hannah Armitage and John Dinen if they be living and their mother dead or elis to *to* ether on of them if on should be living and ye other dead.

“And Further, if this my will not satisfy any Court or Courts, man or men whatsoever wth out my sun Ezekiell Needham my lawful executor's oath to my wholl estate, then my will is that my son Ezekiell Needham my lawfull executor shall safly mak oath yt this is my holl estate, I having fully and wholly disposed of all the rest in my life as it had never ben min, for other wise I cannot see hou he shoudd mak oth wth out roning his consience, my estate lying as it dos, wth is only best known to my self.

“The words interlined are in lin ye 8 and *im-powar*; and in lin 11 to *him*; and lin ye 14 *my*; and lin 15 *a*; and lin 18 *allso*, and lin 21 *Hanah*; and lin 26 *brothar*; and lin ye 27 *Sam-uell Hart*; and lin 37 *yt is*; and lin 38 *all ye*

rest wth that under it bloted out; all thes interlines were dun by me before it was either signed or sealed, and yt this is the last will and testament of me Edmond Needham; in lin the *Lin* in New England.

Edmond Needham, Seal.

“Witnes yt testify to it follow, viz: Signed, seled and confirmed in ye presence of us,

Rich. Walker,
Ralph King.

“The above written is proved by the oath of the sd Richard Walker and Ralph King, whoe were witnesses and present when the said Edmond Needham did sign, seale and declare the same as his last will and testament and that there is not later will of his that they know of, in court at Salem 29 4, 1677.

Attest, Hilliard Veren, Clk.”

Elizabeth Spooner, 4th mo., 1677.

The will of Elizabeth Spooner of Salem, 22 July, 1673, mentions son-in-law John Rurke executor—our Reverant father Mr. John Higginson—my cusen Margitt Rurke at Boston—my cousin Thomas Clark at Cambridg. The widow Elizabeth Owlin—my three grandchildren daftors, Elizabeth Osborn and Hanna Rurke and Sarah Rurke, my young grandchild John Osborn Jun'r—my grandchildren Hanna and Sara and John and Thomas Rurke—my son Rurke and his five children, Elizabeth, Sarah, Hanna, John and Thomas Rurke, which he had by my daughter Hanna Spooner. Witnesses, Hannah Rucke and John Rucke Junior. Allowed 26 1 mo., '77.

An Inventory of Widdow Elizabeth Spooner, deceased 1676, taken 6 March, 1676-7, by Hilliard Veren Sen'r, Richard Rix. Amount £302 16s 8d.

Wm. Barber, 4th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of William Barbars, taken by Ruth Knott, Robert Bartlett and John Mactain. Amount 25 13 00. Allowed 29 4, '77, and administration granted to Elizabeth ye relict.

PHILIP ENGLISH.

PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 204.

We shall give the examinations of the 22d, and this confession of Mrs. Hobbs made subsequent to it, but desire the reader to bear in mind the statements of the afflicted on the 22d as to the great witch meeting, since the examinations themselves do not reveal those statements. It is only by the abstract of the magistrates, in Good's case, that we really know what complaints or accusations were made by the afflicted on the 22d against the then accused, *over and above those which appear on record*. It is well to bear in mind also, that the real charges against the accused were their participations in the plot against the Church, and that this was the final crime*—the great spir-

* Though witchcraft was a crime punishable by Civil Statutes, yet, in its origin, it was of a *spiritual* nature, and thus came especially under the cognizance of the church. Under the theocratic government of the Jews it was, of course, wholly under the control of the Church, which was, in fact, the State. The Puritan Government, though not, like the Jewish, directly theocratic, was more or less so indirectly; and there is some reason to suppose that the civil government of New England punished the crime of witchcraft rather in the behalf of, and for the church, than otherwise. The opinions of the clergy were especially sought in reference to the subject of witchcraft in 1692, and evidently had great weight, both with the government and people. It was not a civilian who was especially authorized to publish the account of the witchcraft trials at Salem, and justify the government in the course taken, but Cotton Mather, the Divine. We may safely conclude, indeed, that the spiritual witchcraft plot against the Church took precedence of the civil crime against the State—included it, in fact, as the greater crime includes the lesser—and that this is the true view to be taken of the witchcraft, as it was regarded in 1692; and we mention this with no disposition to

itual wickedness—attempted. There can be no reasonable doubt that all those arrested on the 21st April, as those previously, were believed to be concerned in that plot—to have been present at great witch meetings, with that object in view—the assistants of the Devil in a crime, which, for breadth, depth, and extent, was unparalleled in the history of iniquity.

We commence with the examination of Deliverance Hobbs:—

Examination of Deliverance Hobbs, 22 April, 1692,

At a court held at Salem Village by John Hawthorn, Jonah Corwin, Esq's.

Mercy Lewes do you know her that stands at the Bar, (for the Magistrates had privately ordered who should be brought in and not suffered her name to be mentioned.) Do you know her? speaking to another; but both were struck dumb.

Ann Putnam jun'r said it was Goody Hobbs and she hath hurt her much.

John Indian said he had seen her and she choake him.

Mary Walcot said yesterday was the first time that she saw her i. e. as a Tormenter.

Why do you hurt these persons?

It is unknown to me.

How come you to commit acts of witchcraft?

I know nothing of it.

It is you or your appearance, [or spectre,] how comes this about? Tell us the truth.

I cannot tell.

Tell us what you know in this case. Who hurts them if you do not?

There are a great many Persons hurt us all.

But it is your appearance.

I do not know it.

blame the clergy of that period—only as an apparent historic fact, and from a desire to reach the truth of history.

There is good reason indeed to believe that the witchcraft of 1692 was neither more nor less than heresy, which, in the estimation of the more formal churchmen of that day, was sincerely, but fanatically considered as witchcraft.

Have not you consented to it, that they should be hurt?

No. in the sight of God and man as I shall answer another day.

It is said you were afflicted. how came that about?

I have seen sundry sights.

What sights.

Last Lord's day in this meeting house and out of the door I saw a great many birds, cats and dogs, and heard a voice say come away.

What have you seen since?

The shapes of severall persons.

What did they say?

Nothing.

What neither birds nor persons?

No.

What persons did you see?

Goody Wilds and the shape of Mercy Lewes.

What is that? Did either of them hurt you.

None but Goody Wilds, who tore me almost to pieces.

Where was you then?

In bed.

Was not the book brought to you to sign?

No.

Where not you threatened by anybody, if you did not signe the book?

No. by nobody.

What were you tempted to under your affliction?

I was not tempted at all.

Is it not a solemn thing, that last Lord's day you were tormented and now you are become a tormentor, so that you have changed sides. how comes this to pass?

Abig. Williams and Ann Putnam jun'r cryed out there is Goody Hobbs upon the Beam, she is not at the Bar, they cannot see her there: though there she stood.

What do you say to this, that tho' you are at the bar in person yet they see your appearance upon the beam, and whereas a few days past you were tormented, now you are become a tormentor. Tell us how this change comes. Tell true.

I have done nothing.

What, have you resolved you will not confess? Hath anybody threatened you if you do confess? You can tell how this change comes.

She lookt upon John Indian and then another, and then they fell into fits.

Tell us the reason of this change? Tell us the truth. What have you done?

I cannot speak.

What do you say? What have you done?

I cannot tell.

Have you signed to any book?

It is very lately then.

When was it?

The night before the last.

Will the Lord open your heart to confess the truth. Who brought the book to you?

It was Goody Wilds.

What did you make your mark with in the book?

Pen and Ink.

Who brought the Pen and Ink?

They that brought the book, Goody Wilds.

Did they threaten you if you did not sign it?

Yes, to teare me in pieces.

Was there any else in company?

No, sir.

What did you afflict others by? Did they bring images?

Yes.

Did not you hurt that child?—

Yes.

Where be those images, at your house?

No, they carried them away again.

When?

They carried some then and some since.

Was it Goody Wild in body, or appearance?

In appearance.

Was there any man with them?

Yes, a tall black man with an high crown'd hat.

Do you know no more of them?

No, sir.

Note.—All the sufferers free from affliction during her examination after once she began to confesse, tho' at sundry times they were much afflicted till then.

Note.—Whereas yesterday at Deacon Ingersols, Mary Walcott and Abigail Williams cried there stands Goody Hobbs, showing also where Benjamin Hutchinson struck at her with a Rapier, and the afflicted that is the said Mary and Abigail said oh you have struck her on the right side. Whereupon the Magistrates asking her after the publik examination whither she had received any hurt yesterday, she said yes, in her right side like a Prick, and that it was very sore and done when she was in a Trance, telling us also in what house and room it was done. Whereupon the magistrates required some women to search it, who found it so as she had confessed. Also a little after the said prick in her side, she had somewhat in her left eye like dust, weh agrees with what the afflicted farther said that Benja. Hutchinson afterwards touched her eye with the same Rapier and said pointing to the place there was a mark which the marshall being by said so there was.

Salem Village, April 22d, 1692. Mr. Sam'll parris being desired to take in writing ye examination of Deliverance hobs hath delivered itt as aforesaid.

And vpon hearing the same and seeing what we did see together with the charge of the afflicted persons against them, We Committed her.

JOHN HATHORNE.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 473-4-5-6.]

[NOTE.—The "appearance" of Goody Hobbs "on the beam," that is, the wooden beam or rafter of the building, was her "spectre"—which spectral shape is sometimes called an "appearance," to distinguish it from the actual body of the accused. In this examination Mrs. Hobbs, it will be noticed, accuses Mrs. Wildes pertinaciously, and it is well to remember, therefore, what Ephraim Wildes, her son, strongly intimates was the motive of Mrs. H for accusing his mother—viz: out of revenge for his (as Constable of the town of Topsfield) arresting Mrs. Hobbs herself!

It is stated, in the beginning of this examination, that the magistrates had privately ordered Mrs. Hobbs to be brought in, and her name not to be mentioned, so as to see whether the afflicted would know their tormentor. Mercy Lewis and another sufferer, who were asked by the magistrates if they knew her, were very conveniently struck dumb. Ann Putnam, however, said "it is Goody Hobbs." Her knowledge may be accounted for, however, in the same way that the afflicted one knew Captain John Alden when he was examined. See note page 142.]

Mrs. H. may have consulted with her daughter Abigail in prison, and learned somewhat of the drift of events, and shaped her own course accordingly. She first charged Mrs. Wildes, Mercy Lewis and Sarah Osburn. She may have charged Mrs. Wildes out of revenge—also Mercy Lewis, who, in the warrant for her (Mrs. H.'s) arrest *had accused her!* We now append her subsequent confession, taken most probably about the 3d May—the effect of which confession must have been terrible; not only on the parties directly implicated and named therein, but on all their associates—among whom were Mr. and Mrs. English. This confession, however, must be really credited to the accusers of that day, who on the 22d April accused various persons of plotting against the church. Mrs. Hobbs was for saving her own life, most probably, and ready to confess anything with that object in view, and so made the following confession:

The first Examination of Deliverance Hobbs in prison.

She continued in the free acknowledging herself to be a Covenant Witch, and farther Confesseth She was warned to a meeting yesterday morning and that there was present Proctor and his wife, Goody Nurse, Giles Cory and his wife, Goody Bishop alias Oliver and Mr. Burroughs was ye Preacher, and prest them to bewitche all in the Village, telling them they should do it gradually and not all at once, assuring them they should prevaile. He administered the sacrament unto them at the same time, with Red Bread and Red Wine like Blood, she affirms she saw Osburn, Sarah Good, Goody Wilds; Goody Nurse and Goody Wilds distributed the bread and Wine, and a man in a long crowned white Hat sat next ye minister and they sat seemingly at a Table, and They filled out the wine in Tankards. The notice of this meeting was given her by Goody wilds. She herself affirms did not or would not Eat nor drink, but all the Rest did who were there present, therefore they threatened to torment her. The meeting was in the Pasture by Mr. Parris' house and she saw when Abigail Wil-

liams ran out to speak with them. But by that Time Abigail was come a little distance from the House. This Examinant was struck blind, so that she saw not with whome Abigail spake. She further saith, that Goody Wilds to prevail with her to signe, told her that if she would put her hand to the book she wld give her some Cloaths, and would not afflict her any more. Hir daughter Abigail Hobbs being brought in att the same time while her mother was present was immediately taken with a dreadful fitt, and her mother being asked who it was that hurt her daughter answered it was Goodman Cory, and she saw him and the gentlewoman of Boston striving to break her Daughter's neck. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 477.]

[NOTE.—The meeting named above was one of the church meetings of Satan and the Witches. The man in a long crowned white hat was the Devil himself, and Rev. Mr. Burroughs acted as his Chaplain or Preacher. Though Satan was believed to be descending upon the Colony in all his rage, and with all his army of horrible Devils, yet it is a noticeable circumstance that he often appeared at witch meetings in a very simple manner—unattended by any pomp or display, or retinue of evil angels, or devils—sometimes appearing as a tawny or white man, but with a high crowned hat upon his head—the sole insignia of his royalty.

It must be remembered, upon reading this confession of Mrs. Hobbs, what motives she was supposed to have for accusing Mrs. Wildes, who is very prominently accused in it.]

We now come to the examination of Wm. Hobbs. The original paper is mutilated in parts, but not very materially. John Hathorne seems to have been the examining magistrate.

Examination of Wm. Hobbs at the same Court, 1692.

Hath this man hurt you.

Severall answered yes.

Goody Bibber said no.

What say you, are you guilty or not?

I can look in the presence of God safely as I may look to give account another day, that I am as clear as a new born babe.

Clear of what?

Of witchcraft.

Have you never hurt these?

No.

Have you not consented that they should be hurt?

Abigail Williams said she was going to Mercy Lewes and quickly after said Lewes was seized with a fit. Then said Abigail cryed he is coming to Mary Walcot and said Mary presently fell into a fit also.

How can you be clear when the children saw something come from you and afflict these persons?

Then they fell into fitts and halloo'd and suffered greatly.

er wife before you God wa
open her mouth and she ha
fession and you seem to
before us.

I am clear of any witch.

What do you call it, and overlooking of them? You look upon them and they are hurt none [some?] of them.

Then they all fell into great fits againe.

When were you at any public Religious meeting.

Not a pretty while.

Why so?

Because I was not well. I had a distemper that none knows.

Can you act witchcraft here and by casting your eyes turn folks into fits.

You may judge your pleasure my soul is clear.

Do you not see you hurt these by your look.

No. I do not know it.

You did not answer to that question.

don't you overlook them?

No. I don't overlook them.

What do you call that way of looking upon persons striking them downe?

You may judge your pleasure.

Well but what do you call it?

It was none of I.

Who was it then?

I cannot tell who they are.

Why they say they see you going to hurt persons and immediately hurt persons.

Abig. Williams said he is going to hurt Mercy Lewes and immediately said Mercy fell into a fit and divers others.

Can you now deny it?

I can deny it to my dying day.

What is the reason you go away when there is any reading of the scripture in your family. He denied it.

Nath'l Ingersol and Tho. Haynes testified that this Hobbs' daughter had told them so.

As soon as your daughter Abigail and aft to-day your wife confessed they left for tuning [torturing?] and so would you if you would confess: can you still deny that you are guilty?

I am not guilty.

If you put away God's ordinances, no wonder that the Devil prevails with you to keep his counsell. Have you never had any apparition?

No sir.

Did you never pray to the Devill that your daughter might confess no more?

No sir.

Who do you worship?

I hope I worship God only.

Where?

In my heart.

But God requires outward worship not worship him in publick, nor worship him in my heart.

worship him in your family

amily speak the truth

not given the Devil advant

you thereby?

He was silent a considerable space then said yes.

Have you not known a good while how that your daughter was a witch.

No, sir.

Do you think she is a witch now.

I do not know.

Well if you desire mercy from God own the truth.

I do not know anything of that nature.

What do you think these people aile?

More than ordinary.

But what more than ordinary?

— silent.

Why do you not aaswer what its they aile?

I do not know what they aile. I am sorry.

It is none of I.

What do you thiak they aile?

There is more than ordinary.

What is that?

I cannot tell.

Do you think they are bewitcht.

I cannot tell.

Now tell your wife and daughter o—

Did you not give consent that these should be hurt.

Never in my dayes.

What do you think cused your wife she was there the other day.

nal God in Heaven knows.

know that. We do not ask that.

ther you do not know what cused

t till I know nothing.

man said he told me that if his wife

not write in the book he would kill her.

was the same time that she did signe

ppears by the time of her appearing as a

ember of Mr. Parris' family and others.

Did you not say so?

I never said so.

Salem Village, April 22d, 1692.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 199—200—3.]

NOTE.—It will be perceived that there are some breaks in this written examination, owing to the loss of a small portion of the original document.]

The examination of Mrs. Easty was had at the same place and date, before Justices Hathorne and Corwin, and we herewith append it:

The Examination of Mary Eastie,
At a Court held at Salem Village 22 Apr., 1692.
By the Wo'p John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin.

At the bringing in of the accused severall fell into fits.

Doth this woman hurt you?

many mouths were stopt and several other fits seized them.

Abig. Williams said it was Goody Eastie and she had hurt her, the like said Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam. John Jackson said he saw her with Goody Hobbs.

What do you say, are you guilty?

I can say before Christ Jesus I am free.

You see these accuse you.

There is a God.

Hath she brought the book to you?

Their mouths were stopt.

What have you done to these children?

I know nothing.

How can you say you know nothing, when you see these tormented and accuse you that you know nothing?

Would you have me accuse myself?

Yes, if you be guilty.

How far have you complied with Satan whereby he takes this advantage against you?

Sir, I never complied but prayed against him all my days. I have no compliance with Satan, in this. What would you have me do?

Confess if you be guilty.

I will say it, if it was my last time, I am clear of this sin.

Of what sin?

Of witchcraft.

Are you certain this is the woman?

Never a one could speak for fits.

By and by Ann Putnam said that was the woman, it was like her and she told me her name.

It is marvellous to me that you should sometimes think they are bewitched and sometimes not, when severall confess that they have been guilty of bewitching them.

Well Sir would you have me confess that that I never knew?

Her hands were clinched together and then the hands of Mercy Lewis was clinched.

Look now your hands are open, her hands are open.

Is this the woman?

They made signs but could not speak, but

Ann Putnam, afterwards Betty Hubbard, cried out Oh, Goody Easty, Goody Easty you are the woman, you are the woman.

Put up her head, for while her head is bowed the necks of these are broken.

What do you say to this?

Why God will know.

Nay God knows now.

I know he does.

What did you think of the actions of others before your sisters came out, did you think it was witchcraft?

I cannot tell.

Why do you not think it is witchcraft.

It is an evil spirit, but wither it be witchcraft I do not know.

Severall said she brought them the Book and then they fell into fits.

Salem Village, March 24th, 1691-2.

Mr. Sam'l Parris being desired to take in writing the Examination of Mary Eastie hath delivered it as aforesaid. Upon hearing the aforesaid, and seeing what we did then see, together with the Charge of the persons then present, We Committed sd Mary Eastie to their Majesties Goale.

JOHN HATHORNE, } Assist's.
JONATHAN CORWIN, }

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 333-4-5.]

NOTE.—It was very common at these examinations for the afflicted to fall at the sight of the accused—that is, by the power of their *evil eye*—and this poisonous influence was conveyed back again to their tormentors by their *touching* the afflicted—the latter being then able to rise. This for a time was considered as *proof* against the accused. The eye has been, from ancient times, considered as the chief seat or organ of witchcraft.

The ancient Naturalists thought the Basilisk killed other animals by *staring* at them. Plutarch writes of persons having such a poison in their eyes as to fascinate thereby their friends and acquaintances. Tully writes of women who had two apples [pupils] in one eye that always did mischief by their mere looks. Pliny speaks of a people that killed folks by looking on them, and he adds that they had two apples in each eye. It was anciently thought by some that the eye could emit optic spirits, or a natural poison or contagion, and so bewitch, fascinate, and destroy.

Witches were supposed to have such eyes. Pliny relates of the Thibians that they had such eyes, and were a people that could not be drowned. (See Increase Mather's Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcrafts, pages 41-2-3.)

The examination of Sarah Wildes took place on the 22d, and at the village, and before Justices Hathorne and Corwin, and we herewith append the account of it:—

The examination of Sarah Wilds at a Court held at Salem Village, 1692, by the w^ops John Hathorn and Jonathan Corwin.

The Sufferers were seized with sou [fits as soon as?] the accused came into the Court.

Hath this woman hurt you?

Oh she is upon the beam.

Goody Bibber that never saw her before says she saw her now upon the beam and then said Bibber fell into a fit.

What say you to this are you guilty or not? I am not guilty Sir.

Is this ye woman? speaking to the afflicted.

They all, or most said yes, and then fell into fits.

What do you say, are you guilty.

I thank God, I am free.

Here is a clear evidence that you have been not only a Tormentor but that you have cause done [some?] to signe the book, the night before last. What you say to this?

I never saw the book in my life and I never saw these persons before.

Some of the afflicted fell into fits.

Do you deny this thing that is.

All fell into fits and confirmed that the accused hurt them.

Did you never consent that these should be hurt?

Never in my life.

She was charged by some with hurting John Herrick's mother.

The accused denied it.

Capt. How gave in a relation and confirmation of the charge made.

She was ordered to be taken away and they all cried out she was upon the Beam and fell into fits. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 198-9.]

[NOTE —One Goody Bibber [or Vibber] appears as an accuser in this examination—as one of those who fell into fits, &c. There is some testimony on the records as to the character of this woman. John and Lydia Porter, Joseph Fowler, Thomas and Sarah Jacobs, and Richard Walker gave this as the sum of her character in their depositions. She was an unruly, turbulent woman—would have strange fits *when she was crost*—was double tongued—very idle in her calling—mischief making—very much given to speaking bad words against her husband—an ill-wisher—obscene in her language—and could fall into “fits” whenever she pleased. See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 488-9, for their charges against her. Yet this woman appeared as an accuser in *ten cases*!]

No papers relating to the examination of Edward Bishop and wife, Mary Black, or Mary English are now to be found. Nehemiah Abbot disappears from the scene somewhat mysteriously, and was, perhaps, cleared of the crime by the accusers. Undoubtedly Mr. B. and the remaining parties, excepting Abbot, were examined, for they were all committed* to prison. There is a tradition in the family of Mrs. Eng-

* *Calef* (pages 202-3) gives the form of the “mitimus” by which these parties were sent to prison on the 22d, of which the following is a copy:—

To their Magesties' Goal-Keeper in Salem:

You are in their Majesties' names hereby required to take into your care and safe custody the bodies of WILLIAM HOES and DEBORAH (Deliverance) his wife, MARY EASTY, the wife of ISAAC EASTY, and SARAH, the wife of JOHN WILD, all of TOPSFIELD; and EDWARD BISHOP of SALEM-VILLAGE, husbandman; and SARAH his wife, and MARY BLACK, a negro of Lieutenant NATHANIEL PUTNAM of SALEM-VILLAGE; also MARY ENGLISH, the wife of PHILIP ENGLISH, Merchant in Salem; who stand charged with high Suspicion of Sundry acts of Witchcraft, done or committed by them lately upon the bodies of ANN PUTNAM, MARY (Mercy) LEWIS and ABIGAIL WILLIAMS, of SALEM-VILLAGE; whereby great hurt and damage hath been done to the bodies of said persons, according to the complaint of THOMAS PUTNAM and JOHN BUXTON of SALEM-VILLAGE, exhibited SALEM, APRIL 21, 1692, appears, whom you are to secure in order to their further examination. Fail not.

JOHN HATHORN, } Assistants.
JONA CURWIN, }

Dated SALEM, APRIL 22, 1692.

lish, that she was placed in a room, separated by only a thin partition from the examining Judges, and heard the examinations and took some notes of the questions they asked the accused; and, when her turn came, demanded of the Judges whether such a course was lawful, and told them their decision should be reviewed by the Superior Courts or Judges. It may be that this tradition is true, since Mrs. English had given herself up for lost when first arrested, and told the officer, after having bade adieu to her family, "that she was ready to die." She expected death—prepared herself for it, and may have felt that courage which such a desperate belief would naturally create. She was a woman of a cultivated mind and firm character, and the tradition is not improbable.

The examinations* of those who preceded her will, however, with but little imagination, reproduce her own, and we shall only append to her case, therefore, the deposition of Susannah Sheldon, evidently taken before the Grand Jury, and as against Bridget Bishop, in which, however, Mrs. English figures as a witch, and in no good company. It must be remembered too, that at that time she was a church member, and this made her offence, as plotting

against the church, all the more abominable. *Sus. Sheldon v. Bridget Bishop, (alias Goody Oliver.)*

on the fourth day at night came Goody Olliuier and Mrs. English and Goodman Corie (Giles Cory) and a black man with a hi crowned hatt with books in their hands, Goody Olliuier bad me touch her booke i would not i did not know her name shee tould mee her name was Goody Olliuier and bid me touch her booke now I bid her tel mee how long shee had been a witch shee told me shee told me had been a witch aboute twentie years then there came a streched snake creeping over her shoulder and creep into her bosom.

Mrs. English had a yelo bird in her bosom and Goodman Corie had two tureles (turtles) hang to his coat and hee opened his bosom and put his tureles to his brest and gaue them suck then Goodman Core and Goody Olliuier kneeled downe beefore the black man and went to prayer & then the black man told mee Goody Olliuier had been a witch twenti years and a half, then they all set to biteing mee and so went away. the next day came Goodman Core Mrs. English in the morning and told mee i should not eat no uittals, i took a spoon and put on Spoonful in my mouth and goodman Corie gaue mee a blou on the ear and almost choaked mee. then he laughed at mee and told mee i would eat when he told mee i should not, then he clenched my hands that they could not be opened for more than a quarter of an our then came Philip English and told mee if i would touch his booke he would not bite mee but i refused then hee did bite mee and went away.

the sixth day at night came Goody Olliuier and Mrs. English, Goodman Core and his wife.

Goodwif Core presented mee a booke i refused it and asked her whear she liued, shee told mee shee liued in boston prisson, then shee puled out her brest and the black man gaue her a thing like a black pig, it had no hairs on it and shee putt it to her brest and gave it suck and when it had sucked on brest shee put it to the other and gaue it suck there.

To Marshall GEORGE HERRICK, of Salem, Essex:

You are in their Majesties' names hereby required to convey the above-named to the goal at SALEM. Fail not.

JOHN HATHORN, }
JONA. CURWIN, } *Assistants.*

Dated SALEM, APRIL 22, 1692.

* According to the "*multimus*," by which the Marshall took into safe custody Mrs. English and the others arrested with her, (and which we have given, and as taken from Calef,) it is most probable that these parties underwent another examination, perhaps several subsequent examinations. Arrested parties were not unfrequently examined, and re-examined, to judge by the witchcraft records now remaining, and roughly and rudely treated the while. Mrs. English lost her life through the exposure and treatment she met with in prison; and as refusing to confess herself *guilty*, was doubtless made to feel all the indignity, and perhaps much of the cruelty of that day, both on examination, and while in prison.

then she gaue it to the black man then they went to praier to the blak man, then Goody Olliuer told me shee had kiled four women, two of them were the fosters' wives and John Traske's wife and did not name the other, then they did all bite mee and went away. then the next day came Goody Core (Martha Cory) choaked mee and told me I would not eat when my dame bid me but now I should eat none.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 183-4.]

In this deposition (which appears by the records to have been taken on or about the 2d June before the Jury, and was evidently used to indict Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, who was condemned, and hung on the 10th—the first victim under the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer, which met in Salem on the 2d,) there are certain little matters which may need explanation. The "goodman Core" was Giles Cory—the "black man with a hi crowned hatt" was the Devil—"the books" in their hands were covenant books with Satan—touching the book was signing the Devil's Laws and becoming a witch, and a plotter against the church. The "strechd"* snake was a demon. The "yelo"(yellow) bird, which Mrs. English had, was her reward for serving the Devil. As this "yellow bird" figures in some of the examinations and confessions, we will try to give an idea of its origin and uses.

* This "snake" was perhaps a device of Tituba's, taken from the native Indian belief, as the Indian *Powahs* (wizards) stated that their God—*Hobbomock*—(the Indian Devil) generally appeared to them as a *snake*. It is an interesting enquiry, how far the "demons" appearing in 1692, and their doings, were a part of the belief of the aborigines of New England, and can be attributed to it?

The Devil was usually described by the accusers of 1692 as a black [tawney] man, "with a high crowned hat." So the Swedish children of Elfsland described the Devil, who carried them to Blockula, as being generally dressed as a mad Merry Andrew, and as wearing "a high-crowned hat!" This description of the hat may be of Swedish origin. See Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, pages 186 to 192.

The first mention of this kind of bird occurs in Tituba's examination, March 1st. She, like Sarah Good, at first denied that she afflicted the children, but gradually and dexterously glided into a confession. After acknowledging at last that the Devil had appeared to her in various shapes—sometimes like a hog—some times like a great black dog—urging her to serve him, she said that on his last appearance a dog, and when he told her he would do worse to her if she did not serve him, she told him, "I will serve you no longer. then he said he would hurt me and then he looked like a man and threatens to hurt me. She said that this man had a yellow bird† that kept (kept) with him and he told me he had more pretty things that he would give me if I would serve him." This is the first appearance of the yellow bird in the witchcraft stories. Subsequently to this, Tituba was examined, and accused Sarah Good of having one of these yellow birds—stated that the afflicted children also saw it, and that she (Tituba) saw it suck Good between the fore finger and long finger on the right hand. This was the way this bird was fed. At this examination, Dorothy Good (daughter of Sarah) accused her mother of having three birds—one of which was black and another yellow—"and that these birds hurt the children and afflicted persons." It is evident, therefore, from such testimony as this, that this kind of bird was a gift from the Devil—a sign of, as well as reward for serving him, and had the power of tormenting the afflicted. It was a mark too of (evil) prosperity.

† When Mrs. Cory was examined, her accusers said that the *black man* (the Devil) was whispering in her ear, "and that she had a yellow bird, that did use to suck between her fingers, and that the said bird did suck now in the assembly; order being given to look in that place to see if there was any sign, the girl that pretended to see it said that it was too late now, for she had removed a pin, and put it on her head, it was upon search found that a pin was there sticking upright." (*Calef*, page 188)

Was this diversion of the charge on the part of the accuser artifice, or not?

The turtles, which Giles Cory had, were doubtless similar gifts of the Devil, (perhaps of Indian origin) and equally capable of mischief. The black pig, or Demon resembling it, which Martha Cory suckled, was also one of the Imps of Hell, and the black man, they prayed to, was the father of all lies and iniquities—the Devil himself.

As Mrs. English never was tried, owing to her escape from Boston jail, she may never have been indicted, and for the same reason. She was about being removed from B. to Salem when she fled. It is obvious, however, that both she and her husband were not forgotten in their absence by the accusers, who, in accusing others, kept their names before the indignation of the magistrates or Grand Jury. Some of this evidence has no doubt perished. That which remains, however, shows the purpose and spirit of the accusers.

We come now to the incidents connected with the arrest of Philip English. His frequent visits to his wife, while in prison, are said to have caused him to be suspected. It is very probable also, that he expressed freely his opinions upon the whole matter, and, perhaps, like John Proctor, to the dissatisfaction of the witnesses. On the 30th a warrant was issued for his arrest, and two other parties with him. The following is a copy of the warrant and officer's return:—

To the Marshall of the County of Essex or his Lawfull Deputy:

You are in theire Majestys names hereby required to Apprehend and bring before us Philip English of Salem, merchant, Sarah Murrell of Beverly and Dorcas Hoare of Beverly widow all in the County of Essex, on Monday next being the second day of the month of May next ensuing ye date hereof, about Eleven of ye clock in ye forenoon at the house of Lt. Nathaniell Ingersalls in order to theire Examination Relating to high suspicion of Sundry acts of witchcraft donne or Committed by them upon ye Bodys of Mary Walcott, Marcy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam and

Elizabeth Hubbert and Susannah Sheldon; viz: vpon some or all of them belonging to Salem village or farmes whereby great hurt and damage hath benne donne to ye Bodys of sd persons according to complaint of Capt. Jonathan Walcott and Serjent Thomas Putnam in behalf of their Majesties for themselves and also for severall of theire neighbours. And hereof you are not to faile at your perill. Dated Salem, Aprill 30th, 1692.

Jus. JOHN HATHORNE, } Assists.
JONATHAN CORWIN, }

May 2d, 1692. I have taken ye bodys of ye above named Sarah Murrell and Dorcas Hore and brought them unto ye house of leut. Nathaniell Ingersoll att ye time abovesaid. Pr. me.

GEORGE HERRICK, Marshall of Essex.

Mr. Phillip English not being to bee found.

Pr. G. H.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 206-7.]

According to the marshal's return, Sarah Murrell and Dorcas Hoare were arrested and brought before the magistrates. This is the last we hear of Sarah Murrell* in any way.

* Sarah Murrell disappears from the scene in just the same way, most probably, as did Nehemiah Abbot, who was arrested with Mrs. English. In the *mittimus* of Mrs. English, and others arrested with her, no mention is made of Abbot, who we may conclude was cleared of the crime by the afflicted at the examination. This clearing of the accused by the tormented was sometimes, though rarely, done at that day. Sometimes the magistrates interfered. Calef mentions (page 229) that at the trial of Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse and others, "one of the accusers cried out publicly of Mr. Willard, minister in Boston, as afflicting of her. She was sent out of court, and it was told about she was mistaken in the person!" Had not the accused in this case been a prominent minister, his life would have been in danger. Rev. Mr. Parris was accused by some of *partiality* in urging forward certain complaints and prosecutions, and suppressing others. He could thus prosecute or clear whom he saw fit. It was doubtless in the power of the magistrates and clergy to suppress some of the complaints, and determine what accusations were *mistakes*. It was the alarming number of such mis-

She was probably cleared. Dorcas Hoare, however, was examined and committed. We herewith append her examination, which evidently took place at the Village:—

The Examination of Dorcas Hoare, 2 May, 1692.

Severall of the afflicted fell into fits as soon as she was brought in.

Eliz. Hubbard said this woman had afflicted me ever since last Sab: was seven nights and hurt me ever since and she choakt her own husband.

Mary Walcott said she told me the same.

Abig. Williams said this is the woman that she saw first before ever Tituba Indian or any else.

Ann Putnam said this the woman that hurts her and the first time she was hurt by her was the Sab: was seven nights.

Susan Sheldon accused her of hurting her last moonday night.

Abig. Williams and Ann Putnam said she told them that she had choakt a woman lately at Boston.

Eliz. Hubbard cried out why do you pinch me. the mark was visible to the standers by. The Marshall said she [Mrs. H.] pincht her own fingers at that time.

Dorcas Hoar why do you hurt these?

I never hurt any child in my life.

It is you or your appearance.

How can I helpe it?

What is it from you that hurts these?

I never saw worse than myself.

You need not see worse. They charge you with killing your Husband.

I never did, nor never saw you before.

You sent for Goody Gale to cut your [husband's?] head off. What do you say to that?

I never sent for her upon that account.

What do you say about killing your husband?

Susan Sheldon also charged her that she

came in with two cats and brought me the book and fell into a fitt and told me your name was Goody Buckley.

No I never did I never saw thee before.

What black cats were those you had?

I had none.

Mary Walcot Susan Sheldon and Abigail Williams said they saw a black man whispering in her ears.

Oh! you are liars and God will stop the mouth of liars.

You are not to speak after this manner in the Court.

I will speak the Truth as long as I live.

Mary Walcott Susan Sheldon and Eliz. Hubbard said again there was a man whispering in her ear and said she should never confess.

Goody Bibber free from fits hitherto said there was a black man with her and fell into a fit.

What do you say to those cats that suckt your breast what are they?

I had no cats.

You do not call them cats that are they that suck you?

I never suckt none but my child.

What do you say. you never saw Goody Buckley.

I never knew her.

Goodm Bukly testified that she had been at the house often.

I know you but not the woman.

You said you did not know the name.

Many bystanders testified she disowned that she knew the name.

I did not know the name so as to goe to the woman.

Susan Sheldon and Abig. Williams cried there was a blew bird gone into her back.

The Marshall struck and several of the bystanders testified that they saw a fly like a Miller.

What did you see Goody Bibber, who was looking up.

Goody Bibber was taken dumb.

What can you have no heart to confess.

takes that finally aroused the influential of the community to the danger of listening to any complaints.

I have nothing to do with witchcraft.

They say the Devil is whispering in your ear.

I cannot help it if they do see it.

cannot you confess what you think of these things?

Why should I confess that I do not know.

Susan Sheldon cried O Goody Hoar do not kill me, and fell into a fit and when she came to herself she said she saw a black man whispering in her ear and she brought me the book.

I have no book but the Lord's book.

What Lord's book.

The Lord's book.

Oh said some of the afflicted there is one whispering in her ears.

There is somebody will rub your ears shortly, said the examinant.

Immediately they were afflicted and among others Mercy Lewes.

Why do you threaten they should be Rubb'd?

I did not speak a word of Rubbing.

Many testified she did.

My meaning was God would bring things to light.

Your meaning for God to bring the thing to light would be to deliver these poor afflicted ones, that would not Rubb them.

This is unusual impudence to threaten before Authority. who hurts them now.

I know not.

They were rubbed after you had threatened them.

Mary Walcot Abig. Williams and Eliz. Hubbard were carried towards her, but they could not come near her.

What is the reason these cannot come near you.

I cannot help it. I do them no wrong. they may come if they will.

Why you see they cannot come near you.

I do them no wrong.

Note. The afflicted were much distressed during her examination.

This is a true account of the examination of Dorcas Hoar without wrong to any party ac-

cording to my original from characters at the moments thereof. witness my hand.

SAM. PARRIS.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 257-8-9-60.]

[NOTE.—This "fly" can perhaps be explained thus: When the Indian "Powahs" (Wizards) desired to kill or torment a person, the Devil who served them sometimes seized something of the spirit of that person, while it wandered in its sleep, which was brought to the *Powah* in the form of a fly, and kept a close prisoner, and accordingly as the *Powah* dealt with this fly, so fared it with the *body* of the person it belonged to. See Cotton Mather's Hist. of New England, Book 6, page 52—also page 65 same Book.

As the spectator saw a fly like a miller after the marshal struck a blow at some fancied object or other, he may have liberated thereby the spirit of a bewitched person.

It is more likely, however, that the fly was the supposed Imp or familiar spirit of the accused, which, according to the English doctrine of witchcraft, could take the shape of a *fly*, spider, *bird*, &c., and which if struck at, and it could not be killed, was most certainly the "familiar" of the accused.

It would appear from the records—the depositions finally given in against her—that she had been guilty, twenty or more years before, of having in her possession and using a fortune-telling book—that she had told a few fortunes, (it does not appear for money, however,) but had given that up long ago, having been rebuked therefor—that she had strongly objected to having the body of her husband examined by a coroner's jury, he having died very suddenly—that once, when very sick, (and in a delirium most probably) she rose from bed unknown to her watchers and suddenly disappeared, and was afterwards found sitting on her doorstep, with her clothes and hat and cloak on, and moreover seized and held fast some one who was running by her out of the house, and in a fright at her disappearance—that various accidents had happened in her neighborhood, which savored of witchcraft, &c., &c. Suffice it to say, Dorcas Hoar† was condemned, but fortunately escaped execution.

† "After Goodwife Hoar was condemned her estate was seized, and was also bought again for eight pound." (*Calef*, page 230.)

EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL KEPT BY SAMUEL GARDNER, 1759.

(See Collections Essex Institute, Vol. 2d, P. 212.)

COMMUNICATED BY B. F. BROWNE.

DEATHS AND BURIALS FOR 1759.

At Salem, Jan'y 3, Mrs. Gray, wife to Benj'n.

At Danvers, Jan'y 12, Miss Symonds.

At Salem, Buried Jan'y 19 Mr. Diman.

At Salem, Buried Jan'y 28 Mr. Hooper.

At Salem, January 28th, Miss Davis.

At Cambridge, February, of the measles, Miss Betty Epes, aged 22 years.

At Concord, Feb'y 16, the Hon'ble James Minot, Esq., aged about 66.

At his lodgings in Boston, February 6th, Capt. Lieut. Thomas Coomer of the Royal Artillery, aged 22.

At Dorchester, February 6, after a long illness, in the 70th year of his age, Brigadier Gen'l Hatch.

In Boston, February 16th, of the measles, Henry Gibbs, Esq., belonging to Salem.

At Danvers, February 23d, Madam Hubbard, mother to the Rev. Mr. Clark's Lady.

February 20, Joseph Whipple, Esq., going over a Bridge in a dark Evening, fell in and was drowned, to the great Grief of his Friends. He belonged to Rhode Island, and was formerly Lieut. Governour of that Colony.

At Salem, March 30th, Miss Elizabeth Orne.

At Salem, March, Miss Prat, aged about 90 years.

At Salem, March, Madam Smith, alias Mother No Nose.

At Philadelphia, March 11th, of a tedious illness, John Forbes, Esq., in the 49th year of his age; Commander of his Majesty's Troops in the Southern Provinces of North America.

At Cambridge, April 9th, Miss Watson.

At Salem, April, Capt. Andrew Tucker.

At Salem, April 28th, John Cabot—a Boy of about 11 years old.

May 5th, Three men and one woman, all of Malden, who were going from Boston home in

a small Boat, by a sudden gust of wind the Boat overset and the 3 men were drowned, the woman was taken in and is likely to do well.

May 23d, Brigadier General Waldo Died at Penobscot, of Apoplexy; he went down there with our Governour.

June 6th, Died at Kittery, Sir William Pepperell, Bart., Lieut. General in his Majesty's Army.

Some time in June died the Rev. Mr. Daniel Putnam, Pastor of the Church of Reading precinct.

June 19th, Died at Salem, Mrs. Mary King, (Andrew.)

July or August, Died at Cape Francois, Mr. Benj'n Gerrish of Salem; he went to sea and was taken with Capt. Josiah Orne, and went to the Cape as an hostage for the ransom of the vessel. He died three days before Capt. Orne arrived there with the money.

August 25, Died at Salem, Capt. Tho's Dean. He came home as well to all appearance as ever and fell down dead, without speaking a word.

Some time in September died the Rev. Mr. Russell of Barnstable.

Sept'r 5th, Mr. Daniel Gardner of Danvers (my uncle) died. He was born December 16th, 1709.

Sept'r 13th, Mr. Tho's Ropes died; he had lately returned from sea. He was taken the last voyage. He married one of Deacon Bickford's Daughters. The Deacon has lately lost his Son, Pinson Bickford, who died at St. Eustatia. He was Capt. George Crowninshield's mate.

Sept'r, Died at Casco Bay, Mr. Stephen Minot; he was a resident at College—a very good preacher.

At Salem, October 17th, Miss Sarah Toppan. Died whilst I was absent, Old Capt. White's wife.

Died at Salem, whilst absent, Mrs. Lee.

MARRIAGES FOR 1759.

January 18th, Mr. Allen (Capt. Edward)

was married to Mrs. Gardner, (Widow of Israel G. She was a Hodges.)

May 3d, Samuel Holdman was married to Miss Hunt, both of Salem.

Febr'y 11, John Bowditch was married to Mary Carleton, both of Salem.

September 13th, Richard Darby, Jun'r, was married to Lydia Gardner, my sister.

(She and Mary were gemini; Mary married Jonathan Andrew.)

Sept. 18, Will. Cook was married to Sarah Very.

January 3d—Mr. Holt was ordained Pastor over the Second Church in Danvers. The persons that assisted at the ordination were Mr. Barnard, who began with prayer, Mr. Phillips preached, Mr. Clark gave the charge, Mr. John Chandler made the last prayer. Mr. James Chandler gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and the whole was conducted with great decorum and good entertainment was made for Scholars. Deacon Pickering sent a letter to the Council, and it was voted it should not be read; he was there himself, but they would not admit him into the Council. N. B. Mr. Holt voluntarily gave in a Confession of his Faith. About a dozen of Scholars there. Mr. Phillips' text was in Proverbs, 11th chap., ye latter part of the 30th verse.

January 10th—I went to another Ordination, which was at Middleton, where Mr. Smith was ordained Pastor. Mr. Emerson began with Prayer, Mr. Clark preached—his text was in John. 1st chap., 16th and 17th verses—Mr. Phillips gave the charge, Mr. Chipman concluded with prayer, and Mr. Cushing gave the right hand of fellowship. All was carried on with Decency, tho' the House was exceedingly full. We dined at Tim. Fuller's. After Supper we went down to Ezra Putnam's, the place provided for Scholars, but spent the evening at Mr. Jacob Fuller's, accompanied with about half a dozen Scholars.

January 17th—I went to an Instalment at Stoneham, where Mr. John Seris took upon him the pastoral charge of the Church and

Congregation. Mr. Parsons of Newbury prayed, Mr. Emerson of Malden preached from Colossians, 1 chap., 28 verse, a very Calvinistic Discourse, and I believe all that assisted were *pretty full in that scheme*. Mr. Cook gave the charge, Mr. Sherman concluded with prayer and Mr. Robie gave the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Seris was settled Minister at Sharon, but the cause of his leaving them I never heard. Few Scholars. Went in a chair with Pickman.

Jan'y 31—There was an Ordination at Boxford, and there being a great weight of Snow then upon the ground I thought it best to tarry at home. They ordained Mr. Holyoke.

Jan'y 28, Harbor frozen over.

February 2d—A violent shock of an earthquake.

3d—Went to and dined with my friend Clarke at Danvers. Coming home stopped to see Master Wyer at Uncle Ostourn's.

6th—Went to the Deacon's, (Pickering.)

8th—Went to Cambridge. Measles were so very thick the President dismissed those that had not had them. Few Scholars were at the seat of the muses.

9th—The Corporation have broke up the College 3 weeks, in consequence of which determination I went to Salem, most of the way on foot. In the evening went to the Deacon's—Moody and Wingate were there.

March 1st—Went to Cambridge. Harry Appleton is returned from Sea and I saw him at Pickman's Chamber. I seem to be out of my element having lived from College so long. Mr. Barnard bro't his Son yesterday and I saw him at the Steward's. Spent the evening at Goodale's Chamber—Mr. Marchant and Lovel being there.

March 3d—Richard Leachmere, Esqr., Collector of his Majestie's Customs at the Port of Salem, seized the schooner Sarah, Bartholomew Putnam Master, he having run all the goods before, as I was informed by Mr. Wyer. N. B. This vessel came from Monte Christo, and on some pretence Mr. Leachmere would not

enter them. There were three or four more which came from the same place, when I came from Salem, (he was then at Cambridge), which was on the first day of March. Whether he has entered them, or what is become of them I have not been so happy as to hear.

7—Fair and exceeding cold; almost froze my fingers.

15—Fine, fair day. Pickman went to Boston—brought news that Cushing is judge. Scholars formed themselves into a company and chose their officers.

19—Pickman went to Boston—brought news that four vessels from Monte Christo are taken, two belonging to Salem.

April 1—Coming from prayers, this morning, heard that there was a murder committed at Salem last Friday night, a boy of about 14 years of age—impatient to know further.

3d—Hear that the long expected Comet was seen at Boston.

4th—Pickman went home, returned the 6th and brought a letter. The boy's name that was killed was Ebourn. Aunt Ingersoll's Negro is put in jail on Suspicion.

9th—John Appleton came from Salem—all well. Supped on Robins which my chum and Wingate killed.

10th—Aunt Ingersoll's negro out of jail. A fray between some scholars and townsmen, as there was one yesterday between some soldiers and— Six of the former were put in jail and were tried before Judge Danforth.

11th—Went to Miss Watson's funeral.

16th—My father came to Cambridge and brought the agreeable news of my brother's arrival, as well as Capt. Darby's, at Salem, and says there is nothing new found out about the murder.

Appleton I hear is going on board the province ship.

May 3d—Pickman was in Boston and by Mr. Epes, who was there, he learnt that Mr. Vans has been turned out as Naval Officer and Mr. Turner placed in his room, and what is more remarkable, that Mr. Nutting had a Com-

mission sent him to be Naval Officer and accordingly went to take the Oath, but Mr. Turner obtained another Commission which supplanted Mr. Nutting.

4th—Miss Nancy Fayerweather was thrown out of a chaise and broke one of her arms and bruised her considerable. This happened at Newton. Dr. Kneeland was with her.

21—Went to Medford to the burying of Mrs. Turell.

June 7th—Dr. Wigglesworth sent for me, for not attending his lectures last Tuesday, when my brother was here, and what is worse, would not hear my excuse. Hard! Injured innocence. George Gardner came up with him, who could not return on account of the weather. A very bad storm. Wind exceeding high. Bad for vessels at sea. My brother perhaps. Lord preserve him.

8th—The storm continues with great violence.

9th—Fine, pleasant day.

11th—By the newspapers I learn that there are several vessels taken going to and from Monte Christo; perhaps my brother is among them. Take him under thy care O Lord!

12th—By Miss Gibbs, who is from Salem, we hear that it was certainly Dover who killed the boy the last of March, by his own confession.

13th—Barnard came from Salem. My Brother has got home. (Deo gratias.) Confirms the account we had yesterday.

19th—Wm. Pickman and Capt. Robinson in town. Say my brother has not got in, but it was my Cousin John Gardner. A Sad Disappointment.

23d—A very hot day. Went to Salem. Our folks dull, thinking my brother is carried to Jamaica, but were refreshed by news brought by Capt. Mason, who arrived in the evening.

28—Fair and exceeding hot. Went on the water and went on shore at Bakers' Island

29th—Went to Cambridge; set off at 4 with my Father; we having our Valedictory Oration pronounced, which was finely performed.

July 10th—The inferiour Court opened here, (Salem.)

11—The famous case between Col. Pickman and Mr. Pickering tried. I was there. The Deacon got beat in 75 damages.

13—Fair but exceeding hot; went to Cambridge with my Father.

17—Cloudy, rainy and very uncomfortable. My Father and Mother came.

18—Cloudy and very hot. Commencement weather. To my great Sorrow I am quite ill.

19—Poor I quite sick. My classmates came to see me.

21—A. M. came home. Vale College, valetto Cambridge. Something tired of riding.

22—Mr. Dinan and Mr. Gilchrist sick, no meeting. Here I am, but where next and what is to follow is quite uncertain.

27—Mr. Gibbs' goods sold at vendue. I bought a few books. Goodale is to keep school in town I believe.

31—News that the Brest Fleet, composed of 30 Sail and 100 Transports, have got out—where bound is a secret. Some preparations are here making.

July 10th—There came news that three of our Fishing Schooners were taken by a Shallop of Canso. One of the Schooners belonged to Capt. Darby, one to Mr. Cabot, and the other to Mr. Orne. There were about 20 men on board of all three, all of which belonged to the lower Parish.

July 20th—They all arrived in Salem in Capt. Darby's Schooner. The Shallop that took them not knowing what to do with them, nor where to carry them, and so put them on board this vessel, she being the meanest of them. Two of the men were wounded, but not bad.

August 9th—Went to my old Chum Pickering's. (John, afterwards Register of Deeds.) He is engaged to keep School at Manchester. Nat. Ingersoll courts one of his Sisters. (Nat. Ingersoll died unmarried.)

16th—Ives' farm sold at vendue. Capt. Darby bought it.

22—Fair, pleasant day. Went to Boston with my Brother; returned to Salem by Cambridge; saw there my Classmates, Jones and Kingsbury. Dined at Bradishe's; Mr. Barnard there.

24—Went to Nahant with Miss Sally Marston. Spent the Evening at Mr. Walter's.

26th—Capt. Dean buried; an exceeding large burying, about 400.

31st—We learn that the above Shallop has fitted out one of the Schooners and that she took one David Felt belonging to this town. She gave them her Boat, in which they found way to get home. There were other Schooners in sight, so that we wait to hear further.

September 3—Arrived at Salem Robert Fry in Capt. Darby's Schooner. She has been taken again by the same enemies—they gave him his vessel again. They have taken 9 sail, besides the above, two belonging to Boston, one from London, the rest were fishing vessels belonging to this Town. Uncle Gardner has lost one, Mr. Barton one, &c. 'Tis very remarkable that Fry should have his vessel given him twice.

Sept. 7—Goodale opened his School.

8th—Went to burying of Uncle Daniel, (Gardner.)

13th—Went to Mr. Ropes' funeral.

14th—Richard Darby and Lydia Gardner's (his sister) nuptials were performed. Mr. Barnard (of 1st Church) did the needful.

15—Guns fired morning, noon and night. Colors flying.

22—Fair weather; good news from Germany.

25—In the evening walked. Saw Goodale. We with others drank a glass of wine at Miss Hannah's, a trick I never did before.

29th—Mrs. West at our house. She was Mr. Grant's 3d Daughter, and married very well in Connecticut.

October 1—A minister's meeting; Mr. Chipman preached. Mr. Barnard invited me to dine with the ministers, but I declined.

10th—Determined to go to sea with Capt.

Darby; quite sudden and unexpected; preparing for it; we wait only for a wind.

11th—Went to Cambridge to get my diploma; as I came out of Cambridge heard of the glorious news of the Surrender of Quebec. I brought it first to Salem. *Great Rejoicing.*

15—News of the peace in Europe.

19th—Fine, fair weather. Wind N. W. Sailed from Salem. May I be in the care of God throughout this voyage. (The remainder of the journal narrates the occurrences on the voyage to Gibraltar.)

NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY—No. 6.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

In 1840, a farmer, Capt. Stephen Grindle, in the vicinity of Castine, Maine, had occasion to excavate the top of a ledge, and on removing the earth,* found lying on the top of the rock, a quantity of ancient coin, of pure silver, amounting to about \$600.

They consisted of a large amount of Spanish Cobb money, and a great number of Pine-tree shillings, with coins of France, Spain, and other countries,† in fine order, and many of

* An article on the discovery of the coins found at Castine, was published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, July 17, 1841, taken from the Belfast Signal. Also, a more extended account in the Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 6, page 105. By Joseph Williamson, Esq.

† Most of these coins, valuable to collectors, found at Castine, were purchased by John Warren, dealer in marine shells, minerals, paintings, engravings, gems, coins, and other articles of antiquity. He was an Englishman, at one time a wealthy brewer, and kept his carriage, but becoming reduced in property, came to Boston with a small stock of coins, shells, &c. He established himself on Tremont Street, in an old building, afterwards removed, on the erection of the Museum. He was there in 1840,—I cannot tell how much sooner,—and it is likely was the first dealer in old coins in Boston, and perhaps in the U. S. He removed from Tremont Street to 293 Washington Street, up-stairs, where he continued till his death, which happened a few years

after, of beautiful workmanship. They were supposed to have been buried by Baron de St. Castin.

The earliest coin was one of John IV., King of Portugal, 1630–36, and it is said none after 1688; most of them were of a date long previous to that period. This large parcel of coins showed the specie circulation here before 1688, and the proportions of each country. It appears from Mr. Williamson's account of the old coins, found at Castine, that there was but one coin of England found in the collection. The reason is clear, the exportation of the coins of England being strictly forbidden by Acts of Parliament. The early settlers of her American Colonies must, in consequence, have come without them, and probably with very little of that of any other nation.

Wampum, and other representations of specie, were used as currency. The furs, and other commodities, sent by the first settlers to England, brought no return of specie, the balance of trade being always against them. The little specie they obtained from other countries, was also continually leaving them for England.

It was to stop, and retain it in this country, that the Massachusetts Mint was established, in 1652. It was different with the exportation of our fish to Spain, a considerable portion of the returns being specie. The coins of Holland were early introduced by our trade with the Dutch settlement at New York.

The coins of France, from almost the first settlement of New England, were current, being most of them introduced by an illicit trade carried on with her Colonies. From the parcel of coins found at Castine, I obtained at the time, many fine specimens of France, Spain, and the Pine-tree money, and one of them,

since, when his whole collection was sold, at private sale, to some Institution, I believe in Connecticut. (His price for the Pine-tree shilling was \$1.) Most of the collectors in this vicinity have more or less of them in their collections.

which I have always considered the most valuable (and perhaps unique,) in my collection, a piece of eight, coined at the mint of Potosi, 1652. It will be seen from the description I shall give of it, that the second coinage of the Massachusetts money, as regards the beaded circles, enclosing the legend and device, and the Anno before the date, are nearly the same as on the New England coins, showing that it might have been, in those respects, a pattern for their coins. I do not know of the Anno being placed before the date on any other coins. It is also a very interesting coin in another respect, being stamped with N E., showing it to be one of the last issue of the silver currency of Massachusetts, ordered to be issued by the Court, Oct. 8, 1672:

"Whereas peeces of eight are of more value to carry out of the country then they will yield to mint into our coyne, by reason whereof peeces of eight which might else come to coyn-ing are carried out of the country, it is therefore ordered by this Court & the authority thereof, that all peeces of eight that are full weight and good siluer, that is, six shillings of New England money, of Mexico, sevil and pillar and so all lesser peeces of each sort, shall pass in this jurisdiction as current as our own money peeces of eight, at sixe shillings a peece, & all lesser peeces proportionably thereunto, provided that all such peeces that shall passe in this jurisdiction have a stampe affix't vpon them, weh shall be N E., to euidence that they are of right allay & due weight, as an addition to the sayd lawe, be it ordered and enacted by this Court & the authority thereof, that peeces of eight vnder the weight of sixe shillings shall likewise be passable for so much of New England money as they shall weigh, and that it be impressed vpon the stampe how much each peece doth weigh in legible figures wth the other letters on ye same, & of the same alloy."

The coin in my possession, weighs 17 pennyweights, the weight required, and is in a fine state of preservation, having the appearance of being coined by powerful machinery.

This Piastre of eight Reals, Plate Currency, (called on that account a piece of eight,) has on its obverse, near its edge, a beaded circle, to prevent clipping, the legend, "PHILIPVS III. D. G. HISPANIARVM REX, -|-". In its field a shield surmounted by a regal coronet, first and third quarters, castles, the Arms of Castile, second and fourth, Lions, the Arms of Leon, in a bend at the base of the shield, a Pomegranate, the Arms of Granada; on the left the Arabic numeral 8, its value, and on the right of the shield, 52, an abbreviation of its date. There are other marks, which I am not able to explain. On the first quarter of the shield appears the stamp N E., similar to that on the first coinage of the N. E. money, a beaded circle encloses the field of the coin; reverse, the beaded circles, the same as on the obverse, legend, E L. PERV. -|- POTOSI, ANNO, 1652. In the field, two upright pillars, with coronets, instead of capitals, and above them a regal coronet; at their base flows a representation of the Mediterranean Sea, and across the coin the inscription, "PLVS VLTRA," "more beyond." The pillars are supposed to represent the Pillars of Hercules. The Arabic numeral 8, between the coronets, its value, IIII, on the right of the shield, the reigning king, and other marks not easy to explain. This coin shows, that, different from what all other writers I have seen have stated,† that the shield was actually put on part of the coins struck by Spain, in her South American Colonies.

† The Rev. Edward Clarke, in letters on the Spanish nation, written at Madrid, 1760-61, page 273, says: "In regard to their silver specie, in the first place observe that it has no impress of any royal head; that whenever it has a shield or coat of arms on it, it is coined in Old Spain, if it be struck before the year 1733."

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCK.

Continued from Vol. II, page 153.

John Ingersoll, his son John bo by Judith his wife the 12th 7th mo., 1644; theire son Nathanyell bo ye 10th 2d mo., '47; da Ruth bo ye 20th 4th mo., '49; son Richard bo 1st 7th mo., '51; da'r Sara bo ye 28th 6th mo., '55; Sam'll bo ye 6th 8th mo., '58; son Joseph bo 9th 10th mo., '62, and died ye same year: da Hana bo 11th 1st mo., '63, and died ye same year.

Nathaniell Ingerson Senr and Hana Collins were maryed 25m, 16—.

John Ingerson and Mary Coomes were married the 17th 3d mo., —; theire daughter Mary borne 10th 7th mo., 1671; Ruth borne 2d 12th mo., 1673.

Nathaniell Ingerson and Mary Preston were married the 8th 8th mo., 1670; theire daughter Elizabeth borne 11th 12 mo., 1672; son John borne the 7th 8th 1674.

The widow Ann Ingerson deceased 30th July, 1677.

Stephen Ingolls married to Dinah Elson ye 2d day of January, 1690-1; his daughter Mary borne by Dina his wife 6th 9th mo., 1691; Dina Ingols, daughter of Stephen Ingols and Dina his wife, was borne at Salem February ye 24th, 1693-4; Stephen Ingolls, son as aforesd, was borne at Salem June 16, 1696; Ephraim Ingolls, son as aforesd, was borne at Salem Sep'r 10th, 1698.

Thomas Ives and Martha Withe were married the 1st 2d mo., 1672; their daughter Elizabeth borne the 8th 12th mo., '72, and deceased the 21st 5 mo., 1673; son Thomas borne ye 31st March, '74; daughter Deborah borne the 8th of December, 1675.

Hugh Joanes maryed to Hannah Tompkins by Major Denyson 26th June, 1660; theire da'r Hana bo 9th 12th, 1660, and deceased 1st

8th mo., '62; da Sara deceased 12th 8th, '62; daughter Sara by Hana his wife 30th April, '63, and died soon after; theire daughter Elizabeth borne 2d October, '64; their daughter Mary borne 30th January, ('65); son John bo 4th 6th mo., 1667; daughter Deborah borne ye 10th of March, 1669-70; son Samuell borne 30th April, 1672; Hana the wife of sd Joanes deceased 10th of May, 1672; Hugh Joanes his second marriage to Mary Foster 31st 10th mo., 1672; theire daughr Rebecka borne 15th October, 1673; daughter Abigail borne the 7th January, 1674; theire daughter Hana borne 17th 3d mo., 1677; daughter Rachell borne the 17th April, 1679; daughter Sara borne the 10th of July, 1681; their daughter Lydia bo 20th Feb'y, 1684, by Mary Jones.

Peeter Joy and Sara Gaskin were married ye 24th May, 1661, by Majr Hathorne; theire son David borne ye 6th Aprill, 1662; theire daughter Anna borne ye 7th August, '63; Sara borne 1st 11th mo., 1666; Peeter born 3d 10th mo., '69; William borne 13th 10th mo., 1675; Samuel bo 25 July, 1678.

Thomas Jeggles, his daughter Abigaile borne by Abigaile his wife the 21st July, 1648; theire son Thomas borne 14th November, 1650; son William borne 1st March, '52, and dyed ye 17th day; son Samuell borne 4th February, '53; dar Elizabeth born 15 October, '56; son William borne 30th May, '59; Danyell borne 9th December, 1662; Mary borne 9th March, '64; son Nathaniell 14th September, 1666; son John borne 25 March, 1669; Ebenezer borne 9th March, '71; son Benjamin borne 25th May, 1674.

William Jeggells yt came from Virginia deceased 12th May, 1674.

Guston John and Elizabeth Browne were married 10th 11th mo., 1676.

Georg Jacobs maryed with Rebecka Frost, widow, the 9th 12th mo., 1674; theire daughter Margarette borne 26th 9th mo., '75; son Georg borne 29th 7th mo., '77; son John borne 18th 7th mo., '79; theire sonn Jonathan

borne the 29th July, 1681; theire daughter Mary borne the 20th May, 1683.

John Johnson and Hester Beeres were marryed the 23d of 12th mo., 1677-8; theire son John borne 3d August, 1679.

Thomas Jeggles married to Mary Weston March, '83; his daughter Sara borne 5th Jany, '84.

Tho' Jeggles dyed 19th August, 1687.

John Kitchin, his son Benjamin by Eliz his wife, bo 28th 6th mo, '60, and dyed ye 15th 7th mo., '60.

Arther Kippen, his son Arther bo by Abigail his wife 6th 11th mo., 1660; theire da Abigail, 4th 11th, '58, was borne; theire son William deceased 14th 7, '6—; dar Abigail deceased 3d 8th mo., '62; dar Eliza borne 12th 3d mo, '62; son Joseph bo 23d Feby, 166—; daughter Hana borne 28th June, '69; Sara borne last of May, '70.

Henry Kene, his son Thomas born by Ann his wife 1st 1st mo., '55; da Hanna born 2d 1st mo., '57; Sara da of Henry Keny by Ann his wife bo 20th 6th mo., 1661; theire son John in January, 1651; daughter Mary borne in May, 1659; Elizabeth borne in December, 1662; Lidea borne in April, 1666; Henry borne 1st May, 1669. John Kene deceased October, '70.

Elisha Kebbe and Rachell Cooke were marryed the 12th 10th mo., 1667; theire son John borne the first of ye 12th mo., 1667; theire son Edward borne 2d 12th mo., '69; son Elisha borne ye 28th March, 1673; son James borne the 27th December, 1675.

Charles Knite and Sara Lemon were marryed the 9th May, 1667; theire daughter Elizabeth borne ye 18th of May, 1668; theire daughter Mary borne ye 7th April, 1670; daughter Sara borne ye 22d July, 1673.

Arther Kebben, his daughter Jerusha by Abigail his wife borne the 19th April, 1672.

John Kenne, the son of Henry Kenne and Elizabeth Looke were married the 17th day of

June, 1675; theire son John borne the 25th March, 1676; daughter Elizabeth borne 6th February, 1677.

Thomas Kenne, the son of Henry Kenne, and Elizabeth Knight were married the 23d May, 1677; theire sonn Thomas borne the 27th of Julie, 1678; Joseph borne 7th Sept, 1680; Danll born 23d July, 1682; Jonathan 27th May, 1686.

Lott Killum and Hana Goodell were marryed 22d May, 1666; daughter Hanna in March, '66-7; sonn James borne May, ('69); sonn Ephraim borne in June, ('72) and both James and Ephraim deceased in a short time after they were borne. Ruth borne September ('73) and dyed the same day; daughter Ruth borne 15th January, ('75).

John King and Elizabeth Goldthwrite were marryed in Sept., 1660; theire son John born in October, '62; son Samuell borne in May, '64; son William borne in June, 1669; daughter Elizabeth borne in February, 1671; son Jonathan borne in February, 1674; son Thomas borne in February, 1677, and deceased in October, 1680; theire daughter Hannah borne 15th Aprill, 1681; Mary King borne 28th March, 1687.

Elizer Keazer and Mary Collens were marryed the ninth day of December, 1679; daughter Sarah born December 6th 1686.

Jno Kettle dyed 12th October, 1685.

Jno and Nathll Kettle, twins of James Kettle, borne ye 9th 10th mo., 1689.

Jno, sone of Jno Kennee borne ye 15th August, 1689; sone Samll borne 26th October, 1691.

James Kettle, son of James Kettle, borne by Eliza his wife ye 27th 10th mo., 1691; John, son of James and Eliza his wife, was borne July 3d, 1696; Eliza was born 19th January, 1693.

Ephraim Kempton, son of Ephraim Kempton and Mary his wife, born Nov 14th, 1674; their son Kempton born Feby 1st, 1675; their son Samll born March 4th, 1681.

Danll Kenny, son of Danll and Mary Ken-ny, born October 19th, 1705.

Alis, the wife of Hugh Laskin, dyed 28th 5th mo., '58, and Hugh Laskin died —

Henry Keny, his son Thos born by Ann his wife 11th 2d mo., 1655; theire daughter Hana bo 2d 1st mo., 1657.

Abigaile Lovet, dar of John Lovet, bo by Mary his wife 20th 6th mo., 1654, and deceased 27th 3d mo., '59.

John Looms, his daughter Mary bo by Mary his wife 16th 10th mo., 1659.

John Lambert, his dar Sara by Preserved his wife bo ye 7th 12th mo., '60; theire son Danyell bo by Preserved his wife ye 3d 8th mo., '58; Ezekiell borne the 3d of March, 1661; son Samuella dyed ye 7th 5th mo., 1662; son Samuella bor 16th 1st mo., 1634; dar Mary borne the 26th of Aprill, 1667; Jonathan born 27th 10th mo., '69; Hana borne in December, '71, and died 8 daies after. Ebenezer borne 2d April, '74.

William Lake married to Ann Stratton about 6th mo., '61; dar Anna bo 1st 4th mo., '62, and dyed 10th 4th, '62; dar Abigaile borne 21st April, 1667; dar Mary borne the 1st 12th mo., 1668; son William borne 12th March, 1674-5.

Eliza, dar of Robert Lemon, deceased 15th 10th mo., '62.

Willm Lord, his son Willm by Jane his wife bo 27th 12th mo., '56; da Eliza bo 26th April, '59; dar Margaret bo ye 21st 7 mo., '60; son Joseph bo 1st 11th mo., '62; son Jeremiah borne the 2d Aprill, 1667; daughter Jane borne May, 1668; son Rowland borne ye 7th April, 1672, and dyed 5th 10th mo., '74; daughter Dina borne 4th 9th mo., '74; Willm Lord senr died ye 14th January, 1672, being the 97 year of his age.

James Lyon deceased 30th 6th mo., '61.

John Leach and Elizabeth Flint were married ye 20th May, 1667.

Phillip Logee and Mary Snasher were mar-

ried ye 11th 7th mo., 1673; theire Son Phillip borne 27th 6 mo., 1673; daughter Mary borne 16th 6 mo., '75; daughter Abigail borne ye 24th June, 1687; Abraham born March 14th, 1688-9.

Timothy Lindall and Mary Veren were married the last of February, 1672; his daughter Mary by Mary his wife borne ye 7th 2d mo., 1674; theire son James borne the first day of February, 1675; son Timothy borne the 4th of November, 1677; son Nathaniell borne ye 4th 9th mo., 1679; theire daughter Abigaile borne the 15th 7th mo., 1681; theire daughter Sara borne the 4th March, 1682-3; son Caleb borne the 5th Feby, '84; theire daughter Rachell borne 3d December, 1686; son Veren borne 12th Feby, 1689-90; their daughter Rachell died Augt 30th, 1743.

John Longly, his son John borne by Pricillia his wife the 11th 11th mo., 1680.

William Lord Junr and Mary Moulton were married ye 7th Aprill, 1680; their sonn William borne the 3d 12th mo., 1680; theire daughter Abigaile borne the 21st December, 1682.

Danll Lambert married to Mary Graye 5th June, 1682; yr daughter Mary borne ye 20th Feby, 1683; yr daughter Eliza borne 9th April, 1684; yr sone Danll borne 7th December, 1686; theire sone Samll borne ye 5th Feby, 1688; their 2d son Samll borne 7th April, 1689; Preserved borne 21st Aprill, 1691, and dyed 24th 7th mo., 1691; sonne Joseph borne 12th April, 1692.

Samll Lambert, his daughter Margaret born 14th Jany, 1690; daughter Preserved borne last of April, 1692; son Samuel born 2d January, 1693.

Margaret Lambert, daughter of Eben'r Lambert and Mary his wife Born July 26th, 1696; their daughter Mary born March 26th, 1702-3, their daughter Eunice born Aprill 3d, 1706.

John Lightfoot was married to Elizabeth Swasey, in May, 1680; their son Joseph borne the 14th day of Aprill, 1681; sone Samuella borne 23d day Octob'r, 1683.

Jno. Louder, his sone Will'm borne by Eliz'a his wife ye 10th Feb'y, 1691; his sone Nicholas borne 31st 6 mo., 1693; ye Daughter Elizabeth borne ye First day of October, 1695. Their son Jared borne the first day of November, 1697.

Sam'll Morgan married to Eliza Dixy by Maj. Hathorne, 15th 10th mo., '58.

Dameris, da'r of Paule Mansfield, bo by Dameris his wife, 12th 6th mo., '58; da'r Ruth ye 4th November, '62; son Paule borne 4th August, '64; son Elias bo ye 29 March, '67—died in July after.

Henry Moses & Remember Giles were married by Majo'r Hathorne, 1st 2d mo., 1659; theire da'r Hanna bo 29th 11th mo., '59, & deceased 2d 8th mo., '61; son Henry bo. 8th 12th mo., '61; da'r Eliza borne 8th 12 mo., '63.

MISCELLANEA.

A LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TOWARDS THE BELL IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH, IN SALEM, 1741.

Sent for by Mr. Thomas Gunter, merch't in Boston, who generously gave us his trouble and commissions.

COPIED FROM RECORDS OF ST. PETERS CHURCH.

The Rev'd Cha's Brockwell,	£19	0s	0d.
Capt. Benj. Moreshead,	10	0	0
Mr. Shillaber Sen'r.	7	0	0
Mr. Sanders,	7	0	0
Mr. Brittain,	5	0	0
Mr. Myal Bacon,	4	0	0
Mr. Dampney,	3	0	0
Mr. Jno. Gibbs, Painter,	3	0	0
Mr. Thompson,	3	0	0
Mr. Hilliard Sen'r,			
Jos. Browne, Esq., Collec'r,	10	0	0
Jno. Woolcot, Esq.,	5	0	0
Benja Browne, Esq.,	6	0	0
Mr. Lechmere,	3	0	0
Capt. Elkins,	2	0	0
Mr. Palmer,	3	0	0
Mr. Daniels,	3	0	0
Mr. Bethell,	3	0	0
Mr. Ingolls,	4	0	0
Will. Browne Esq.,	5	0	0

Mr. Wm. Lynds,	5	0	0
Capt. Ghatman,	5	0	0
Capt. Gerrish,	5	0	0
Mr. Moreshead,	6	0	0
Mr. Brown of Boston,	2	0	0
Capt. Kipps,	5	0	0
Capt. Beadle,	3	0	0
Mr. Benson,	1	0	0
Mr. Stone,	3	0	0
Mr. Leach in cash & stuff,	2	10	0
Mr. Masell Williams,	2	0	0
Mr. Phippen,	1	0	0
Mr. Manning,	5	0	0
Sam'l Brown Esq.,	5	0	0
Benj. Ward,	1	0	0
Mr. Dan'l Webb,	1	0	0
Mr. Sam'l Massey,	1	0	0
Mr. John Ward,	1	0	0
Capt. Adams,	2	0	0
Mr. Cowen,	1	0	0
Mr. Jno. Hill,	0	10	0
Mr. Lisbriitt,	1	0	0
Capt. Woodberry,	5	0	0
Mr. Bigsley,	0	10	0
Mr. Abraham Cabot,	2	0	0
By a gentleman,	2	0	0
Capt. Williams,	1	0	0
Capt. Messervy,	1	0	0
Mr. Moor,	1	0	0
Free gift,	2	0	0
Jonah Gardner,	1	0	0
—— Harris,	1	0	0
Clifford Crowningshield,	5	0	0
Stephen Higginson in Corn,	3	0	0
Sam'l Archer,	1	0	0
Mr. Gridley,	2	0	0
Mr. Goffe,	2	0	0
Mr. Norton,	0	10	0
Mr. Dana,	1	0	0
William Coffen,	3	0	0
By a gentleman,	5	0	0
By a gentleman,	1	10	0
Luke Nerdy,	1	0	0
Mr. Nowdy,	1	0	0
Mr. Cabot,	3	0	0
Mr. Smith, Boston,	2	10	0
Mr. Lander,	0	15	0
Mr. Jos Silsby,	0	15	0
Sam'l Lander,	0	15	0
Gam'l Hodges,	0	15	0
Capt. Newcomb,	1	0	0
S. Barton,	1	0	0

Jno. Turner, Jr.,

2 0 0

Several others in Morehead's paper.

PRICE OF COMMODITIES IN SALEM MARKET, 1775.

Beef, three pence a lb.
 Pork, four pence.
 Mutton, three-pence half penny.
 Veal, three pence 3 farthings.
 Turkey, four pence.
 Fowls, four pence.
 Geese, three pence.
 Partridges fourteen pence a pair.
 Black ducks, same price.
 Bass, one penny farthing a lb.
 Pickerel, two pence farthing
 Cod and Haddock, fresh, seldom weighed.
 Sausages, sixpence half penny a lb.
 Candles, seven pence half penny.
 Eggs, seven pence per dozen.
 Cheese, four pence per lb.
 Honey, seven pence half penny.
 Cider, ten shillings per barrel.
 Rye Meal, three shillings and nine pence a bushel.
 Indian Meal, the same price.
 Wood, two shillings a foot.
 Butter, 8 pence a lb.
 Turnips, twenty-one pence a bushel.
 Potatoes, twenty pence.
 Apples, twenty-four pence.
 Molasses, fourteen pence a gallon.
 Loaf Sugar, 10 pence a lb.
 Common Sugar, six pence half penny.
 New England Rum, 20 pence a gallon.
 Chocolate, twelve pence a lb.
 Cocoa Shells, five pence.
 Coffee, (not much used), ten pence.
 Fayal Wine, ten pounds a pipe.
 Madeira Wine, eight shillings a gallon.
 Lemons, two shillings and eight pence a dozen.
 Nutmegs, twelve shillings a pound.
 Cinnamon, Clove, and Mace each, about twenty shillings a pound.

Pepper, two shillings a pound.

Female labor in the house, and found, two shillings a week.

A free black man, and found, twenty-eight shillings a week.

A common day's labor at hard work, three shillings a day.

In this reckoning seventy-two pence make a dollar.

B. F. B.

Thinking the paper below may prove of interest to some of the readers of the "Collections," I enclose it for publication. H.

"The deposition of John Fitch, of Gloucester, Aged about 40 yeares this 27th November, 1676, Whoe testifieth and sayeth that about 4 years since last Agust, I mett Mr. Harlakinden Symonds in England at withersfield, and I asked ye sd Symonds when he would returne over to New England, and he ye sd Symonds sayed he could not come because he wayted for a letter of Attorney wch he had sent for. yt letter which ye sd Symonds brought with him from ye sd Bennett not haveing sufficient power in it to give ye sd executor a full or Legall discharge. This Deponent doth further say that ye sd Bennet before I went to England did very much vrge Mr. Symonds to goe to England, he vsed many arguments with mee to perswad & in courage ye sd Symonds to goe for sayd Bennet I haue giuen Mr. Symonds halfe. I wounder you should not be willing to allow a third part and Bennet sayd yt he would not venture his life for what he had there ouer ye Seas.

The marke of John Fitch,
 Taken vpon oath 27th of Novemb. 1676, before me, Samuel Symonds, Dep. Govern'r.

I doe affirme that which is above sworne to be certainly true this 27 Novemb., 1676."

NOTICES OF HALE, FROM ESSEX COUNTY RECORDS,
 SALEM.

Rebecca, dau of John Hale, jr, b at Newbury, Feb. 18, 1683.

Mr. John Hale, of Beverly, and Mrs. Sarah Noyes of Newbury, were married March 31, 1684.

Feb. 12, 1718-19, at Beverly, ye Reverd Mr John Chipman & Mrs. Rebecca Hale were married.—E. S. W.

ANSWER TO E. S. W. S QUERY CONCERNING
MARTHA DERBY.

Martha Derby was the daughter of Richard and Martha Derby, born Salem, Sept. 12, 1714; died Sept. 28, 1745; married Thomas Elkins, Mar. 30, 1736. Her mother was dau. of Col. Elias Hasket, of Boston, son of Capt. Stephen Hasket, born Apr. 25, 1670. Richard Derby, the father of Martha, was the fifth son of Roger and Lucretia, who came from Topsham, Devonshire Co., England, and landed at Boston July 18, 1671. Removed to Ipswich, where Richard was born, Oct. 8, 1679, and died in Salem, July 25, 1715. Married Martha Hasket, Feb 25, 1702-3.

Any other information respecting the Derby family will be cheerfully given, as the writer has a full Genealogical History of Roger's descendants, to the present time. P. DERBY.

QUERIES.

We present some additional Queries from Rev. J. L. Sibley, respecting the graduates of Harvard College. An answer to any of the above will materially aid him in his researches.

H. C. 1701. Curwen, George, born 21 May, 1782, or was it 1783? Whom and when did he marry?

1701. Cotton, Rev. Theo., of Hampton Falls, married 16 Aug., 1711, Mary, widow of Dr. Gedney, of Salem. What was her previous name? What was Gedney's christian name? She is said to have been a daughter of Gookin, of Cambridge. What Gookin?

1705. Rogers, John R. His mother's name? Day of ordination at Boxford, in 1709? I do not know how to ascertain but

by letters missive to some Salem church.—When and to whom married.

1708. Robie, Thos. Dr. When did he go to Salem? In 1724? When did he marry Mehitable, daughter of Major Stephen Sewall?

1712. Phillips, Samuel, cast away on Connyhasset rocks, coming from England, as early as 1727, and probably earlier. Is there anything more known about it or about him? Was he son of Goldsmith? When born—parents—wife—time of death, &c.?

1712. Coit, John, of "Bernudas" may have been a Gloucester man, and died 1745 or before. Birth—parents—wife—death?

1712. Stanton, Rev. Robert. When and to whom married?

1712. Brown, Nath'l, of *Salisbury*, born? Married—date of death? Letters of administration taken out 7 Sept., 1747, by Nath'l Brown of Salisbury, son of Nath'l Brown.—Where and when born?

1712. Nutting, John. Wife or wives? Was he register of deeds? If so, when, and how long?

1718. Sewall, Mitchell, eldest son of Stephen. His mother's name? When was he born? His wives—1, Mary Cabot? When married, May 1729? 2d, Elizabeth Price.—When married, June, 1743?

1708. Rev. Mr. Fisk, he was ordained. Was he, *after his difficulties*, installed over the Tabernacle Church? If so, when?

1702. Fisk, John Rev., who was settled at Killingly, Ct. Was he a native of *Wenham*? If so, birth? Parents? He would have been born not far from 20 years before graduation, and would be likely to have had a letter missive sent to Wenham church at his ordination.

1709. Ward, Rev. Robert, of Wenham. There is doubt about the precise time of his ordination. To whom and when married?

1711. Rogers, John, son of Rev. John, of Ipswich, when born?

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.

December, 1860.

[No. 6.]

PHILIP ENGLISH.

PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 248.

By a bill of particulars, now on file among the records, signed by John King and Annis or Ann King, the latter of whom was her daughter—and which bill or account was intended for the eyes of the committee who distributed the pecuniary relief granted the sufferers of 1692 in 1711–12, it appears that Mrs. H. lay in Salem jail some nine months, and that her daughter and son-in-law paid £9 for her support during that period, and made two journeys to Boston to obtain her reprieve. Mrs. Hoare died before 1711–12, as is evident from this account, and appears to have been barely saved from the gallows.

Philip English, (according to tradition) kept himself well out of the way of the Marshal for a while—going to Boston to see what he could do with the authorities there for his wife,—and, when he found that his absence was being used to her prejudice, he voluntarily surrendered himself, preferring to share one fate together. On the 6th of May a second warrant was issued against him, and directed to the Marshal General or his Deputies, though he was not arrested, it would appear,

until the *30th; which fact favors the truth of

* *Calef* says that at the end of May, the time when Philip English surrendered himself, there were about a hundred persons imprisoned for Witchcraft. (Page 214.)

Sir William Phips arrived on the 14th of May, 1692, with a Commission from their Majesties to be Governor of the Province, and having read his Commission, “the first thing he exerted his power in, was said to be his giving orders that irons should be put upon those in prison [those committed for witchcraft;] for though for sometime after these were committed, the accusers ceased to cry out of them; yet now the cry against them was renewed, which occasioned such order; and though there was partiality in executing it (some having taken them off almost as soon as put on,) yet the cry of these accusers against such, ceased after this order.” (*Calef*, page 205.)

It will be seen by this extract, that the Governor, by this course, aided the accusers, and gave the delusion new force, and it will be seen, also, how unreliable those accusers were; for the prisoners were ironed to prevent the free motion of their bodies, since those afflicted by them, were compelled, according to their own stories, to imitate every action of their tormentors. Hearing that the Governor had issued his order for putting the prisoners in irons, and not knowing the partiality practised, they ceased their outcries, believing all the prisoners to be in irons according to the order! If the freedom of the prisoners did afflict the accusers, how could it happen (if the witchcraft was true) that the freedom of those prisoners both did, and did not afflict them? Yet it appears that none, even of those who had spectral

the tradition concerning his voluntary surrender. We append a copy of this second Warrant :

To the Marshall Generall or his lawfull Deputies :

Whereas Complaint hath bin made by Capt. Jonathan Walcott and Thomas Putnam, of Salem Village, vpon the 30th of April last past, in behalf of their Majesties against Philip English, of Salem, Merchant, for high suspicion of Divers acts of witchcraft donne or committed by him vpon the Bodys of Ann Putnam, Marcy Lewis, Susannah Sheldon, &c., of Salem Village or farmes, and whereas warrant hath benne for some time since granted out for the apprehending of the said Phillip English to bring him vpon examination and he not appearing or found since in ye County of Essex.

You are therefore, in theire Majesties names hereby required to apprehend the said Phillip English of Salem, merch't, and him convey vnto Salem in ye County of Essex and deliver him into ye Custody of the Marshall of said County of Essex or lawfull authority there, that he may be Examined Relating to ye abousd premises, Either by such as shall be appointed therevnto or to the Majestrates in said place, and hereof you are not to faile. Dated at Boston, May 6, 1692.

JOHN HATHORNE, } Ass'ts.
JONATHAN CORWIN, }

In obedience to the within written warrt the within remanded Phillip English was arrested and committed by the Marshall Generall to the Marshall of Essex on the 30th of May instant, and in pursuance of the sd warrant the sd phillipp English was brought before the within mentioned John Hathorne and Jonathan

sight, were able to discern the fact of the unloosing of these prisoners ! Such are some of the reflections and conclusions naturally forced upon thinking men, if *Calef's* account be true, and we have never seen it contradicted. Hutchinson says that *Calef's* statement of facts is a fair one, though it occasioned great offence, when published.

Corwin Esqr, the 31st May 1692, to answer to the accusation by me.

p mee JACOB MANNING, marsell depuy.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 207, 208.]

According to the Return of the Deputy Marshall, Mr. English was brought before the Magistrates on the 31st May, most probably at the Village, and was doubtless examined, as he was committed to prison. He would have been called (if tried) to answer among others, the following Complaint, which is still on file :

[Complaint.]

Susannah Sheldon v. Phillip English.

The complaint of Susanna Sheldon against Phillip English, the sd Susannah Sheldon being at meeting on the Sabbath-day being the 24th of Aprill shee being afflicted in a very sad manner she saw Phillip english step over his pew and pinched her and a woman which came from boston wich saith her name is Good nd when shee were coming home against William Shaw's house their mother, Phillip English and a black man with a hy crowned hatt on his head and a book in his hand houlding the book to her and Phillip english told her that Black man were her God and if shee would touch that boock hee would not pinch her no more nor nobody els should.

on the next day phillip English came again and pinched her and told her that if shee would not touch the book hee would kill her.

on the second day at night appeared to her two women and a man and brought their books and bid her touch them shee told them she would not shee did not know wher they lived on of them told her they lived at the village and heald the book to her again and bid her touch it.

shee told her shee did not know their names on of them told her shee was old Goodman buch lyes [Bucklys] wife and the other woman was her daughter Mary and bid her touch the book, shee told no she had not told her how long she had been a witch then shee told her shee had been a witch ten years and then she opened her brest and the black man gave her

two litle things like yong cats and she pit them to her brest and suckled them they had no hair on them and had ears like a man

then they ofered her their books and shee refused them then they pinch her and the man struck her on the head and went away.

on the third day they apeared a woman without the door sat lafeing at her and came into the house and hopted up and down and proffered her the book and told her if she would touch it shee would not pinch her shee told her (wud not she did not kno her lived) told her she lived at Boston, she held her book to her again shee told her shee did not know her name shee told her name was Goodwife White. the same day came Goody Buckli and her daughter and brought books with them and told her if shee would touch their book they would not pinch her, but shee refused then they pinched her and went away, then i was sitting on the inside of the doorsil and Goody Buckly came and stoped my mouth and carried me a wai i know not how and near a mile and told mee that now shee had mee at her command if i would not set my hand to her booke shee would kill mee then.

william show [Shaw] being plowing in his fathers field heard a fearfull cry in a thicket of yong wod went to it and found her (?) in a terrible manner screaming and breacking of sticks and fighting in a violent manner.— [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 209–10.]

This Susannah Sheldon appears against him in two other depositions; which testimony we shall now append, and in which will be seen the manner in which those accused of witchcraft were entangled with each other in these accusations. The first deposition is in the case of John Willard.

Susanna Sheldon v. John Willard.

May 17th in the year 1692.

the complainte of Susanah Shelton saith Elizabeth Colson Remaynes in afflicting of the said Shelton night & day. And also Mrs. White also John Willard Remaynes in Afflicting of hur both day and night also Mr. In-

glish and his wife Remaines afflicting of hur both night and day.

George Jacobs and his wife afflicting of hur the last lord's day and tempting the said Shelton to sete hur hand to the booke they both appering yesterday againe And would haue hur sete her hand to the booke, the said Shelton said she would not, then she said she would stabb hur then sudenly she Reseaced A sore wound on hur lith [left?] side, then Elizabeth Colson stabbing at hur on the back Right against the other wounds soe that she speate blood, then goody prochter Appearing to hur and Afflicting of hur and tempting hur to sete hur hand to the book And last night goody prochter Appearing againe and would haue hur sete hur hand to the booke and tould hur that she had sete hur hand to the booke a great while agoe. also sd Shelden has seuerall times seen John Proctor afflict Mary Warin sene they sd Prockter & his wife were in prison.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 236.]

NOTE Susannah Sheldon was afflicted mainly by the appearances [spectres] of the parties above charged. The "spectres" in 1692 appear to have performed about all the witchcrafts then practised. It is a noticeable fact in Deliverance Hobbs's important confession in regard to the Witch meeting in the pasture of Rev. Mr. Parris, *that every one of the parties accused of attending it* (excepting Rev. Mr. Burroughs) *were already in prison*, and therefore could only have been present by their *spectres*, who, however, resembled their owners, the witches, as one's likeness in a glass resembles himself. These spectres were spiritual, of course, and only visible to those having the spectral sight; that is, the power of seeing them—that is, the afflicted themselves. Yet, if the spectre could be hit by a rapier, or cane, the body of the witch it belonged to would also suffer by a close, inseparable sympathy. (See "Glanvil of Witches," *passim*.)

In Deliverance Hobbs's Examination, (in note,) Benjamin Hutchinson is reported as having struck at the spectre of Goody Hobbs,—that is, where Abigail Williams and Mary Walcott told him it was standing, and in the house of Deacon Ingersolls the day before, &c., and we find Goody Hobbs reported as acknowledging herself to be hurt in her side, &c.—that is, as having been wounded *through her spec-*

ire, &c. As Goody Hobbs was prepared to admit anything and everything asked of her, in order to save her own life, her assent to the spectral marvels of that day is accounted for without great difficulty.]

We have given a sketch of Willard's fate, and shall therefore pass to the next.

Susanah Sheldon v. Sarah Procter.

the complaint of Susanah Sheldon of Mr. Andras and Sarah Procter 20 of this may they both afflicted me the next day Sarah Procter brought the book to me and Sarah Procter and Andras and [illegible] they mad me def and dum and blind at night and the next day till 10 of clock then came inges [English] and brought his book and drod his knife and said if I would not touch it he would cut my throt, then there Apeared to me A ded man he told me his name was Joseph rabson then he looked upon ingles and told him that he murdered him and drouned him in the se. thar was another man in the boot A long with me [Rabson] and the boot tossed up and down and tured over and my handes were clenched that I could not lay hold, the other man layd hold and was saued. then he [Rabson's ghost] told me [Sheldon] that I must tell mastr hatheren [the magistrate] and told me that I should not rest tel I had told it then inglish told me that if I did he would cut my leges of then ther apeared to me a shinging* and told me I

*Shining Man, or Angel, is here meant—one of those who were sometimes sent to uphold the afflicted, when on the point of despair. These angelic visitations are suggestive of the religious causes of the witchcraft persecutions. Thus "Mercy Lewis (as early as April 1st, 1692) affirmed (see *Calf*, pages 200–1) that she saw a man in white, with whom she went into a glorious place, viz: in her fits, where was no light of the sun, much less of candles, yet was full of light and brightness, with a great multitude in white glittering robes, who sang the song in Rev. v. 9, and the CX and CXLIX Psalms; and was given that she might tarry no longer in this place. This white man is said to have appeared several times to others of them, and to have given them notice how long it should be before they should have another fit "

So the Swedish children, who were carried to

should tell of it tomorah then inglesh told me that he would go kill the governor if he could he would go try he was the gretest innemy he had then he sayd that he would kil 10 folek in boston before next six day if he was tacken up [arrested] the greter weemen afflict me stil not.

Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 348-9.

Blockula by the Devil, were sometimes similarly befriended by a white angel. Was the idea got from them? See Scott, page 190.

It must be borne in mind, in reading such complaints, and in fact throughout this witchcraft matter, that these afflicted persons *considered themselves, and were considered to be*, the suffering martyrs of the New England church—undergoing infernal torments from the witches and wizards of 1692, for refusing to join the Devil's church, and sign his laws, or to conceal the guilt of the accused when known to them, and were upheld sometimes by a *Divine* strength in consequence, and the visit even of ministering angels! The witches and wizards, who tormented them, were, on the other hand, members in full communion of the *Devil's church*, had subscribed to its *Covenant of Hell* (therefore called "COVENANT" *witches*) and were resolutely bent on compelling the tormented, by their witchcrafts and persecutions, to join that church also, or to silence them by any and all means from revealing the persecutions and crimes of those tormentors from the magistrates. Thus in this deposition of Susannah Sheldon's, Mr. Andras (or Andrews?) and Sarah Procter tormented her for not signing the Devil's laws, as did Mr. English himself, who drew his knife and threatened to cut her throat if she did not touch his book (sign the Devil's book or laws,) and then also threatened to cut her legs off if she told Mr. Hathorn (the magistrate) that he (English) murdered Joseph Rabson, which fact had been revealed to her by the dead man himself.

This Susannah S. seems to have been then a veritable necromancer, and as such, under the Jewish Dispensation, would assuredly have been put to death. During the illusion of 1692, however, she was considered the martyr and saint, and those whom she accused as the real witches and wizards. The very Bible itself was thus turned upside down, and perverted during that illusion. Those who committed the veritable biblical sin of witchcraft in 1692, were considered as the sufferers by it, and those who suffered by it were considered to be the

The malignity, spite, or credulity of this girl, or her advisers, (if it can be called credulity), is well shown in this charge, since it appears to have been made as on the 23d May, when Mr. E. was in Boston, or vicinity, with two warrants out against him, and to prevent the latter from gaining any indulgence or assistance from that quarter, if he was seeking it—a thing suspected, perhaps, if not known, in Salem, and by the accusers. Though the complaint is nominally directed against another party, yet Philip English is made to bear the burden of it, and it certainly does appear as if *some* person or persons were afraid that the Governor might use his influence in favor of one accused of witchcraft, and therefore he is represented as being the object of the especial vengeance of one of the accused, and that Mr. E. himself. It may indeed be that so much art was not intended, and practised; but the melancholy records of this affair show something besides delusion. There was delusion, and there was also deception. It is not our mission to distribute the blame,* for we know

causes of it. Much of this confusion and mischief arose, we must suppose, from the attempt to establish and enforce the Jewish laws under the new Dispensation, and reconcile with both the more modern lore and legislation concerning witchcraft.

The Quaker *Maule*, in his Treatise (page 186) speaking of the afflicted ones, and their pretended knowledge as to who were witches, and their peculiar sight, enabling them to see the ghosts of murdered people, says,—“they have presumed to affirm that P. E. a merchant of Salem murdered J. R.’s son, of Salem, by drowning him at the Island of Barbadoes, with many more things of a like nature, which are too tedious to relate of these afflicted Evidences [Witnesses]; and I desire of God to be preserved from Such a Sight of Sight.”

That the afflicted in 1692 were considered by some as the suffering martyrs of the Church, see *Maule’s* Treatise, pages 186–7, whose testimony is strong on this point.

* It never will or can be known how far the accusers were ever instigated to their work by parties who do not appear, and so were used by others as instruments of their own delusion, or bigotry, or re-

not, and perhaps never shall know, all the causes or agents of this work of the Devil. Those even who accused others, in some cases evidently accused them through fear. All the motives of the accusers can only be known to the infinite Judge, but there remains on human record some testimony, which shows, so far as human insight can penetrate, an evil spirit, not among the accused of that day, but their accusers—and a terrible spirit, too.

In the examination of Rev. Geo. Burroughs, both Ann Putnam and Susannah Sheldon testified, and as if together, that his two wives and two children were destroyed by him. At the examination of Martha Carrier, Susannah Sheldon “cried out in a Trance I wonder what could you (Carrier) murder 13 persons?”—(Witchcraft Volume, page 356) “Mary Walcott testified the same that there lay 13 ghosts” *—thereupon “all the afflicted fell into

venge We have seen, in the case of Mrs. Howe, a recorded attempt to induce an “afflicted” child to denounce her, and we are therefore led naturally to ask, “in how many other cases was this policy adopted?” All sorts of people, with all sorts of motives, were engaged, willingly or unwillingly, in this witchcraft tragedy; and with some sincerity, there was no little insincerity and fraud mixed up with it. How far those accusers were instigated by others to accuse, who hated their neighbors, or were fanatically opposed to them, is another question, easier to ask than answer. Rev. Mr. Parris is said to have hated Rev. Mr. Burroughs, as a former rival, and the accusation of B, can be traced back to the “afflicted,” who may easily have been consulted by Parris on the matter. Mr. B., however, was perhaps considered *heretical* in his religious opinions, and thus accused, without reference to mere personal feeling, though that would aggravate his persecution.

* This seeing demons, spectres and ghosts in 1692, was, of course, quite common. Some of those then seeing such sights (when *sincere* in their statements) appear to have been day-dreamers of horrible dreams—in that condition of body and mind, when the interior sight is active, and the external senses are unconscious. Thus we ourselves see objects distinctly when dreaming—when our eyes are closed

most intolerable outcries and agonies." Unfortunately for the veracity and sincerity of this girl, there remains on file the testimony of

—when the external sense is unconscious. Somnambulists walk, and with open eyes, and by an internal consciousness, and yet see not external things. The case of John Lowder, who saw the apparition of Bridget Bishop, by moonlight, sitting on his breast, and then saw afterwards the spectral pig, and the strange Demon—which sights we have duly chronicled in our article (see June No of this Magazine 142)—this case, we say, is one of the strangest, and most marked of those happening in 1692, and may, perhaps, be thus explained.

He states that he had some controversy with Bridget B., and that a short time after, he saw her or her apparition on his breast by moonlight.—Now Bridget B. had the reputation of being a witch—he had offended her, and knew it, and perhaps expected her vengeance, and got it—in the shape of a nightmare. Some time after that he staid at home one Sabbath—a very quiet day with the Puritans—*was not very well*, he states, and was left to himself—*alone*—in the stillness of the house, and to his own solitary thoughts and imaginations. Brooding over his own thoughts, and unwell in body, he sank below the level of ordinary and healthy consciousness among the dreams or reveries which belong to a half-conscious state. His dream or reverie, however, was not a healthy, but unhealthy one, sharing the nature of his body, then more or less diseased. He now sees the spectral pig—he strikes, kicks at it; this very exertion rouses him to consciousness, brings him up to the ordinary level of sensibility, and his natural sight and sense, and lo! the pig vanishes, as might be expected.

Then he sits down again, but also with the firm belief that he has seen a spectre—a veritable demon—and of course in a worse state of mind, and perhaps body, than ever. Therefore he soon sees, in his relapse, a worse demon—a species of man-monkey, black, with a cock's feet and claws, who frightens him terribly by his close presence, and even addresses him, (as did the phantoms, Mons. Nicholai, —only he knew the whole thing to be a delusion the while,) and, to judge by that conversation, the demon Lowder saw this time, was a messenger sent expressly to himself. He tells Lowder that he understands that he (L.) is troubled in mind, (we see by this that Lowder's mind had not been *right*) and that if he will be ruled by him, he shall not want

one Robert Moulton, senior, who tended upon and watched her some time during her afflictions, and we herewith append it.

Robert Moulton v. Susannah Sheldon.

the testimony of Robert Moulton sener who testifieth and saith that I waching with Susannah Sheldon sence she was afflicted I heard her say that the witches halled her vpone her bely through the yeard like a snakee and halled her ouer the stone walle & presently I heard

for anything in this world. Lowder now, to save his soul, rebels vehemently against the demon, and endeavors, in great indignation, to clap his hands on him, and kill him. This rouses Lowder to consciousness, again, and then the demon of course fled.

On going out into the yard, immediately after, Lowder unfortunately sees Bridget B. in her orchard, and through his mind rushes most probably the belief that to her he owes this visitation—that the demon was sent by her, and remembers his moonlight experience of her torments. He therefore cannot stir a step forward; sees in her the cause and solution of the whole matter, and retreats to the house in a worse state of mind than ever; and while shutting the house door to bar out Bridget and her infernal imps and assistants, sees, in the extremity of his terror, the same awful demon, or one like it, just going to spring at him. Now, indeed, Lowder's soul is verily at stake. With a loud cry he shouts,—“Ye whole armor of God be between me and you,”—and thus foiled and baffled just in his moment of triumph, by the Divine armor graciously interposed, the demon springs back, and flew over the apple-tree in such a rage and disgust, that even the dust, which he shook off from his feet as he left the ungracious threshold, (thus imitating the Christian apostles, when not well received into any house or city) was flung against poor Lowder's “*estomache*” with such force as to strike him “*dum*,” and for some three days, and, he adds, without comma, breath or pause, after telling of this latter marvel, that the demon also shook many of the apples off from the tree which he flew over; which shows a presence of mind, a keenness of sight and cool regard to the details of the affair; more wonderful, if possible, under the circumstances, than any other marvel in it. If Lowder was not suffering at the time from disease of the mind, he must have suffered from something worse, and some one else must try to explain the case.

her Contradict her former discourse and said that she came ouer the stone wall herselfe and I heard her say that she Rid vpon a poole [pole] to boston and she said the diuel caryed the pole.

ROBERT MOUULTON.

Samuel Nurs & Joseph Trumball saw Robert Moulton sine this whighting.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 493.]

[NOTE. This Susannah Shelden appeared as accuser in no less than *eight* of the important witchcraft cases in 1692. This testimony of Robert Moulton, Senior, most probably shows this accuser in her true character—a *dissembler*—perhaps, however, to save her own life.]

The most, perhaps, which can be said for these afflicted ones, is, that they were possessed of the Devil, and did not really know the mischief they were doing. That they were really sincere, however, in all their outcries, actions, and sufferings, appears to us absolutely incredible, after an examination of the records.

The only remaining complaint against Philip English is in the case of George Jacobs, senior, being in the testimony of one John Doritch, who was a mere lad of 16 years, and who seems to have joined the small circle of accusers with a good relish, to judge by the following testimony of his, given in at the trial of George Jacobs, Sr.

John Doritch aged 16 yeares or thereabouts Testifieth and saith

That John Small and his wife Anne both deceased and formerly of the Towne of Salem doth both appear to this Deponent and told him that they would tare him to pieces if he did not goe and Declare to Mr Hathorn that George Jacobs Senior Did kill them and Likewise that Mary Warrens mother did appeare to this Deponent this day with a white man [angel?] and told him that woodwife [good-wife?] Parker & Oliuer did kill her and Likewise Core, Proctor & his wife Sarah Proctor Joseph Proctor & John Proctor did all afflict this deponent and do continually every day since he hath begunto be afflicted, and would have him this deponent to sett his hand to a

Booke but this deponent told them he would not : Likewise Phillip English & his wife Mary doth appear to this deponent & afflict him and all the abovesd persons Thretten to tare this Deponent in pieces if he doth not Signe to a Booke : Likewise Goodwife Pease & Hobbs and her daughter Abigail doth Afflict him and thretten the same : and Likewise a woman appeares to this Deponent who lives at Boston at ye Vper end of the Towne, whose name is Mary ; she goes in black clothes hath ; but one Eye ; with a Crooked neck and she saith there is none in Boston like her, she did afflict this deponent, but saith she will not any more : nor tell him her name.

Jurat all relating to ye prisoner at ye barr.

[Vol Salem Witchcraft—pages 283-4.

Such is the evidence yet existing on file against Mr. and Mrs. English, and various parties connected with them in this complicated net-work of the witchcraft persecutions. As it appears, by the warrant against Mr. E., that one Elizabeth Hubbard, a servant maid at the house of Dr. Grigs, at the village, also complained of him, and most probably testified against him on examination, we herewith append the following testimony of Clement Coldum and James Kettle ; which goes to prove that if the Devil really did afflict her through his agents, that he was unwisely tormenting one whom he well knew. She, too, was given to dissembling, it would appear.

Clement Coldum v. Eliz. Hubbard.

The deposition of Clement Coldum aged 60 or ye about saith yt on ye 29th. of May 1692. being at Salem Village carrying home Eliz. Hubbard from ye meeting behind me ; she desired me to ride faster. I asked he why : she said ye woods were full of Deivils & said yr & there they be, but I could see none ; then I put on my horse & after I had rid a while, she told me I might ride softer, for we had out rid them, I asked her if she was not afraid of ye Deuil, she answered me no ; she could discourse with ye Deuil as well as with me, & farther saith not ; this I am ready to testify on

Oath if called thereto, as witness my hand.

CLEMENT COLDDUM.

James Kettle vs Eliz Hubbard.

The testimony of James Cetel being of age who testifie and saith i being at doctor griges one a Sabbath day about the last of may in 1692. having some discourse with Elizabeth hubberd and I found her to speak seuerall untruthes in denying the Sabbath day and saying she had not ben to meting that day but had onely bean up to James houltons this I can testifie to if called as witness my hands.

JAMES KETTEL.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft—pages 490-1.]

[NOTE. This Elizabeth Hubbard was the most prominent accuser in 1692, according to the Records, appearing in no less than *twenty* cases.]

Mr. and Mrs. English were only saved by flight. When Mr. E. returned to Salem, he found that much of his property had been seized, (as was the custom at that day,) when he was arrested for witchcraft. After John Proctor was put in prison, all his property was attached, and his family of eleven* children left entirely destitute; "even the food that was preparing for their dinner was carried away by the sheriff." On the records yet appears a statement, that "Mary Rich of Lynn Widow in ye year 1692, was imprisoned and lost her bed & pot & other household stuffe"—probably everything she had. The officers seized the property of the accused at that day, as security or pay for the prison charges. Mr. English was served the same, though a portion of his property, and apparently a large portion, went to support those arrested for witchcraft, and in so far was turned to good account. He lost over £1100† of goods taken

from his warehouse, and had his dwelling house so completely sacked, that his wife could only find, on her return, a servant's bed in the house, out of all the furniture it had previously contained. In the year 1711, the Legislature passed an Act to reverse the attainders of those convicted of witchcraft in 1692, and to release their goods and chattels from any penalties or forfeitures incurred by the judgments and attainders of that day. The Legislature also appointed a Committee, the same year, to estimate and report the pecuniary damage sustained by the sufferers in 1692, and on their report, directed that about £600 be paid to the sufferers then living, or the legal representatives of those who were dead. The surviving sufferers, and the representatives of those dead, petitioned for some £800, besides the demands of Mr. English himself, who left his claims to the consideration and determination of the Gen'l Court. What was allowed him

sheriff and his officers were protected by law from the consequences of these acts, Mr. E got no satisfaction for his loss. The sheriff was made to bear, however, (but unjustly,) about the whole odium of the witchcraft delusion. He was only an instrument of the law in the affair, but the public indignation ran so strong against him, that when he died, his family were afraid to bury him openly and publicly, for fear of insult to his body, and he was therefore interred in the cellar of his own house (he lived on the premises in Washington Street, now owned and occupied by Dr. Fiske) until the popular commotion subsided, and was then buried with his deceased relatives. Perhaps no man, of all those concerned in the witchcraft trials or proceedings, felt, to a greater degree, the extremes of popular opinion, than Curwin.

Calef says (page 230) that "Mr. Philip English and his wife, having made their escape, Mr. Corwin, the sheriff, seized his estate to the value of about fifteen hundred pound, which was wholly lost to him; except about three hundred pound value, which was afterwards restored." This statement of Calef is verified by the family tradition of the amount originally seized, and of the amount Mr. English says was actually taken, in his petition to the General Court. (See Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, Vol. 1, No. 2, page 57.)

*There is a petition of the eldest of these children, Benj'n Proctor, on file, and as presented to the Legislative Distributing Committee which sat in Salem 1711-12, which is exceedingly creditable to him, as the supporter and stay of his family after the execution of his father.

†This sum, P. E. charged that the Sheriff, George Curwin, and his deputies took. As it was then the legal fashion for such seizures to be made, and as the

does not appear. Whatever it was, however, he* declined receiving, as being altogether in-

*There is some evidence on file in the Court Records—"General Sessions of the Peace"—in the years 1722-3-4, referring to Philip English, which may have some connection with the witchcraft persecution, and as giving Mr. E.'s opinion *as to the moving agents therein*; especially as the first extract we shall give, is a part of the same record, and at the time, as the charge made against him by the Grand Jury at the August term, 1722, and which we have already quoted when referring to the fate of John Proctor:

"The above named Phillip English is further presented by ye same Grand Jury yt from time to time as a common practice at and before & a ter ye above-mentioned time in ye other presentment hath declared yt is vilifying & reproaching, ye Church of Christ, saying, They were ye Devils Church or members, appeared & pleaded not guilty. Its considered yt he pay a fine of 20s & Costs and stand committed till performed. ye sd Phillip English appeals. Phillip English senr piple. Saml Wakefield & Phillip English Junr Sureties in £20."

As this complaint against Philip English is recorded as of the same Court at which he was accused of having been so severe on Rev. Mr. Noyes, we can infer, perhaps, that both complaints refer to the same subject matter, viz., the witchcraft persecution. It may refer to *Episcopacy*, for P. E. was persecuted on that account, and put into jail three years later, (1725) for refusing to pay *Congregational Church* taxes—then compelled by law. It is more likely, however, that it refers to some matter connected with the witchcraft of thirty years before, in which various *Congregational Church* members had made themselves very officious, and proved themselves illiberal, fanatical, and bigoted. P. E. lost not alone a large amount of property by that persecution, but a dearly beloved wife, and he had no respect, probably, for church members, *as such*, ever after.—Doubtless at that day (1722) there was much bigotry in the church, and Mr. E. saw it, had felt it, and freely spoke of it, whether he used the particular language charged against him or not. He appears to have been almost equally severe against the Magistrates at the same Court, (in connection with this very charge) who committed him to prison for contempt. An "humble submissive confession" of his is recorded for this, which, however, has the appearance of having been wholly written by some

adequate to his losses. The following petition of his is still on file among the Court Records, and may be of interest as illustrative of that period:

Petition of Mr. English,

To ye Comittee appointed to Distribute ye money allowed to the Sufferers in 1692.

Gent. I request ye favour of you to represent it to ye Genll Court what a great Sufferer I have been in my estate by reason of ye severe prosecution of me and my wife in that Dark time. It Cost me fifty pounds at Boston & we were forced to fly for our Lives at which time my estate was seized and Squandered away to a great Value and much of my provision vsed to Subsist ye numerous Company of prisoners. In ye whole I am Exceedingly Demnified ye most of my personal estate to ye

Court officer, and at the Judge's dictation, and said to have been "acknowledged" by Mr. E. "when read to him." The whole matter is evidently an entry by the Court Clerk. The Court Records of 1723-4, however, show that Mr. E. sinned again in the same way, as the following extract proves, and which read by the light of *this day*, probably means, that Mr. E. considered himself the victim of some injustice, and did not hesitate to denounce it, and perhaps all concerned in it:

"Att a Generall Sessions of ye peace holden at Salem by adjournment January 29, 1723-4:

Philip English Senr of Salem being before ye Court this Day & Demeaning himself very Contemptuously & abusively to His Majesties Justices in Court assembled with vile Language. Its considered by ye Court that he give £20 bond with sureties for his good behaviour untill June Court there to be orderly Dismist & to Stand Committed till such bond be given & pay Costs of Court. Philip English Senr principall Philip English Junr & William Murray sureties in £20 Jointly & Severally."

Did our space permit, we should attempt to show some of the probable causes which Mr. E. had for disliking the decisions of the Courts of that day against him. We will only refer to one cause. As the largest proprietor of the Commoners, and being active for their interests, he suffered at the hands of this very Court in 1702, being indicted by the Grand Jury and convicted for calling together a meeting of the Commons proprietors.

value of many hundreds of pounds taken from me & very little of it Restored againe. I pray to Consider my Extraordinary Sufferings.

I am Gent yor humble serv't,

PHILIP ENGLISH.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 514]

NOTE. Philip English was first imprisoned in Salem jail, together with his wife, [she on April 21, and he about May 30] and thence taken to Boston jail, where they lay 9 weeks, escaping from thence to New York early in August, 1692.]

The Act of reversal of the Act of Attainder is on file among the Records, and after stating the names of the persons executed or condemned, (which, however, is not a complete list, one or two being omitted,) gives the following as the *cause* of, and the stay put to, the prosecution, which deserves consideration:

"The Influence and Energy of the Evil Spirits, so great at that time, acting in and upon those who were the principal accusers and witnesses, proceeding so far as to cause a prosecution to be had of persons of known and good reputation, which caused a great dissatisfaction and a stop to be put thereunto until their Majesty's pleasure should be known therein. And upon a Representation thereof accordingly made, her late Majesty Queen Mary, the second of blessed memory by her Royal Letter given at her Court at Whitehall the 15th April, 1693, was graciously pleased to approve the care and circumspection therein, and to will and require that in all proceedings ag't persons accused for Witchcraft, or being possessed by the devil, the greatest moderation and all due circumspection be used, so far as the same may be without Impediment to the ordinary course of justice.

"And some of the principal accusers and witnesses in those dark and severe prosecutions have since discovered themselves to be persons of profligate and vicious conversation, &c. &c."

For these reasons,* and because perhaps of

*In a sermon preached at the Lecture in Boston, Nov. 1st, 1705, (which sermon has been kindly loaned us by M. A. Stickney, Esq.,) the preacher, (whose name, however, does not appear,) after stat-

the petitions presented the General Court by the surviving sufferers, or the heirs of the executed, for a reversal of the attainder, such an act, of which the foregoing extract is a portion, was passed Oct. 17, 1711. It will be noticed that the Legislature was quite guarded not to commit itself by appearing to discountenance *legal* and *proper* proceedings

ing that a people may have all the forms of godliness without its power, may make a great noise about outward form and gospel order, may be frequent in observing days of fasting, in public tragical confessions of sin, and in external expressions of sorrow therefor, may be very devout in attendance on the ordinances of God's sanctuary, and yet have nothing of the spirit of devotion, or the life of Christianity among them, and be also unjust, dishonest and immoral, rather covertly alludes, as one example, to the injustice practised by the government to the sufferers by the witchcraft persecution, and refers to a proper reparation therefor in these words:—

"When also the Injuries done by the Publick to particular persons are not duely repaired. That there may be such a case, is more than supposable. As when God in anger to a sinful People, suffers particular persons to be taken off by the hand of Publick Justice; their Estates ruined and families impoverished, for the supposed guilt of this or the other crime; yet all Orders of Persons see reason to condemn the Rules of the whole proceeding as fallacious, and insufficient to distinguish the guilty from the innocent; and yet no due care taken to make that reparation for the Injuries done them. This seems to argue Publick Injustice; For neither the solemn Form of Justice with which the whole was transacted, nor yet the indisputable Integrity of those that lead in this affair, will be sufficient to Excuse from a just Restitution, which is due from the Publick." Pages 16-17.

According to this Preacher, the *character* of the State at that date was wofully low—that formality, hypocrisy, deceit, injustice and fraud abounded on all sides—that Massachusetts, in a word, was about demoralized; and he prophesies (referring to the State,) that "Tho' such a People may have been the HEAD, yet [they] shall soon become the TAIL among the Nations; and tho' God had sometimes borne them as a SIGNET on his Right hand, yet He will pluck them thence."

against Witchcraft—and as a crime, which, *when properly proved*, should be punished.—The prosecutions of 1692 were only considered as *mistakes*, which ought to be carefully guarded against in future.† The Legislature, however, have put on record their estimate of some of the principal accusers at that time, and the little testimony which we have been able to produce, from the Court Files, only confirms what was indeed evident enough at that day. The General Court seemed to consider that the accusers were instigated by evil spirits—the devil—in some, at least, of their accusations; and certainly, if any work ever bore traces of the malice, and mystery, and devices of Satan, this of Witchcraft surely did.

The persecution raged most bitterly from March to October, 1692. At this latter period, (in October,) our Salem jail was crowded with the accused—so full that no more prisoners could be received. (*Calef*, page 232.) The policy adopted by sufferers in other towns, of sending to Salem village to obtain the aid of those having *spectral* sight, to detect their

tormentors, had caused great persecution in the surrounding towns; the more especially as some of the afflicted in those towns soon became experts in the *spectral* sight also. It was in this way that the delusion spread into Andover, and caused more than fifty persons to be complained of there. It must not be forgotten also that the Magistrates of the Colony—the Governor* at their head—were sincere believers in the witchcraft; and the clergy, as a general rule, were even more easily per-

*Sir William Phips (whose appointment as Governor was owing to Increase Mather's influence, while agent for the Colony in England, as *Calef* intimates, page 299) was a man who had risen from a mean parentage and education to be master of a ship, and by good fortune found a Spanish wreck, from which he took much treasure, and was subsequently knighted by King James. He sided with the agents who were for accepting the new Charter, and was subsequently made Governor. He aimed at the good of the people, according to *Calef*, though his government was "sullied (for want of better information and advice from those whose duty it was to have given it) by that hobgoblin monster, witchcraft." (page 296.)

†Many witches had been condemned in England, and *hanged*, and afterwards *burned*, (the common punishment there) long before our Salem tragedy. Sir Mathew Hale, even, had prescribed rules for the detection of witches, and had condemned them ere our delusion began. It was not until some time in the reign of George 2d, (1727-60) that it was enacted in England, "that no prosecution should in future be carried on against any person for conjuration, witchcraft, sorcery, or enchantment."

Judge Edmonds, in his work on Spiritualism, page 44, gives the following information, which we here-with append, as an act of justice to our New England Fathers:

"The Act of I. James I Chap, xii., against witchcraft, was passed when Lord Bacon, one of the greatest minds that England has ever produced, was a member of the House of Commons, and Lord Coke, one of her most distinguished judges, was Attorney-General, and in the House of Lords was referred to a Committee which contained twelve Bishops. And Barrington, in his observations on the Statute of 20, Henry VI., says that 30,000 people were burned for witchcraft within 150 years."

Cotton Mather wrote a somewhat fulsome life of Sir William Phips, in which he states that he, P, had his fortune told him,—as that he should find a wreck, that he should be a commander, &c,—and it appears that after he found the wreck, he gave the fortune-teller more than £200. Mather reports the story, according to *Calef*, as if the fortune-teller brought these predictions to P. *in writing*, and therefore were not sought for by the Governor. *Calef* sarcastically alludes to this ingenious evasion of the crime of *seeking* soothsayers—a Scripture offence, and which would have been severely punished had it happened in Salem. Yet Sir Wm. Phips was the chief Magistrate of the Colony during the witchcraft period.

Calef states that it was reported that the wife of Sir William was at last accused of witchcraft, and that this is said to have brought the persecution to an abrupt conclusion, (page 312.) Sir William was finally recalled to England, on some petty complaints about mal-administration, and soon after died. Before he went he pardoned all those condemned of witchcraft, for which they gave about 30 shillings each to the King's Attorney, (page 291.)

suaed than the civil magistrates. The tragedy once begun, it rushed with great speed to its catastrophe. As early as the beginning of June, about a hundred persons were imprisoned on account of witchcraft. On June 2d. the specially commissioned Court of Oyer and Terminer sat at Salem, Bridget Bishop was tried, and on the 10th executed. So numerous were the arrests then, and of persons who had been in good repute, that Sir William Phips, the Governor, was induced to consult on the matter several of the clergy in and near Boston, and among them Cotton Mather, who was his pastor. These ministers advised the Government (and *Calef* says Cotton Mather drew up that advice,) and *after* Bishop's execution, and while some hundred were imprisoned to a speedy and vigorous prosecution of witchcraft, according to the laws of God and the wholesome statutes of the English nation; but to a cautious proceeding, lest many evils ensue—to consult Perkins and Bernard as to what tests to make use of in the search for witchcraft, &c. This advice was prefaced by thanks to the Government for its diligent care in detecting the abominable witchcrafts which had been common in the country, and prayed for a perfect discovery thereof. This advice of Mather's brought both oil and water to the fire then raging, but more oil than water.—While it urged caution upon the government, tenderness to the accused, and denied that presumptions and convictions should be held on spectral evidence, the falling at the sight, and rising at the touch, &c. &c., it yet really thanked the Government in effect for detecting the witchcraft of old Bridget Bishop, who had been the only one then condemned, and who was convicted upon *Spectral** testimony—the

*One severe check given to the witchcraft persecution was the charge made against good people, of sending their *spectres* to afflict various accusers. To admit the validity of *spectral* evidence in such cases, was to abjure all reason and safety, and hence arose the agitating question, whether the Devil could or could not assume the shape of good people, to work evil, and lay it to their charge. Says *Cotton Mather*,

falling at the sight, and rising at the touch, and the like testimony, and that advice urged also a speedy and vigorous prosecution of those obnoxious to the laws of God or man in the matter. Such advice had its effect. What was negative in it, did not, and could not, quench the flame, and what was positive was like oil poured upon the already blazing fire.

who felt the force of the dilemma, from which he and others were taxing their ingenuity to escape; (*Wonders of Invisible World*, pages 52-3.)

"The multitude and Quality of Persons Accused of an Interest in this Witchcraft, by the Efficacy of the Spectres which take their name and Shape upon them; causing very many good and wise men to fear, That many Innocent, yea, and some vertuous persons, are by the Devils in this matter Imposed upon; That the Devils have obtain'd the power to take on the Likeness of Harmless People, and in that Likeness to afflict other People, and be so abused by Præstigious Demons, that upon their Look or Touch, the afflicted shall be oddly Affected. Arguments from the Providence of God, on the one side, and from our Charity towards man, on the other side, have made This now become a most agitated Controversy among us. There is an agony produced in the minds of men, Lest the Devil should sham us with Devices, of perhaps a finer Thred, than was ever yet practised upon the World. The whole Business is become hereupon so Snarled, and the Determination of the Question one way or another so Dismal, that our Honourable Judges have a Room for Jehoshaphat's Exclamation. We know not what to do! They have used, as Judges have heretofore done, the Spectral Evidences to introduce their further Enquiries into the Lives of the Persons Accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with other Evidences that some of the Witch gang have been fairly Executed. But what shall be done, as to those against whom the Evidence is chiefly ounded in the Dark World? Here we do solemnly demand our Addresses to the Father of Lights. on their Behalf. But in the mean time the Devil improves the Darkness of this affair, to put us into a Blind Man's Buffet, and we are even ready to be Sinfully, yea Hotly and Madly, Mauling one another in the Dark."

See Increase Mather's "Cases of Conscience," (dated Oct., 1692.) for his opinions upon the power of Satan to represent good men, as well as evil. I. M. thought he had, and quotes the cases of St. Martin, Anatolius, Martin Luther, and others, (pages 6-7.)

[Concluded in Vol. III]

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, page 236.

John Cole, 4th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of John Cole, taken June 25, 1677, by Thomas Gardner Sen'r the administrator. Amount £54 07s 4d: this is an addition to inventory returned at Ipswich Court. Allowed 27 4, '77.

Widow Charles, 4th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of Widow Charles deceased Dec. 21, 1676, taken by Moses Mavericke and Sam'l Ward. Amount £15 07s 00d.

"The Deposition of Mary Dennis, aged thirty-three years or thereabouts, this Depo-
nent being with her Aunt Charles in her last sickness of which she died did at some certain times and the day also yt she dyed, tell her she expected she should dy of ye sickness that after her death, she would and desired she to make her will and told her, she would have her desk after her burriall and after her death she did give unto her sister Tryphena Geer her gowne and cloake, & to Tryphena fairfield her daughter her red hersey petticoat and wascoat, and to Sarah fleirfield a flannal Petticoat and to Goody Goldsmith an old cloak & aporn, and to Goodie Haggett her felt hat And to Mary Dennis jun'r her warming pan to James Dennis jun'r the 2 Bibles to Amos Dennis her iron trammel & fire-pan & tongs to Agnes Dennis her bed and curting belonging to it; and to Robert Charles his two daughters fifty shillings a peice, to be paid to him when he came over for it, which shee desired to pay wth her debts, if she could get them, & make up the said sumus, and what was she gave to me, And further saith not." James Denis and Mary his wife have power of Administration granted in court at Salem, 29 4, '77.

John Hathorne, 4th mo., 1677.

The will of John Hathorne of Lynn, dated 19th day of October 1676, mentions I give my four children each of them a fether bed my daughter called Marah to have the first choice, my little daughter Phebe next my son Ebenezar Hathorne next, and my son Nathaniel Hathorne, last being youngest, my daughter Priscilla Shove my grandchild Phebe Shove I appoint my wife Sarah and son Ebenezer ex-
ecutors, and my friends and neighbors John Fuller, Thomas Newhall, and Oliver Purchis. Witnesses Robert Burges and Oliver Purchis. Allowed 27 4, '77.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 21 of February by Quartermaster Thomas Storker & Robert Burges both of Lynn. Amount £263 00s 11d.

Elizabeth Putnam, 4th mo., 1677.

An Agreement between Nathaniel Putnam and his daughter-in-law Elizabeth Putnam concerning dwelling house and land and mention her daughter Elizabeth Putnam when 18 years old dated 22 March, 1677. Allowed in court at Salem, 27 4, '77.

Henry Dispan, 4th mo., 1677.

The will of Henry Dispan dated 20 of February, 1670, mentions son Henry son Edward son Henry executor and friend John Floyd overseer. Witnesses John Floyd and Sarah Floyd. Allowed 26 4, '77.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by Samuel Starker and John Chilson. Amount £50 00s 00d.

Wm. Woodbury, 4th mo., 1677.

Will of William Woodbury the elder dated 5th 4th mo., 1663, mentions his wife Elizabeth, his dwelling house, his eldest son Nicholas, 20s, son William 5 acres near Snake Hill, sons Andrew and Hugh, his son Isaac and daughter Hannah Haskell wife Elizabeth ex'tx. Witnesses, John Thorndike Nicholas Patch and Richard Brackenbury.

"This is a true Inventory of the estate of William Woodbry aged about 88 years de-

ceased the 29th of 11 mo., 1676-7. Amount £45 11s 2d.

Nath'l Mighill, 9th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of Nathaniel Mighell deceased the 13th 8 mo 1677, taken the 27th of 9 mo 1677 by William Browne, Jun'r and Benjamin Browne. Amount £234 00s 00d mentions goods at Barbados. Allowed 28 9, '77, administration granted to Thomas Michael and John Bailey.

dated ye 26 No '77.

"To this honored court now sitting in Salem our humble request to your worships is that you wold be pleased to consider how it is with us in prospect of our brother's estate which is now given into Court in an inventory wee doe humbly construe that is doth by will and law fall to us who are the younger children by the exprestion in our father's will; which sath if Thomas die under age then his portion is to fall to Samuel and John; and if any of the younger die under age theire portions is to fall to ye youngest children; and therefore we construe that our brother ding without A will by the same reason it fall to us who are nexit of kin and youngest but if not consive our mother hath a right to this estate shee having put her owne estate into our Brothers hands to trade withall and having no reseat or agistance as for she resiving anything of to portion and therefore our oldest Brethering may as well challeng a right to his portion; but this we leave to your worships to consider off hoping the Lord will direct you to that which is right and soc wee remaine yours to command, Ezekiel Mighel John Bagly Steuin Mighell."

(The court granted the above petition.)

John Langdon, 9th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of John Langdon. Amount £20 08s 00d. Allowed 30 9 mo., '77, and administration granted to Stephen Haskett.

• The Deposition of Mithell Comes, and Peter Joy aiged about forty years or there aboutt doe here testyfie that wee heard John Langdon

say that hee hold and also did give unto Elizabeth Haskett the daughter of Mr. Stephen Heskitt; the soum of ten pounds and whatt more: he had left be devided among the rest of the said Heskitt Children this wee doe testyfie that this was his will and desire of John Langdon when hee went away with Mr. Elizur Devenportt out the Contery which was in December one thousand six hundred seventy and six; and forther deponentes saith not. Taken upon oath 22 8 mo., '77. Wm. Hathorne, Assist."

Robert Wilkes, 9th mo., 1677.

The Will of Robert Wills of Salem dated September 24th, 1677, mentions my "brother Isaac Woodberry's wife named Mary Woodbury my sister my shop and ground thereunto belonging lying and being neire Mr. Higginson's house in Salem and all my movable goods, and my dwelling house being neere Mr. Curwin's warehouse neer the water side and all the land thereunto belonging during the time and term of her natural life. Item I give unto Robert Woodberry eldest son of my brother Isaac Woodbury next and immediately after the decease of my sd sister Mary Woodberry the sd shop" &c "I give unto my Brother Isaac Woodberry's daughter Mary which he had by my sister Mary his now wife my house" &c., near Mr. Corwin's warehouse my servant John Smith. I appoint my brother Isaac Woodbury my executor. Witnesses William Clarke and Thomas Knill probated before John Leverett, Esq., Gov'r, Nov. 27, 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of Robert Wilkes of Salem Deceased the 24 of 7 mo 1677 taken by Bartho Gedney and Daniel Bacon Amount £167 12s 4d, presented by Isaac Woodberry executor.

John Jones, 9th mo., 1677.

The will of John Jones of Newbury ship carpenter, dated 17 July 1676 mentions "I am now taking a voyage to sea I give all my estate unto my mother Anne White and make

her my sole executrix; land in Barbadoes which was left my father Thomas Jones, witnesses Hilliard Veren Jun'r and Hilliard Veren Sen'r. Allowed 30 9, 1677.

John Collings, 9th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of John Collins Jun'r, late deceased at Gloucester, taken Sept 18th 1677 by William Vinson and William Ellery. Amount £54 3s 0d and administration granted to Mahitabell the relict of ye deceased. Allowed 30 9, '77. £6 eldest sonn & £3 apeace to the rest and the rest to the widow.

Nicholas Potter, 9th mo., 1677.

The will of Nicholas Potter of Salem dated 10th 8 mo., 1677 mentions son Robert Potter my daughter Elizabeth Newall, my two sons I had by my last wife viz: Samuel and Benjamin my two daughters Sarah and Mary and Bethiah all my six children by my first wife viz Samuell, Benjamin, Sarah, Mary, Hannah and Berthiah the sons at 21 and the daughters at 18 years. I appoint my Honr father John Gedney sole executor and my son Robert Potter and my brothers Bartholomew Gedney and Eleazer Gedney overseers, witnesses Illiard Veren Sen'r and Nathaniell Beadle. Allowed 29 9 '77.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 25 of October 1677 by Mathew Bamond and Edward Grant. Amount 206 11s 00d.

Thos. Pickton, 9th mo., 1677.

The Will of Thomas Pickton dated 19 of October 1677 mentions I give all my estate to my wife Ann Pickton and appoint her my executrix and John Galley and Henry Bayley overseers witnesses John Galley and Henry Bayley. Allowed 28 9, '77.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by Henry Bayley and John Gally amount £274 9s 3d.

Richard Waters, 9th mo., 1677.

The Will of Richard Waters dated 16 day of July, 1676, mentions wife *Joyce*, son Wil-

liam Ezekiel John & James Waters daughters Abigail Punchard Mary English, Susanah Pullover and Hannah Striker. I appoint my wife-Joyce my executrix and friends Mr. Edm Batter Hilliard Veren Sen'r Christopher Babbidge a John Swinerton overseers witnesses Hilliard Veren Senr and John Swinerton. Allowed 28 9 mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 25 7, '77 by John Swinerton and Hilliard Veren Sen'r. Amount £132 08s 05.

Thaddeus Brand, 9th mo., 1677.

"An Inventory of ye estate of Teague Alias Thaddeas Braun, who was impressed a soldier of Lynn for the Countrey's service and was sent from Lynn ye 22nd June 1677 and was slayne in the fight at Blackpoint as we are informed on ye 29th of June, 1677; taken 4th of July 1677 by Thomas Newhall and Robert Fott. Allowed 20 9, '77 and administration granted to Thomas Marshall.

Nicholas Fox, 9th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of Nicholas Fox deceased 1677 taken the 16 November by Samuell Ward and John Legg. Amount £45 07s 06d. Allowed 28 9, '77, and administration granted to Elizabeth the relict mentions for the bringing up of the children viz. Nicholas £10 and Elizabeth and William £5 each when they come of age.

John Clay, 9th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the "estate of John Clay deceased being then a fisherman killed by the indians." "The 18th of November, 1677 then was the above said estate of John Clays prized at William Woods in Marblehead by us Richard Knott and John flarburgh. Amount £3 4s 0d. Allowed 27 9 mo., '77 and adm'n granted to William Wood.

Richard Craniver, 9th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of Richard Craniver taken by Edmond Bridges and Peter Clays. Amount £17 03s 00d. Allowed 9, '77, and administration granted to the relict.

Obadiah Rich, 11th mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of Obadiah Rich taken 28th of 11th mo., 1677 by Hilliard Veren Senr and Henry West. Amount £9 18s 06d. Allowed 30 11, '77 and administration granted to Bethiah ye relict.

Robert Denton, 4th mo., 1678.

"The Humble Petition of Edmund Dear William Danforth and Phillip Weatch: to the Honoured Court now sitting in Salem. A petition concerning money which the deceased Robert Denton willed by word of mouth to the above named Petitioners the money was then in the hands of John King. "The Deposition of Edward Neiland aged 38 years and Elizabeth Dear aged upwards of 15 years" concerning the above sworn to June 20, 1678, also "the Deposition of Edward Allin and Hilligrist Ross (to the same as the above & same date.)

Thos. Purchase, 4th mo., 1678.

The will of Thomas Purchase Senr dated 2 May, 1677, mentions wife Elizabeth Purchase my five children. I appoint my son Thomas Purchase executor and my friends Henry Jocelin Oliver Purchase of Hamersmith and Mr. Edward Alline of Boston overseers. Witnesses George Robinson and John flerniside.

"To the Honored countie court now sitting att Salem the humble petition of Elizabeth Purches widdow of Thomas Purchase deceased Humbly sheweth. That your petitioners husband being an hundred & one yeares of age deceased about five or six weekes since at Lynn, Who left behind him besides your petitioners five children to bee provided for. And but little or noe estate having lost most of what he had by ye Indians to the Eastward, Butt it pleased him to make a Will wth wee have withal present unto yr Honour in which will he made his eldest sonn Thomas Purchase his executor, who by reason he knowes nott how much his father was indebted, but knowes his father left little or noe es-

tate behind him besides a parcell of land to ye Eastward, and being a young man is fearefull to accept of ye executorship for feare of involving himself into many troubles. And your petitioners understanding that ye law requires either some executors or Administrators to bee approved of by ye next court in ye countie, where ye partie deceased lived Humbly Supplicates this Honord Court that by reason that he that was appointed executor refuseth to accept thereof, humbly requesteth that this Honord Court would be pleased to grant letters of Administration to her and her son Thomas or otherwise to order & settle yr little estate that is, as in yr wisdom you shall think meet and ye petitioners shall ever pray &c. Elizebeth Purchas, Thomas Purchas."

"An Inventory of the estate of Mr. Thomas Purchis Senior deceased in Linn in May 11, 1678, Aged 101 years" presented by Elizebeth the relict and on of the administrators to court at Salem 25 5, '78.

Richard Richards, 4th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of Richard Richards taken the 25th of June '78 by us Edward flint and Richard Croade. Amount £9 8s 6d. Allowed 28 4, 1678 and administration granted to the relict.

Philip Roundy, 4th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of Philip Roundy taken by us Richard Croade and William Hollis this 24th of June 1678. Amount £7 19s 6d. Allowed in Court at Salem 27 4, '78 and administration granted to Ann the relict of ye deceased.

Widow Bickford, 4th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of Widow Bickford's whose husband died intestate taken at Marblehead the 26 June 1678 by William Woode and Robart Bartlett. Amount £13 09s 6d. Allowed 28 4, '78, and administration granted to Christian Bigford on her husband's estate mentions to bring up her children.

Sam'l Condry, 4th mo., 1678.

The will of Samuell Condry dated 9th of february 1677-8, mentions: my wife Anne, to my daughter Ann and her children,—to my granddaughter Mary (Hester Greene's daughter) my cupboard, and to Hester Greene's son Charles, about 7 years of age 80 shillings—to Hester Greene a pewter dish that was her mother Rebecca Condry's. I appoint my wife Ann and my daughter Ann Salter my executrixes 1677-8, witnesses John Brimbeerom Richard Reed John pedriche, Thomas Prefry and Samuell Reed. Allowed 29 4, '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken April 30th 1678 by Moses Mavericke Samuell Ward and Richard Oliver. Amount £89 9s 0d.

Edmond Towne, 4th mo., 1678.

"The Intent and purpose of Edmond Towne presented by Mary his wife considrin his estate presented to this Honnored Court now sitting Imprimis. The minde of the deceased was as is mine allsoe; and is Consented too by all parties concernd that the four sonns shall have all the lands Equally devyded amongst them. And the rest of the estate to be equally divid-ed amongst the 5 garles only Sarah the second Daughter is already married and hath reseived to the vallue of twelve pounds already. Soe leaving my cause to God, and to your Hounors searious consideration I subscribe myselfe Mary Towne only provided that the widows thirds of the whole be taken out first. Jacob Towne on oath deposed that Thomas Towne, eldest son of Edmond Towne deceased declared himselfe to be fully satisfyed wth an equal share of his father's estate with the rest of his brothers as is above proposed by Mary Towne in Court at Salem, 27 4, 78. Attest Hilliard Veren, Sen'r Clk." and administration is granted to Mary the relict of the deceased. An Inventory of the estate of Sargent Edwin Towne taken at Topsfield May the 3rd 1678 by Frances Pabody and Thomas Baker. Amount £435 12s 08d.

Elizath Kings, 4th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of Mrs. Eliza-

beth King deceased taken 26th of May, 1678 by William Bassett and Thomas ——. Amount £21 19s 6d mentions "My mother in her live time disposed of her waring apparrell by her pertecular desire to her grand daughter Hannah Blaney alsoe my mother in her live time gave to her daughter Sarah Nedom one bed and boulder at her decease which is not inventored. And alsoe to my selfe one greate bible and a small silver dram cup and to my wife a silver wine cup which is not in the inventorie." Allowed 29 4, '78, and administration granted to Ralph King.

Edw'd Wharton, 4th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of Edward Wharton taken 12th 1 mo., 1677-8, by Hilliard Veren sen'r, John Hathorne and John Higginson Jun'r. Amount £630 06s 05½d to goods in England £300. Allowed 27 4, '78.

The Testimony of Samuel Shattock Sen'r aged about 58 years mentions that he heard Edward Warton say that he would give, to Mary Thask, wife of Henry Thask £5, to Hannah Sibly widow £5, to Sarah Mills and her Children £10, "he alsoe told me that his vice should be returned to England amongst his kindred, for he said it was his father's before him and it should be returned unto the Generation and that his eldest brothers son bore his fathers name and he should have it." "his tract of land lying at Shrewsbury at New Jersey which he purchased with other purchasers of the Indians he told me he had sold one half of it when he was in England to one John Harwood merchant in London and had taken pay for it, and that he had ordered one John Starke to settle upon it and keep it for him and his friend and further the said Edward Wharton express himself and say that John Winditt a youth which he brought with him out of England viz.: his sisters son should be sent to England when hee died. "Edward Wharton have two brothers in England by fathers & mothers side and one brother and sister by the mothers side and this brother is in Virginia. he (Ed Wharton) died ye 3d of

ye 1st month, 1677." The whole of the above is affirmed to by Samuell Shattocke and James Mills and part of it is affirmed to by Martha Robinson in Court at Salem 27 4, '78.

Dennis Bartlett, William Pearce, and Robert Pike 4th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of William Pearce taken April 29 1678. Amount £13 1s 9d.

An Inventory of the estate of Denis Bartlett taken April 29 1678. Amount £7 12s 9d.

and An Inventory of the estate of Robert Pik taken April 29, 1678. Amount £3 02s 6d. Allowed 25 5, '78, and administration granted on the above estates to Ambross Gale.

Edward Vinton, 9th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of Edward Vinton taken 17 of October 1678 by Samuell Ward and John Chin. Amount £5 08s 0d, returned by Elias Henly Administrator and Allowed 29 9, '78.

John Breed, 9th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of John Breed taken by Thomas fuller and John Hall.—Amount 249 17s 0d. Allen Breed delivered this as a true inventory of his Brother John Breed's estate 24 Sept., 1678.

An additional Inventory of the above estate taken by Joseph Egg and John Newhall Amount £1 11s 10d. Allowed 29 9 '78.

An Agreement between Allen Breed jun'r administrator of the estate of John Breed and Sarah Breed widow of sd John Breed. Witnesses John Fuller Nathaniel Ballard and Joseph Breed, dated 24 Sept., 1678. Allowed in court 24 Sept., 1678.

Robert Buffum, 9th mo., 1678.

"To the Honord Countie Court now sitting at Salem the humble petition of John Hill, Robert Wilson William Beanes and Jerremiah Neale, children and heirs of Robert Buffum deceased :

Humbly showeth That whereas our fatler Robert Buffum dyed intestate and an inventorie of the estate of the deceased was brought

into the then countie Court by his relique Tomazin Buffum, which Court was then pleased to make her administratrix of the sayd estate, Who since that time hath either disposed of the same according as her fancie or affection led her, or, else keepeth ye saune still in her hands, We your petitioners being children of the deceased humbly conceive yt as children we ought according to ye law of God and this Jurisdiction each of us to have our share or portion of that which was our father's right, and therefore do humbly supplicate this Honord Court as flathers of the Cuntry, to take our cause into your pious and Christian consideration and be flathers to us in helping us that wee who are children may nott be deprived of that which as wee humbly conceive according to ye law of God and this Jurisdiction is our due Wee Subscribe yours in all service to Comand Robert Wilson John Hill, William Beanes and Jeremiah Neale."

"The Deposition of Mary Buffum alias Mary Neale, aged aboutt 30 yeares, this deponent testifieth that when her flather Robert Buffum was sick of that sickness whereof he dyed she tended upon him in his whole sickness untill such time as he dyed and during the time of his sickness, this deponent did severall times here her mother Tomazin Buffum desire her father Robert Buffum to make his will for ye settling of his estate of which he seemed to take little notice till a little before his death she againe Desired him to give their son Caleb a certaine tract of Land Lying in ye North field of ye towne of Salem which he was nott willing to doe, but sayd he would have his sonn Joshua have a double portion and for the rest of the children he would make noe difference betwixt them for sayd he are yours as well as mine. Mary Neale made oath to the truth of the above written this 25th of November 1678 before me Bartho. Gedney Commis-sion'r."

Edward Carlton, 9th mo., 1678.

"To the Honoured Court now sitting at Salem this 27 of November Anno Dom 1678,

The Humble request of Christopher Babbage and Hanna his wife that whereas Mr. Edward Calton sometime of Rowley left an estate in New England when he went out of the Country; part of which hee sending his son John Carlton by vertue of a letter of Attorney did receive in his behalf: We conceiving that there being some of his estate unreceived by his sayd son, desire that this Honoured Court would appoynt some of our relations Jeremiah Jewett or Nehemiah Jewett or both to be administrator to the estate of the said Mr. Edward Carlton that if any thing may be preserved it may be forth coming to the children of the Hanna Relict of the said John Carlton deceased the only heirs to any such estate (as we conceive) or as authority shall dispose of it; and in yer soe doeing yer servants shall pray. Christopher Babbage Hannah Babbage Jerimiah Juett and Nereimiah Juett have power of administration granted to ye estate of Mr. Edw. Carlton deceased; who was formerly of Rowly" 29 9, '78.

Wm. Hollingworth, 9th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of William Hollingworth taken 29th of August 1677 by Joseph Grafton and Thomas Gardner Sen'r.—Amount £92 9s 0d. Allowed 26 9, '78, and administration granted to Eliner the relict.

Joseph Parker, 9th mo., 1678.

The will of Joseph Parker of Andover Tanner dated 4th November 1678 mentions wife Mary to have my dwelling house, "my second son Thomas non compos, son Stephen my son Joseph my gristmill, son Samuell millers meadow my three daughters Sarah, Mary and Ruth, £10 each." "I give to my dear wife all my estate in old England that at Renusey and also my legacies that is left me by my friend there." I appoint my son Joseph sole executor and my brother Nathan Parker and my friends Left John Osgood, Henry Ingalls and Ensyne Thomas Chandler overseers witnesses Dudley Bradstreet and Thomas Chandler. Allowed 29 9, '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 18

of November by John Osgood Henry Ingalls and Nathan Parker. Amount £546 5s 6d.

John Brimblecomb, 9th mo., 1678.

The will of John Brimblecome dated 11 May 1678, mentions Tabitha my wife son Phillip Brimblecom my two daughters Richard (?) Holman and Mary Tucker. I appoint my wife and son Phillip executors and friends John Codner and John Legg overseers they are also witnesses. Allowed 29 9, '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 12th of November 1678 by William Nick Thaddeus Ruddam (Amount £76 6s 0d) and Christopher Noble.

Edward Bodie, 9th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of Edward Bodie taken by John Roads Sen'r John Roads and Erasmus James Sen'r 28 Nov., '78. Amount £4 10s 06d and administration granted to Erasmus James Sen'r 29 9, '78.

Alex'r Branander, 9th mo., 1678.

An Inventory of the estate of Alexander Braninder of Wenham deceased 22nd of October 1678 taken 19th November 1678 by Thomas Fiske John Batchelor and Charles Gott. Amount £5 3s 0d. Allowed 29 9, '78 and administration granted to Charles Gott.

Wm. Robinson, 9th mo., 1678.

The Will of William Robinson of Salem dated 9th February 1676-7. "Imprimis. I give and bequeath unto my son Joseph Robinson who is now in the Barbadoes and whom the Lord has blessed with a liberal competency and hath no child & his Brothers here have each of them a great charge and want more help than he doth—upon which consideration although he be my Eldest Son I give and bequeath unto him but 12 pounds, not to be paid him unless he come in his owne person to demand it," my daughter Sarah Newbury my grandchild Tynothy Robinson when of age. I appoint my two sons Samuell and John Robinson executors. Witnesses Stephen

Danell and Richard Croade. Allowed 29 9 mo., '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 22 of November 1678 by Samuel Gardner Sen'r and John Massey Amount £110 00s 0d.

Ann Condry, 9th mo., 1678.

The will of Ann Condry widow dated 9th of October 1678 mentions her sister Millett, Christian Hooper to her daughter Elizabeth Hooper, Elizabeth Tainner her daughter Elizabeth Tainner; to Elias tainner, to Josias Tainner, to Ann Tainner, to Joanna Tainner, to Thomas Tainner, to John Hooper his son John Hooper, to Sarah pick. I appoint Mathew Salter my executor, witnesses Elizabeth Briers and Sarah Pick. Allowed 29 9, '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by John Legg and Thaddeus Raddin, Amount £54 14s 6d.

Wm. Snelling, 12th mo., 1678-9.

Administration on the estate of William Snelling granted unto Sarah the relict of the deceased now the wife of Samuel Clark 1 12 mo, 1678.

Wm. Hathorne, 12 mo., 1678.

Administration on the estate of Capt William Hathorne granted unto Sarah Hathorne the relict of the deceased in court at Salem 4th of Feb'y 1678 before Daniel Gookin Sen'r & William Hathorne Assistants.

Wm. Symonds, 4th mo., 1679.

Administration on the estate of William Symonds granted unto Mrs. Mary Symonds the relict of the deceased and Mr. Jonathan Wade Mr. Wade bound in £1000 in court at Ipswich 17th of June, 1679, the petition of Daniell Epps and the rest of the fraternitie about the estate of our Honoured Father Samuell Symonds mentions that the estate is worth about £2500 and that no inventory of the estate has yet been returned, and that it is now about 8 months since our father died, and our Brother William Symonds dyed intestate about one month since, dated this 27th of June 1679.

Henry Ball, 4th mo., 1679.

A List of debts due from the estate of Mr. Henry Ball who deceased the 15th of May 1678. Amount £15 and administration granted unto Samuel Eborne one of the creditors 26 4, '79.

Benj. Chadwell, 4th mo., 1679.

An Inventory of the estate of Benjamin Chadwell taken 17 of June 1679 by John Newhall and Samuel Cobbett. Amount £141, 6s 00d and administration granted unto Eliza: Chadwell the relict of the deceased 24 4, 1679 mentions bringing up the children until of age.

John Pearson, 4th mo., 1679.

The Will of John Pearson dated 19th, of April 1679, mentions Wife Maddlin Son John Pearson and his children, daughter Sarah Townsend and her children, "daughter Mary Burnap and her children thirty acres of upland lying between the lands of Jonathan Poole and Robert Burnap," my daughter Berthia Carter and her children, servant John Lilly witnesses William Cowdry and Jeremiah Sweyen administration granted unto Maudlin the relict and John Pearson the son of the deceased 25 4, '79.

An Inventory of the above estate taken the 14th of May 1679 by William Cowdry Thomas Baneroft and Hanamah Parker. Amount £897 19s 00d mentions marsh in Towne marsh in Lynn and Meadow near the Reddin line.

Sam'l Mansfield, 4th mo., 1679.

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Mansfield of Lynn who departed this life the 10th of April 1679 taken by John Newhall & Robert Rand. Amount £154 8s 6d.

A Petition concerning the above estate of Samuel Mansfield who died of Small Pox, mentions he left three children the eldest a son named Andrew and two daughters all under age whereupon the said widow and her father and the father of the deceased make appointment of Mr. Thomas Laughton Senr and Andrew Mansfield & Nathaniel Bershaw to divide

the estate, mentions that Samuell Mansfield gave his son Andrew Mansfield unto his father Andrew Mansfield to keep until he arrive to the age of 21 years, dated at Lynn 20th of 4 mo '79. and signed by Nathaniel Bershaw Sarah Mansfield Thomas Laughton and Andrew Mansfield, and administration granted to Sarah the relict of ye deceased 25 4, '79.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF FRANCE.

BY E. S. W.

About the year A. D. 476, when order began to be established in some degree among the contending tribes, who then occupied the territory which we now call France, viz the Burgundians, Visigoths, Saxons, Vandals, (who passed into Spain,) and Franks, the latter, under the rule of Pharamond and Merove, conquered a large territory, extending from Belgic Gaul, to the river Somme, whose capital was the city of Treves. Although we can place but little reliance upon the chronicles of this time, still it is certain that the Franks, although little civilized, became a powerful race, and extended their power as far as the river Loire, and about the year 485 were ruled by a Christian King named Clovis, a grandson of Merove, and principal founder of the French monarchy. During his reign the Court removed to Paris. He died in 511. His successors, called the Merovingian Kings, ruled the Franks for about two centuries and a half, a line of weak princes, taking but little part in the government of the realm. "After this the substance of authority wasted in the hands of the Mayors of the Palace, officers who held the rank of chief judge and steward of the household, and were second only to the king. This mayoralty at last became hereditary in the family of Pepin d'Heristal, who stood in much the same relation to the latter Merovingians, as did the Earl of Warwick to Hen-

ry VI., and Edward, Earl of March. He placed six princes upon the throne successively, reserving to himself every power and privilege of royalty. These kings are called in history the *rois faineants*, and sometimes, from the flowing hair which the descendants of Clovis were alone permitted to wear, the *rois chevelures*."

Pepin d'Heristhal, mayor of the palace of Austrasia, Duke and Prince of the Franks, died 714, and left two sons, Griswald, mayor of the palace of Neustria, murdered 714, and Charles Martel, duke of Austrasia, and mayor of the palace, who died 741. He left the kingdom, at his death, to his two sons, Carloman, duke and prince of the Franks, who obtains Austrasia 741, and dies 755, and Pepin, the Short, duke and prince of the Franks, who re-unites the monarchy 746, and dies 768. He left two sons: Charlemagne, king of Neustria, 768, who re-united the monarchy 771, king of the Franks and Lombards 774, was crowned emperor at Rome 800, and died 814, and Carloman, king of Austrasia, who died 771, leaving a son Pepin.

II. CARLOVINGIANS.

Charlemagne was succeeded by his son, Louis *Debonnaire*, who died 840, leaving three sons, Lothaire, king of Italy, Charles I, *the bald*, king of France by the peace of Verdan, 843, (who succeeded his father) and Louis, the German.

Charles I died 877, and was succeeded by his son, Louis II, *the stammerer*, who died 879, leaving three sons: Louis III, by whom he was succeeded, who died 882; Carloman, who succeeded Louis III, and d 884, and Charles III, *the simple*, deposed 923. Carloman was succeeded by his uncle, Charles II, *the fat*, who d 887, and was son of Louis the German.

Charles the II was succeeded by Charles *the simple*, who being deposed 923, was succeeded by his son, Louis IV, who d 954, and was succeeded by his son Lothaire, who d 986, and left the crown to his son Louis V, who d 987.

It was by this time evident that the race of

Charlemagne was drawing to a close. Lo thaire, and then Louis le Faineant succeeding Louis d'Outremer (the 1Vth) by their weakness, indolence and cowardice, tarnished the lustre of that imperial name which had been the terror of the nations two hundred and thirty-six years before. One brave and sagacious man there was, however, to whom the Franks instinctively turned for protection. This man was Hugh Capet, son to Hugh the Great. In the year 987, when the Faineant died at Compregne, the nobles assembled at Noyon, formally excluded the Duke of Lorraine from the succession, and placed the crown upon the head of the first of the Capets.

HOUSE OF CAPET, 987-1328.

Hugh Capet d 996, and was succeeded by his son, Robert II, who d 1031, and left two sons, Henry I, his successor, who d 1060, and Robert 1st Duke of Burgundy, 1031, founder of the old House of Burgundy, extinct 1361. Henry, grandson of Robert of Burgundy, 1195, was founder of the House of Burgundy in Portugal, extinct 1580, from which came 1422 Alphonso, (natural son of John I, king of Portugal,) duke of Braganza, founder of the present reigning House of Braganza.

Next to Henry I, came his son Philip I, who died 1108, leaving the throne to his son, Louis VI, *the fat*, who d 1137, and was succeeded by his son Louis VII, *the young*, who d 1180. Louis VII married Eleanor of Aquitaine, and had a son, Philip II *Augustus*, who succeeded him, and married Isabella of Hainault. At his death, in 1223, he was succeeded by his son, Louis VIII, mockingly surnamed *The Lion*, who died 1226, leaving two sons: Louis IX *St. Louis*, who succeeded his father, married Marguerite of Provence, and d 1270, and Charles of Anjou, king of Naples, 1265, founder of the first line of Anjou, from whom came the house of *Anjou-Hungary*, through Charles Robert his nephew, king of Hungary 1308, who died 1342, and whose son, Louis *the Great*, king of Hungary, and 1370 king of the Poles, d 1332. The mother of Louis IX

and Charles of Anjou was Blanche of Castile. St. Louis left two sons: Philip III, *the hardy*, who succeeded his father, married Isabella of Arragon, and d 1285, and Robert, count of Clermont, father of Louis 1st, duke of Bourbon, 1327.

Philip the Hardy had three sons, Philip IV *the fair*, who, by marriage with Jane, Queen of Navarre, obtained that kingdom, Charles, Count de Valois, and Louis, Count D'Evreux whose son Philip was king of Navarre 1328, by marriage with Joan, daughter of king Philip *the fair*—extinct 1441.

Philip *the fair* d 1314, and was succeeded by his son, Louis X, who d 1316, leaving the throne to his son John, b and d 1316, who was succeeded by Philip V, who dying 1322, was succeeded by Charles IV, who d 1328. The three sons of Philip IV, (Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV) being now dead, without issue, their sister Isabel's (who married Edw. II of England) son Edw. III of England, claimed the throne, but after his victory at Cressy, and his capture of Calais, he made a satisfactory treaty with France.

HOUSE OF VALOIS, 1328-1589.

Philip VI, son of Charles of Valois 2d, son of Philip the III, now ascended the throne; he d 1350, and was succeeded by his son John *the good*, who d 1364, and was succeeded by his son Charles V, *the wise*. Besides Charles he had two other sons: Louis of Anjou, father of the 2d line of Anjou, and the mod. titular king of Naples,—extinct 1481, and Philip *the bold*, founder of the mod. House of Burgundy, extinct 1477.

Charles V died 1380, leaving Charles VI, who d 1422, and Louis, duke d'Orleans, who had Charles, duke of Orleans, and Johanna, countess of Angouleme. Charles VI was succeeded by his son Charles VII, who d 1461, leaving the throne to his son Louis XI, who d 1483, after which his son Charles VIII reigned, who d 1498, without issue, when the crown came into the possession of Louis XII, son of Charles, duke of Orleans. Louis dying

1515 without issue, Francis I ascended the throne, son of Charles, count of Angouleme, the son of Johanna. Francis d 1547, leaving the crown to his son, Henry II, who married Catherine de Medici, and d 1559. His sons were Francis II, who married Mary Stuart, and died 1560, Charles IX, who died 1574, and Henry III, king of Poland 1573, who died 1589.

HOUSE OF BOURBON, 1589-1830.

Henry III leaving no children, was succeeded by Henry IV, son of Antony, of Bourbon, king of Navarre by marriage with its heiress, Jeanne d'Albret, and descended from St. Louis through Louis first duke of Bourbon; Henry IV, also king of Navarre, was assassinated by Ravalliac 1610, and was succeeded by his son Louis XIII, who d 1643, and left Louis XIV, who married Maria Theresa, and d 1715, and Philip, duke d'Orleans, who d 1701, from whom descended Louis Philip, *Egalite*, who d 1793. Louis XIV had a son, Louis, the dauphin who d 1711, and had two sons, Louis the dauphin, 1712, and Philip V of Spain, d of Anjou, who d 1746, one of whose sons was Charles I, king of *Two Sicilies*, and also of Spain, and from whom came the house of *Bourbon-Anjou*, which includes the present royal family of Spain, and the princes of some of the Italian States.

Louis the dauphin, 1712, left a son, Louis XV, who d 1774; his son, Louis the dauphin, d 1765, and left three sons, Louis XVI, guillotined 1793, who m Maria Antoinette of Austria, and had 2 sons: Louis the dauphin, d 1789, and Louis XVII, who d 1795 in the Temple; Louis XVIII, who d 1824, and Charles X, deposed 1830. Charles had two sons, Louis, duke d'Angouleme, and Charles, duke de Berri, murd. 1820, who m Caroline of Sicily, and had Henry (V) due de Bordeaux, b 1820.

During the time which elapsed between 1804-1815, Napoleon was Emperor of the French. He mar'd 1st, Josephine Beauharnois. 2d, Maria Louisa, of Austria, by whom

he had Napoleon II, King of Rome, who d 1832, as Duke de Reichstadt. Napoleon d at St. Helena, May 5, 1821. Josephine's children before she mar'd Napoleon, were: Eugene, vice-king of Italy, d 1824, as duke of Leuchtenburg, and Hortense, who m Louis Napoleon, king of Holland, afterward Count de St. Leu. Charles X, 1830, was succeeded by Louis Philippe, duke d'Orleans, son of Philippe *Egalite*, who reigned until 1848, when a revolution broke out, which forced him to abdicate. He died at Claremont, in England, the seat of his son-in-law, the king of the Belgians, in 1850. During the greater part of the year 1848, Paris was in a state of revolution, and on the 11th of December, Prince Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic, having carried the day against Gen. Cavaignac, M. de Lamartine, and M. Ledru Rollin. The tenure of the presidency was fixed for a period of four years, but before one of these had quite elapsed, it was proposed to extend the term to ten. Another year, however, went by before this point was carried, and on the 1st of January, 1852, the prince-president was formally installed at the Cathedral de Notre Dame, and in his residence at the Tuilleries. On the 4th of November, 1852, the prince-president addressed a message to the Senate, desiring that the nation should be consulted upon the expediency of restoring the empire of France. The question was then put to the vote throughout the country. The ayes amounted to 7,864,189; and on the 2d of December, the prince president was proclaimed Emperor by the title of Napoleon III. On the 30th of January, 1853, he was married to Eugenie de Montijo, Countess of Teba, a Spanish lady of Scottish extraction and ancient family. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Paris, and took place, with great splendor, at the Cathedral de Notre Dame.

At 8 o'clock Sunday morning, March 16, 1856, the Senate and Legislature met and received the official announcement of the birth

of an heir to the throne, which event took place at a quarter of three o'clock the same morning. The announcement was received with the greatest delight throughout Paris; addresses and congratulations poured into the Tuileries, and in the evening the whole city was illuminated.

The child was named Napoleon-Eugene-Louis-Jean-Joseph,—Napoleon and Louis after his father, Eugene after his mother, Jean after the Pope, his godfather, and Joseph after Josephine, Queen of Sweden, his godmother, and bears the title of King of Algeria.

E. S. W.

EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL KEPT
BY SAMUEL GARDNER, 1759.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 253.

COMMUNICATED BY B. F. BROWNE.

1759. Oct 19th—Sailed from Salem, very sick.

20—I prodigious sick, no comfort at all.

21—I remain very sick, the first Sabbath I have spent from church this long time, little sleep this night.

24—A little better contented, but a sailor's life is a poor life.

26—Spoke a ship from London to Boston. Messrs. Hibbert and Whipple, who were passengers, came on board us.

31—Fair, pleasant weather, if it was always so, a sea life would be tolerable.

November 11th—This makes the fourth Sunday I have been out. Read Dr. Beveridge's *Serious Thoughts*.

12th, 10 A. M.—Saw a sail standing to S. W. I am quartered at the aftermost gun, and its opposite with Capt. Clifford—we fired a shot at her, and she hoisted Dutch Colours.

13th—I have entertained myself with a Romance, viz., "The History of the Parish Girl."

14—Quite pleasant. Here we may behold the works of God in the mighty Deep. Happy he who beholds aright.

15—Between 2 and 3 this morning we saw

two sail, they chased us, the ship fired 3 shots at us, which we returned. They came up with us by reason of a breeze which she took before we did. She proved to be the ship Cornwall, Capt. ——— from Bristol, bound to the coast of Africa, in company with her consort the Snow Diamond, Capt. John King.

18—Bishop Beveridge employed my time.

21—We now begin to approach to land.—May we have a good sight of it.

22—Just as the sun set, the Captain discovered land, and at 6 in the morning, (23d) we saw it again.

23d—At 8 o'clock 3 Teriffa Boats came out after us, they fired at us, which we returned as merrily. They were glad to get away as well as they could. We stood after one, but it is almost impossible to come up with the piratical dogs. At 2 P. M. came to anchor in Gibraltar bay, the boat went on shore, but I staid on board.

24—I went on board the Active Frigate & after went out in a cruise. Dined with Mr. Elkins on little fish we bought of a Spaniard. Guns fired at the Spanish Batteries. P. M., went on board the Grand Seigneur with Capt. Darby and Ross—he had thoughts of buying her. She mounted 18 guns.

25—Capt. Clifford on board A. M. The Captain staid on board, which is his usual practice on Sundays. P. M., one Mr. Jackson formerly belonging to Plymouth on board. He is now mate of a Brig bound to England.

26—Went on shore. Went up to Mr. Lynch's brother's. He is blest with a pretty wife & 3 fine children, though he is none of the handsomest. Dined at Mr. Lynch's, with Miss McIntosh, Davis & the two Capt. Rosses. Saw Capt. Clifford on the Mole.

27th—A prize from Malaga came in.

28th—Went on shore. Dined at Lynch's, Capt. Clifford with us—saw the soldiers in the Garrison exercise—they had a cruel fellow for an officer, for he whipt them barbarously.

29th—Went on shore. I with 3 captains went up to the New Mole and then went on board the prize that was taken under the

Pope's colours. She was from St. Domingo with Sugar, went on board another prize that was taken under Spanish colors. The Kensington Frigate lay there. We dined at Mr. Lynch's; after dinner we went out & saw the poor soldiers licked again. This day Capt. Derby made a beginning to sell his Cargo. Coming from the Mole we saw a Jewish burying. They appeared very devout & sang as they went along. This morning, Capt. Jones in a London ship in the Bay died and was brought on shore—he is to be buried tomorrow. He was as well as he ever was in his life last Saturday. This day Mr. Elkins commenced 21 years old.

30—Went on shore and dined at Mr. Lynch's. St. Andrew's day, and several had their crosses in their hats.

December 2d.—Cloudy, rainy, windy weather. Read Dr. Watts' Lyric Poems.

3d.—Capt. Clifford came on board this morning and invited Capt. Derby and myself to dine at his brother's; accordingly we went and were entertained with an elegant dinner. He has a fine woman for a wife. His first and second Lieutenants dined with him and the Doctor of the Regiment. Capt. Clifford belongs to Sir David Cunningham's Regiment.

4th—Went on shore and dined at Mr. Lynch's with the family. This day the trial of the Pope's ship came on; they petitioned for 2 months more time, which was granted them, which is agreeable to us, for we stand a better chance of selling our sugar.

5—Fair, pleasant day, though it looked unlikely in the morning, & I staid on board. P. M., we took a sail in our little boat round the shipping. In the bay is the Guernsey of 50 guns & also the Gibraltar & Kensington Frigates. Capt. Derby dined at Mr. Poor's. I was enquired after.

6th—Went on shore & dined at Mr. Lynch's. We went with Capt. Ross to his brother's house and were invited to dine with him.—Capt. Ross & I went to the Spanish Popish Church and it happened they were just burying a dead body. I there saw Superstition

and Idolatry to that degree that it made me feel what I can't describe. The church is considerable well furnished with images. There are the 12 Apostles & our Saviour, which were given by Mary, Queen of Scots.

7—The Captain of a London Ship came under our stern in a Spanish Boat, with 3 Spaniards, they refused carrying him on Board his ship according to agreement. He left his great Coat in the Boat, he not paying them, they carried it off. Our boat carried him on board his vessel. Just then beginning to blow, between 9 & 10, as near as I can remember, which increased to a very great degree, so that a snow that lay just ahead of us parted her cables and came directly down on our Hawse. We as soon as we saw her drive, cut away our small cable and by reason of that, she went clear of us without any damage on either side. We had been in this condition above 6 or 8 minutes, before we parted our best Bower, and drove directly down upon a small Brig which lay a little west of us. We received some damage, sprung our Bowsprit, & broke our stanchions on the quarter deck. We had no sooner got clear, but we fell foul of the above mentioned Snow, which brought up a little astern of us. She having a good anchor on her Bow, our Cat Heads took his Quarter, by which our Cat Head was broke & our out lieker which was a Crotchet Yard, took his small Boat, which hung on his side and stove it all to pieces. Our Boat, which also hung on our side, stood a very narrow chance of being served the same, but as it happened very luckily we got clear of him without any further damage. We observed the master & his mate crying and wringing their hands. We then hoisted our fore stay-sail and a bit of the mainsail and stood over to the Spanish lines, where the ground is very soft, so that she can't possibly do any great Damage. We then went down and ate a mouthful of victuals, it being now Dinner time. The Captain after that brought off an anchor and a Hawser, but just as he came on board, the Guernsey's Boat sent by Capt.

Millbanks came down to our assistance, and brought with them a fine new Hawser. The Captain bent it to the anchor he brought off, and carried it out astern. The man of wars Boat afterward went and brought our sheet anchor & we then waited till morning.

9th—I turned out at 2 o'clock in the morning and she had not begun to right; likewise at 6, which was about high water & she did not float. Capt. Derby then ordered the man of wars long Boat to be filled with Sugar, she carried 13 Hds on shore, which were put into Mr. Lynch's store. The Guerneys Boat then went on board their own ship. Capt. Derby came off and hired a schooner to take Sugar on board and gives them 10 dollars pr day. They not coming directly, the Capt. sent our Moses (Boat) after them, which soon returned, and says the Spaniards had gone to Church, it being some great day among them, Capt. Derby then went on shore & soon brought them on board. They took in about 30 Hogsheads and as soon as this was done, we went directly to heaving her off. The Guerneys Boat came again according to promise, with the same Crew. The Lieutenant & Lieutenant of Marines likewise came alongside and spoke very civilly and obligingly and by the Long Boats assistance, under a kind Providence, we got off and warped her up to the Mole where Capt. Derby intends now to haul her in. It is now Ebb Tide, and impossible to get her moored aright. We then went to the Cabin & ate a mouthful of Cheese. Mr. Doane a mate came in her both times. He has lost his left thumb & two fingers. The boats crew consisted of 8 or 10 hands. Capt. Derby gave Mr. Doane a 10 Gall. Keg of Brandy and made a present to the Crew. They went away with promises to call again.

On Sunday the 8th Capt. Derby went on board a craft which lay a little a stern of us, which he supposed had cut our warp which was made fast to them. His suspicions were not without ground, for he soon discovered the piece, with which he gave some of them a flogging. They all took to their Hold and

laid over their Hatches. Capt. Derby came off from them. A thieving Crew they are here.

10th—Capt. Derby went on shore & hoisted out the Hds, in the Schooner and put them in Mr. Lynch's Store. I staid on board all day, it being dirty & wet and not having anything to do. Benjn Moses, a Jew, a Huckster in Gibraltar was on board of us. I had some discourse with him about his religion. He said if Jesus Christ had been the Messiah, God would never have suffered him to have been crucified. Poor creature, he errs greatly. I endeavored to set him right. by telling him, it was our Saviours business in this world to undergo these sufferings. He seemed to lay great stress on this, and said, "We crucified him, we crucified him," and lifted up his hands whereby he represented it to us, which put me in mind of the ancient Jews, his forefathers, calling upon Pilate to have our Saviour crucified, desiring his blood to be on them and their children, which has justly provoked Almighty God, to leave them to their impenitent infidelity, scattered up and down, all over the Universe, which I urged on him, with divers others; but he said for a conclusion, that his Father and Grandfather were Jews & so he would be, and if they were gone to Hell He would go there too, which I exposed as a great piece of Folly and Stupidity.

In the morning we heard a firing and look'd out in the Guts and there was a snow attacked by 3 of the piratical Tereffa Boats. Two Cutters in the Government Service soon got under sail, 3 men of war that lay in the Roads manned their Barges and sent them out, as did a Privateer. We could now perceive her to have struck, this was about 8 o'clock, they soon retook her. She anchored at the back of the neck, the wind not then permitting her to come round. She had only 4 swivels and 6 or 8 men. They very much bruised a Boy, which has since died of his wounds. It seems that after they had boarded him, this Boy who was stationed at the main Halliards, not being ordered, or not being able to strike their colour

they did the business for him with an Iron Crow. It is said the person that did it was a Mahometan, but whether he is one that is taken I am not able to learn. They were not able to get any of the Boats, I learn, but they got some prisoners, which were on board the Snow, but how many I cannot learn, but there were 2 Spaniards, Tereffa born, which it is hoped will meet with their just reward, which I should think would be nothing less than hanging.

12—The snow that was taken yesterday, came from the Coast of Africa. They found on board of her, when she was retaken, 8 or 10 of the hands that belonged to the boats that took them. The master and mate were carried to Tereffa.

Just at dark (yesterday) came on Board of us, two Gentlemen, one of which is an Officer on board a man of war, the other belongs to the Granada, in the Kings Service. The former (our people say) was in the skirmish in some of the Barges, as the Boats Crew that rowed him on board told them. If so he could have given us a relation of it, but we not knowing of it & he not speaking of it, prevented what would have been very agreeable to me. The other belongs to Philadelphia and wants a passage to America, which was their business on board. Capt. Derby told him, he would give him a passage whenever he went, but that would be very uncertain.

It is now between 9 and 10 o'clock at night, which is the latest I have set up, since I left Salem. I have been writing down to day remarks which are very large, with what I have put in my other Book.

11th—Went on shore and dined at Mr. Lynch's. Had discourse with Sinto Senannes. I am to go to the Synagogue with him next Sunday, P. M.

The book ends here, and I have not been happy enough to recover the others. The extracts are made from fly leaves in Ames's Almanack for 1759. Boston; Printed & Sold by Draper, Green & Russell & Fleet.

Price Two Pistareens p. Dozen, and Five Coppers Single.

B. F. B.

THE FIRST VOYAGE TO JAPAN.

BY E. S. W.

In the last number but one of the Institute's Collections appeared an interesting account of the voyage of the ship Margaret, of Salem, to Japan, in 1801, compiled by Mr. J. F. Allen, from the private journal of the late George Cleveland, Esq.

The title of this article was "First Voyage to Japan," and it is the error contained therein, that I desire to correct. The *first* voyage to Japan from the United States was not made by the Margaret, but by the Ship Franklin, owned by Messrs James and Thomas H. Perkins, and James Dunlap, of Boston, and commanded by Capt. James Devereux, of Salem. This point, besides being supported by ample oral testimony, is also proved by the dates of the following papers, viz.: The Letter of Instructions, the Ship's Charter Party, and the Directions of the Dutch East India Company, (now in my possession,) and of the entries in the Franklin's journal, in the possession of the E. I. M. Society, which show that the Franklin was the *first* American vessel which traded with Japan, having visited there two years before the Margaret. In his

LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS,

dated "Boston, December 7, 1798," Capt. Devereux is instructed, "being Master of our Ship Franklin, now ready for sea, to proceed immediately to Batavia, in the Island of Java; on your arrival there" to coöperate with "Mr. Walter Burling, who goes out in the Ship & to whom the cargo is (jointly with yourself) addressed," in the sale of the old and the shipping of the new cargo, with which you will return with all possible dispatch to this place." The coffee, of which article the cargo was to consist, was to be in bulk if possible, and

boards were carried out to prepare the hold for that object, and materials for the construction of a coach-house on your quarter-deck, for the accommodation of yourself and officers home, and to enable you to fill your present cabin with coffee—you will therefore have your dead-lights caulked in, and fill all your accommodations below.

We allow to your first and second officers, two and one half tons privilege, and one ton to your third mate—your sailors will be allowed to bring their adventures in their chests and no otherwise. Your own privilege will be five per cent. on the whole amount which the ship may bring, and tis our orders that she be completely filled.

As it is our intention to dispatch another ship to Batavia, consigned to Mr. Burling, he will after finishing the business of the Franklin, apply himself to the other vessel, and return in her to Boston.

We wish you a speedy and successful voyage, and are, Sir,

Yr friends & owners,

JAMES & THO. H. PERKINS,
JAMES DUNLAP."

Extracts from the Ship Franklin's Journal, on a voyage from Boston towards Batavia.

Dec. 11, 1798. At 6 P. M. discharged the Pilot.

Apr. 19, 1799. At midday Java Head bore N. W. by N., dist. 3 leagues: our passage has been 130 days from Boston.

Nothing material on our passage from Java Head to Batavia, which has been nine days in beating up.

From Batavia towards Japan.

June 17, 1799. At 7, A. M. got under way, and sailed out of Batavia Road.

July 18, 1799. At 4 P. M., two Japanese prows came alongside, and supplied us with fish.

From Japan towards Batavia.

Nov. 25, 1799. At 3 P. M. got under way.

Dec. 18, 1799. At 11 P. M. anchored in Batavia Roads.

From Batavia towards Boston.

Jan. 18, 1800. At 5 A. M. weighed anchor, and got under way.

May 20, 1800. At 9 A. M. saw Cape Cod, distant 4 leagues; this day took a pilot, and anchored in Boston Harbour, after a passage of 123 days.

The foregoing extracts from the ship's journal give merely the dates of arrival at, and departure from the different places visited, they showing conclusively the priority of the Franklin's voyage.

When the Franklin arrived at Batavia, April 1799, Capt. Devereux found that the Dutch East India Company were in want of a ship to take a cargo to and from Japan, and after some preliminary negotiations, he came to an agreement with them, (which is given below) and which was carried out to their mutual satisfaction. He then took in a cargo upon his re-arrival at Batavia, and sailed for Boston, where he arrived safely, having made quite a successful voyage. In fact the success in this new field of commercial enterprise stimulated other merchants, and a new ship, called also the Franklin, and commanded by Capt. Devereux, was built, owned by Messrs. Joseph White, Robert Stone, sen., and others, whose intention it was to prosecute the same line of trade which the old Franklin had so successfully opened, by placing her at the disposal of the D. E. I. Company.

Unfortunately, however, contrary to the earnest advice and remonstrances of Capt. Devereux, (who was fully aware of the requisites demanded by the Company in their ships,) the owners decided not to copper her, and the result was, that on her arrival at Batavia, the Company were unwilling to employ her in the conveyance of their freights, and the ship Margaret arriving soon after, they chose her instead. Capt. Derby, in the Margaret's journal, makes the following entry: "April 24, 1801. Anchored in Batavia Roads at sunset, and found the Ship Franklin, Capt. Dev-

ereux here." The Franklin soon after sailed for the Isle of France, and thence home.

I am unacquainted with the names of the officers or crew of the Franklin, on the voyage to Japan, and of those in the second Franklin, with one exception,—the late Mr. Samuel Dudley Tucker, who went out as clerk with Capt. Devereux.

The cargo from Japan to Batavia consisted mostly of natural productions, but in addition to these, I find a sale of "sundries received by Ship Franklin from Japan," in which the following articles are mentioned: Cabinets, Tea Trays, Boxes of Birds, Waiters, Knife-Boxes, Boxes of Fans, Camphor-Wood, Mats, Kuspids, Nests of Pans, Baskets, and other similar articles. Many of these, together with beautifully inlaid Tables, Pictures and Views, were brought home by Capt. Devereux, and are now in the possession of his family, being as highly prized on account of the interesting associations connected with them, as for their intrinsic beauty.

The following are copies of the Charter party, and the Instructions from the D. E. I. Co. :—

"The Ship Franklin's Charter party for a Voyage from Batavia to Japan, June the 16th, 1799.

We the undersigned, Johannes Siberg, Commissary General, &c., &c.; on the one part, and Walter Burling, Supercargo of the American Ship Franklin, at present at anchor in this Road, of the burthen of 200 tons, commanded by James Devereux, on the other part,—Declare and Certify to have agreed with respect to the Charter of said ship, as follows :

Article 1st.—The second signer, as supercargo of said ship, lets and freights to the Company, the above-mentioned vessel for a voyage to Japan and back, and that to carry such merchandize and other articles as the Co. may put on board, as well from this city to Japan, as from thence here, for the sum of thirty thousand piastres.

2nd.—That the merchandize to be carried from hence to Japan shall consist of

30,000 lb cloves in sacks,
6000 lb cotton yarn,
2080 pieces of chintz,
250,000 lb sugar in sacks,
20,000 lb tin,
5000 lb black pepper,
5000 lb sapan-wood,
2000 lb elephant's teeth,
100 lb mummie,

and also some necessaries for the agents of the Co., calculated at four tons.

3d.—That the letter engages to bring in return from Japan to this place, in the said ship,

2500 cases of copper,
50,000 lb camphire,
1700 empty boxes,
900 boards,

on condition, that if the letter should transport from Japan, more than the quantities prescribed of copper and camphire, the freighter shall pay him one hundred and fifty piastres for every ton of 1850 lb. Holland weight, over and above the sum specified.

4th.—That the freight agreed upon after the voyage shall be accomplished, shall be paid to the freighter in such productions as are hereafter named, and at the prices for which the Co. sell them to individuals at the present day, viz :

Coffee, either of Cheribon or Jacatra, at the choice of the letter,

Sugar, 1st or 2d quality, at the choice of the letter,

Black Pepper,
Cloves,

Indigo, } provided the Co. can spare them,
Tin, }

Cinnamon, nutmegs, provided as above ; the letter, however, reserves for himself the privilege of receiving at his choice, for the amount of his freight, either all coffee, all sugar, or all pepper.

5th.—In case the letter should not choose to ship the above-mentioned articles himself, he shall be at liberty to dispose of them to oth-

ers, on condition that they shall be exported from Batavia.

6th.—That the letter shall furnish the said ship staunch and strong, capable of performing the above voyage, and loading the articles above-mentioned both here and at Japan.

7th.—That the ship shall be ready, and the cargo on board, by the middle of June, so that by that day she may be able to leave this Road, the freighter assisting on his part in all that concerns him.

8th.—That the number of persons on board shall amount to 17, the Captain included.

9th.—That the Captain and officers shall comply during the present voyage with the tenor of this Charter party, and the other instructions which shall be delivered to the Captain.

10th.—That the Capt., James Devereux, as soon as the Cargo shall be on board, and his ship's company in a proper situation, shall proceed with his said ship to the port of her destination, and there being discharged and reloaded, shall continue his voyage with the utmost diligence towards this metropolis, and that he shall not under any pretext whatever, approach or enter into any other port, either on his passage to Japan, or on his return, unless he is forced by urgent necessity, which he must justify on his return in a satisfactory manner.

11th.—The ship shall not be detained at Japan longer than until the 1st of Dec., 1799, after which time the Capt. shall be at liberty to leave that port for his return here, with whatever he may have on board.

12th.—If by any event whatsoever, the agents of the Co. should be unable to comply with the orders they may receive with respect to the loading of said ship, and that the Capt. from the time above-mentioned being expired, should be under the necessity of returning without having taken on board the articles agreed upon, the Co. is held to pay the sum of thirty thousand piastres, as if the voyage had been accomplished according to the intentions of the freighters, and as if the articles men-

tioned in the 3d article had been loaded on board the said ship: it is, however, well understood that the failure must not arise from any fault or neglect of the Capt'n or his officers, or by their means.

13th.—If by any unforeseen circumstances the ship should not be allowed to enter the port of Japan, and by that reason the Capt. should be obliged to return with the cargo he took from here, then after his arrival here, and having discharged the cargo he took away, the freighter shall pay the freight agreed upon, of thirty thousand piastres in produce as mentioned in article 4th, the same as if the cargo had been landed at Japan, and the return cargo, mentioned in art. 3d, had been brought here.

14th.—If after the return of said ship to this road, by any misfortune, such as storms, or fire, she should perish before having discharged her loading, or during her discharge, the freighter will pay the letter the sum of thirty thousand piastres in produce, according to the 4th Article.

15th.—The freighter shall have liberty to put on board four or five persons to make the voyage to Japan, or from thence here, free of charge for their passage, and they shall be lodged in the cabin of the ship, the freighter furnishing everything necessary for their subsistence on board.

16th.—The invoices of the merchandize that the Co. loads on board said ship, as well here as at Japan, shall be signed by the supercargo, Walter Burling, and by the Captain, James Devereux, or by their representatives, but they are only bound to produce the number of packages, bales, &c., without being answerable for their contents;—they are, however, bound not to receive on board any casks, bales, &c., which are not in good order, without making mention of it at the foot of the invoices that they sign.

17th.—The freighter engages to put on board and receive from the ship whatever goods they may ship either here or at Japan,

at their own charge and risque, and free of any expence to the letter.

18th.—That the ship, after her arrival at Japan, shall be unloaded and reloaded with all possible diligence, so that she may be enabled to depart in proper time, agreeable to the season, and customs at Japan.

19th.—The freighter shall furnish every assistance both here and at Japan in loading and unloading the ship.

20th.—In case the letter should be in want of any necessaries, they will be furnished him here at the current price, provided he cannot procure them from individuals, and if he should want any repairs at Japan, he will be assisted, but the expenses will be for his own account.

21st.—If any of the ship's company should be sick at Japan, they may be received in the Hospital, on condition that they shall be taken on board the ship at the time of her departure, and the expense incurred will be for account of the letter.

22d.—For the expenses stipulated in the 20th and 21st articles, the Captain must sign duplicate accounts, and repay the amount on his return here, or it may be retained on the amount of his freights.

23d.—That the said ship shall be free from paying any port charges, either here or at Japan.

24th.—That the freighters shall commence the discharge of the ship the day after her arrival in this road, and shall complete it in 14 days, not counting those in which they may be prevented working by the weather, and in case of failure on their parts, they shall pay one hundred rix dollars per day for every day after the expiration of the above time.

For the execution and accomplishment of the above, we ratify the present by our seals and ordinary signature, and have signed three contracts of the same tenour.

Batavia, May 31st, 1799."

"Instructions from the Dutch East India

Company for Captain Devereux on his arrival at Japan :

When you get to the latitude of 26 or 27, it will be necessary to have everything in readiness to comply with the ceremonies which the Japanese are accustomed to see performed by the ships of the Company.

1st—You will have all your colours in order to dress the ship on her entrance into port.

2d—There must be a table prepared on the quarter-deck, which must be covered with a piece of cloth and two cushions for the officers to sit upon, when they come on board.

3d—It is indispensably necessary to have a list of all the people on board, passengers and officers, their stations and age.

4th—All the books of the people and officers, particularly religious books, must be put in a cask and headed up; the officers from the shore will put their seals upon the cask, and take it on shore, and on the departure of the ship, will bring it on board without having opened it.

5th—Before your arrival at Japan, you must make the people deliver you their money, and keep it until your departure; this will not be attended with inconvenience, as at Japan nothing is bought for cash, but they may change their specie for Cambang money, and then make their trade, but this must be done by the Captain.

6th—When you are in sight of Japan, you must hoist a Dutch pendant, and ensign, in their proper places, as if you were a Dutch ship.

7th—When the Cavalles are on your starboard hand, and the Island of Japan on your larboard, you must salute the guard on the Cavalles with nine guns.

8th.—After that you pass on the larboard side of Papenburg, and salute with 9 guns.

9th.—You then pass the guards of the Emperor on the starboard and larboard, nearly at the same time, and salute with 7 or 9 guns

the first all starboard guns, the second all larboard.

10th.—You then advance into the Road of Nangazaeky, and after anchoring salute with 13 guns.

11th.—When you enter the Cavalles, the Commissaries of the Chief will come on board, and you must salute them with 9 guns; at the same time, if it is practicable, hoist some colors to the yards, as a compliment to them; it is immaterial what colours you dress your ship with, except Spanish, or Portuguese,—it is, however, necessary to recollect that the Dutch colours must be always in their proper place, as if the ship was of that nation.

12th.—When the Commissaries return on shore, you must salute them with 9 guns.

13th.—You must be very particular in letting the boats which are around the ship know when you are going to fire, as if you were to hurt any of them the consequences would be very important.

14th.—After you have anchored, and saluted the harbour, the officers examine the list of your people and compare them with the number on board,—after having received them, those who wish it can go on shore, but before the Japanese land, all the arms and ammunition must be sent on shore, and it will be proper that everything of the kind should be landed, as they search the ship after she is unloaded. On your departure they will return it all on board. If there should by any mistake be any powder or fire-arms left on board, you must be very careful that not so much as a pistol be fired until the return of the ammunition which was landed.

The agents of the Company will instruct you respecting the other ceremonies to be observed."

NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY—No. 7.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

One of the most interesting series of coins, to an American, are those of Spain.

The currency of New England has, from its first settlement, consisted almost exclusively of them. They became our money unit, and also furnished the principal supply of specie for the coinage of the Massachusetts Mint, during a period of nearly thirty years.

Spanish coins are the only ones mentioned on the Courte Records of Massachusetts, in connection with its mint, during the whole period of its existence. The Spanish dollar was finally adopted by our national mint, as the unit of its coinage, and the coins of Spain, have been legally current, and passing with our own, almost to the present time. The ancient coins of Spain, for four hundred years after the christian era, were of Roman mintage; after that period to seven hundred and eleven, a beautiful series of gold coins, bezants, were issued by her Gothic Princes.

The coins of her Arab conquerors follow after, and continue to the fall of their last stronghold in Spain, Granada, in 1492. Their principal mint was in that city.

Ferdinand and Isabella having demanded tribute of it, Abul Hassein haughtily replied, "That in the same place where they coined money, at Granada, they forged arms, also, to defend it."

Their coins were chiefly gold, of excellent workmanship and purity, but they are not an interesting series, as the Mahomedan religion allowed only an inscription, the name of the reigning sovereign, a sentence of the Koran, and a date in figures of their own invention, now used by most nations.

They reckoned from the flight of Mahomet, or Hygeria, 622 years after Christ. That period added to theirs, and one year in every thirty-three, their year being lunar, eleven days shorter than ours, gives the Christian date of their coins.

Other Mahomedan coins are dated, but with entirely different figures. Ten years after the conquest of Granada, 1502, the Spanish Arabs, or Moors, were expelled from Spain, they established themselves on the adjacent

coast of Africa, and long maintained a piratical warfare on the commerce of Spain, and all other nations who refused to pay them tribute. The rich prizes they captured enabled them to coin a large amount of gold, frequently mentioned by the early writers of New England as Barbary coins, current here and in England.

When Spain was overrun by the Arabs, the mountainous districts of Asturias, Galicia, and Biscay afforded a shelter to the miserable remains of the Goths; they being places of great natural strength, were never fully conquered. The Goths gradually recovered a considerable part of Spain from the Arabs, and founded many petty kingdoms, but no coins were struck by them till the reign of Ferdinand I. He united Leon with Castile, and quartered their arms together, on the same shield, being the first instance of the kind (as Camden notes) known. It was followed by Edward III, who quartered the arms of France with those of England. The greatest and most fertile parts of Spain were governed by Ferdinand I and his brothers. It was during his prosperous reign that the Real Vellon was issued. It was a small silver coin, of the penny size, called Vellon, from its being originally a copper coin, but when they came afterwards to strike it in silver, they still retained the old name, and it is supposed that the original of their computation by Reals of Vellon, was derived from Rome, the Roman Sestertius, and the Real Vellon being nearly of the same value. This coin presents a remarkable instance of maintaining almost its original value, one sixteenth of a dollar, to the present time, whereas the English penny, coined at that period, of about the same value, has since dwindled down to a copper coin, of less value than two cents of our currency.— They also borrowed from the Arabs a copper coin, the Maravedi, thirty-four being equal to the Real Vellon. In this diminutive coin, all the revenues of Spain and the wealth brought from Peru and Mexico were computed, by an integer of copper, of three times less value than our half cent. We took only the calcu-

lating cyphers from the Arabs, but the Spaniards took the Arabic numerals, and their manner of computation. Early Spanish historians mention Maravedi's of silver and gold, but none are now known to exist.

The first mention of gold, Maravedis, is of a tax being laid, of five Maravedis of gold a head. In 1176 and in 1274, the King of Granada paid Alonzo X, 300,000 Maravedis of gold, yearly tribute.

On the death of Ferdinand I, 1065, Leon became separated from Castile, he in his will assigning to his children the different provinces of his dominions. If such frequent and unwise divisions had not taken place on the death of their Kings, the Spaniards might have freed themselves from the Arabs long before the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and have become a powerful nation. The continual wars they were engaged in with each other, and the Arabs, caused great distress, and impeded their advancement in the arts and sciences, and the accumulation of wealth to a sufficient extent to coin but little money, and that frequently debased. All large payments were made in gold and silver, by weight* or florins, and ducats. Gold coins of Italy, where they were first struck long before other nations attempted such a coinage. Commercial enterprise had there built up cities and States, governed by merchant Princes, whose prosperity and opulence were shown by their coins.† Alonzo V, King of Arragon, added Naples and Sardinia to his dominions, and is supposed to have made the first modern collection of ancient coins.

* The marriage portion of Blanch, wife of James II, King of Arragon, was, in 1295, 70,000 pounds weight of silver.

† It is from the examination of a series of coins of any nation, without turning to the pages of history, that their rise and decline can be traced. The coins of Rome, for instance, show her days of prosperity and glory by their beauty and purity, while those struck in her decline were debased, and finally closed with coins so poorly executed, that they are almost unintelligible.

The ivory cabinet which contained them was always carried with him, he considering the presence of the images of so many illustrious men as an excitement to great actions. The first notice I have seen of any gold coins, bearing a Spanish name, is the offer made to Bertrand de Gueslin, of 200,000 Castilian Doubles, by Henry II, 1369, for assistance rendered him in the Battle of Montiel, and effecting the death of Peter the cruel, whom he succeeded on the throne of Castile. Henry not finding sufficient amount of treasure left by Peter in Castile to pay the large sum he had promised to Bertrand de Gueslin, caused two new sets of coins to be invented, one called Crusados, bearing a cross on its obverse, the badge of the Crusaders, and the other Royals, from having his head on them, to supply this want. These pieces, being of twice the value of the Real Vellon, were called Real Plate, and continued to be struck, and so reckoned, by his successors.

John II, King of Castile, and Leon, died 1450, after a long and disastrous reign. He left three children, Henry, Alonzo, and Elizabeth. Henry, his eldest son, succeeded him, and coined the Real Plate. On its obverse appears the profile head of Henry, crowned, facing the right, Legend, ENRICVS QVARTVS REX * CAST * -|- (Henry IV, King of Castile,); reverse, a cross, enclosed in a waving circle, the four quarters, containing the Arms of Castile and Leon, Legend, ENRICVS DEI GRACIA REX, -|- (Henry by the grace of God, King,) weighing 61 grains. His reign presents one of the darkest periods of Spanish History. No permanent mints existed; his treasures were generally kept in some strong city, Burgos, Segovia, or Seville; adulterated coins were struck, and instead of confining the coinage, as it had been in former reigns, to five Royal mints, his nobles, like sovereign princes, coined money in one hundred and fifty mints of their own; coins were debased to such an extent as to cause all the articles of life to be raised in value nearly six fold. This state of things at last became in-

sufferable; many of his nobles and subject rose in a body, and, on the Plains of Avila, erected an image, representing King Henry on a throne, clad in his royal robes, with a crown on his head, a sceptre in his hand, and the sword of justice by his side. The accusations against him were read, and the sentence of deposition was announced; they then tumbled the image from the throne, and proclaimed Don Alonzo, his brother, King of Castile and Leon. Alonzo, in the short interval of his reign, struck also the Real Plate: obverse, instead of his head a large Anglo Norman A, crowned, Legend, DOMINVS MICHII ADIVTOR ET NON -|- (the Lord is my helper, and not man,); reverse, a cross, Arms of Castile and Leon, in its quarters, Legend, ALPHONSAS DEI GRACIA REX, CASTELLE -|- (Alphonso by the grace of God, King of Castile,) weighing 59 grains. Alphonzo's death soon followed, 1468, supposed to be by poison, when his adherents offered the crown to Isabella, which she then refused to accept. But fearing she should be forced by Henry (whose feeble reign continued) into an alliance disagreeable to her, she accepted the offered hand of Ferdinand of Arragon, and compelled Henry to acknowledge her as heiress to the crown of Castile, 1474. But not satisfied with that, she took immediate measures to secure the crown by seizing King Henry's treasures in Segovia, but the timely death of Henry saved her the disgrace of usurping the throne of her brother, on whose death she caused herself to be proclaimed Queen in Segovia, and proceeded to coin the treasure of Henry, which she had before secured. Henry left by will his crown to Joanna, a supposed daughter, but in a meeting of the Cortes, it was decided to set aside his will, and that Isabella, in connection with her husband, should reign, and that in all charters, patents, and upon the coin, King Ferdinand should be named before Queen Elizabeth, and that the Arms of Castile should be on the right of Arragon. The rights of Castile were carefully guarded; Ferdinand was so dissatisfied with their settle-

ment of the crown, that he would have left for Arragon if Isabella had not prevailed upon him to stay.

John, King of Arragon, died 1479. His son Ferdinand succeeded him, and the crowns of Arragon and Castile were again united, and by the conquest of Granada, 1492, the whole of Spain became consolidated into one kingdom. One of the wisest and most beneficial measures of their reign, was the reformation of the coins, which were called in, and their recoinage confined to five Royal mints, where skilful artists from Italy were employed to execute coins of singular beauty, which have not since been excelled.

They had but three effective gold coins, the $\frac{1}{2}$ doblon, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$. The doblon which they computed by, being then, like the English pound, an imaginary coin, it was also called the piece of eight, from its being worth eight gold crowns, or gold half pistoles, it being exactly the equal and direct divisions of an ounce of gold, and was frequently called ounce. The earliest gold coin in my collection is the half doblon.

On the obverse of this beautiful and interesting gold coin, Ferdinand and Elizabeth are seen, seated side by side,—Ferdinand on the right and Elizabeth on the left,—nearly a front view. He holds in his right hand a naked sword, his left grasping its blade. Elizabeth holds between them, in her right hand, a sceptre, and behind them appear three castles, the Arms of Castile. Their dress is plain and gracefully arranged, covering their feet, their hair long, and each wearing a crown; their countenances are youthful and living portraits, such as Del Ricon, the father of the Spanish school, painted, and it is not improbable that they might have set to him for it; Legend,—FERDINANDVS ET —|— ELISABET —|— DEI GRACIA. R. ET R. (Ferdinand and Elizabeth by the grace of God, King and Queen.) Reverse, Legend, SVBIMBRA ALARVM. TVARVM. PROTE. NOS —|— (Protect us under the shadow of thy wing,)

—|— dove, the emblem of that Power whose protection they sought, sustained on its breast, and guarded with its wings, a crowned shield, bearing the united arms of Castile and Arragon.

The Real gold, no less fine, has on its obverse, profile heads of Ferdinand and Elizabeth, crowned and facing each other. Legend—QVOS. DEVS. CONIVNXIT. HOMO. N. SEP. $\frac{\circ}{\circ}$, (What God joins let no man separate.) Reverse — FERDINANDVS. ET. ELISAB. D. G. (Ferdinand and Elizabeth, by the grace of God.) A crowned shield arms of Castile and Arragon.

Their largest silver coin, the piastre, or piece of eight, was like the doblon, an imaginary coin, its value eight reals plate, weighing an exact ounce. The one-half, the one-quarter, and the one-eighth, were the only actual parts of it then issued. I omit a description of the four real's plate, or half piastre, as its type and legend are almost the same as that of the real plate, a coin I prize very highly, having found it in Salem, in fine condition, and has on its obverse, legend—FERNANDVS: ET: HELISABET:: a shield in its first and third quarters, the arms of Castile and Leon in the second and fourth, the arms of Arragon and Naples, and a pomegranate for Granada at the base of the shield, which is crowned, and ornamented with annulets, or in heraldry rings of armor, which divide the words of the legend. On the right of the shield, is the mint mark of Seville, with a star above and below it. On the left of the shield there are two figures, one for the value of the coin, one Real Plate, and eight made over it, signifying that eight of the one Real made a piece of eight or Piastre. The Piastre was then a coin of account, and not coined till the reign of Charles V, and was called in Holland and Germany Daelder or Dollar, to distinguish this coin of eight Reals, good Plate, from other coins,* this old sign of value was used, and

* Very little can be learnt of the value of old coins by their names, as they bore several where

it is the origin and meaning of the sign now used in the United States for dollars. No good reason can be given for the additional mark, not on the Spanish coin, or on a similar sign, anciently used by the Romans for semis, a weight or coin. Reverse, Legend,—REX : ET : REGINA : CAST : LEGIO : AREGO : — : (King and Queen of Castile, Leon and Arragon) in its field, an F. and I., thus, F, crowned their initials.

On the right a bundle of arrows, and on the left a yoke. According to Oviedo, these devices of a yoke and arrows were taken on account of their bearing the initials of the names of each, she taking flechus, or arrows, and he jugo, or yoke.* Two very fine beaded circles enclose the legend and type of the coin. It will be seen that the spelling in the above legends differ, and that of Elizabeth in particular, commencing sometimes with an H.†

they were coined; and also in other countries, the same named coin in one nation was of a very different value in another. Neither will their weights, which I have omitted.

*This device has also another meaning--the yoke and arrows being signs of the subjection of Granada; the yoke, of servitude, which they were now made to pass under; and the arrows they had used in their defence are bound, signifying they are no longer to be used by them as a weight of defence.

On the coins of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are frequently seen letters and figures interwoven, called Monogram, also a sufficient number of the letters of the legend enlarged, so as to give its date, called Chronogram, and other curious devices now impossible to explain.

†The letters on these coins are Anglo-Norman, like those of Henry VII, of England, and no dates; but the two gold coins were coined after the union, 1479 and before 1492, as appears by the arms of Arragon and Naples on them, which were four pallets, gules, in a field Or, given to Geoffrey, first Earl of Barcelona, by Lewis of France, 884. The Earl being wounded and bleeding, fighting for him, against the Normans, desired a Coat of Arms; the Emperor dipping his four fingers in the blood of the Earl, drew them across his shield, which was of plain gold, without device, saying, "This shall be your

It is singular that the last described coin should have been found circulating in Salem, as all their coins are very rare, and only obtained abroad at great cost. It was passed to me by the late Deacon Benj. Blanchard, as a Pistareen, it being about the size of that coin, once so common here. Deacon Blanchard informed me that he took it in payment of water rent, of the Salem Aqueduct Company. When I first saw it, I knew, from its arms, that it was a Spanish coin; but who the Elizabeth on it was, I could not then tell, but I found by an examination of my books, that Elizabeth was the name Isabella was known by on all her coins and public documents.

Isabella, the friend and patron of Columbus, died in 1504. We have here to see and handle a contemporary relic of her reign, coined in her own mint, at Seville, which, after a circulation of more than 300 years, makes its appearance in the birthplace of her gifted historian.* What associations cluster around this coin! It might have formed part of the treasure she offered to raise by pledging her jewels, so that Columbus† might sail on that voyage which discovered the New World, and gave to Spain and the rest of Europe untold treasures of gold and silver, which still yield an undiminished supply to the world.

arms, hereafter." The Arms of Naples and Sicily were quartered with them, four pallets, between two flanches and two eagles. The silver coins were struck after 1492, and out of the spoils of Granada, its arms being on it, and before 1505.

* Wm. H. Prescott, author of the History of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, was born in Salem, May 4, 1796, and died in Boston, 1859.

† The arms of Granada, on this coin, show that it was struck after its surrender, Jan. 2, 1492, of the Hygeria, 897, and it might have been before Columbus sailed, Aug. 3, 1492.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, page 258.

William Marstone, his da Sara bo by Sarah his wife, 12th 12th mo.; da'r Hana bo 1 7th mo., '55; da'r Sarah dyed July, '65.

John Marsh, his da'r Susana, bo by Susana his wife ye 22d 3d mo., '54; theire son Jacob borne ye 6th 6th mo., '58.

John Massy maryed unto Sara Wells, by Mr Symonds ye 27th 2d mo., '58—theire Son Jeffry borne 14th May, '64—son John borne 6th October, '65—Danll Massey borne March 6th, dyed October 16, 1702.

Jane ye wife of Elyas Mason, Dyed ye 9th 9th mo., 1661.

Nicholas Manning and Eliza Gray, widdow, were maryd ye 23d 4th mo., '63—theire son Thomas was born ye 2d of May, 1664, and died 6 months after—son Nicholas borne 15th 7th mo., 1665, and died 16th 4th mo., '67, da Margaret, 25th 12th mo., '66 and dyed 14 days after—son Jon bo 28th 3d mo., '68.

John Marston, Jr., son of John Marston 2d, married to Mary Chichester by Majr Hathorne ye 5th 7th mo., '64—theire son Jon Borne 26th 5th mo., '66, and deceased 7 weeks after—theire 2d son John ye 2d September, 1667—dau Mary borne 14th 11 mo., '69—son James borne the 28th 9th mo., 1672—daughter Sarah borne 8th 8th mo., 1675—theire sonn Manaseth borne ye 25th 10th mo., 1677.

William Marston his daughter Mary by Sara his wife bo 2d 2d mo., '61—da Deliveranse 15th July, '63—son William borne ye 19th Sepr, '65—dau Sarah died 19th 5th '65.

Jon Marston, Senr, his da Abigaile borne by Alis his wife, 19th 12th '58—his da Mary by Alis his wife bo 23d March, '61.

Joseph Miles, married to Mary Whelan by Mr Ralph Whelan, 18th 11th mo., '61, and died in ye year '63—ye sd Joseph married to

Exercise Felton by Majr Hathorne 7th 9th mo., '64—theire dau Mary borne 1st 2d mo 1660—Susana bo the 7th 8th mo., 1667—dau Abigaile borne ye 5th of July, 1669—daughter Mary borne ye 27th of March, 1671.

Edward Mould, his son Edward borne by Willmud his wife ye 30th 8th mo., '62.

Zachery Marsh & Mary Silsby maryd 15th 6th mo., '64—theire son John borne ye 26th September, ('65,) da Mary borne ye 8th December, 1666—son Zachariah borne the —Elizabeth borne son Jonathan the 14th day of Aprill, 1672—Ebenezer borne May, 1674, (the 28th).

John, son of Robert Moulton, borne by Abigaile, his wife, 25th 4th mo., '5—theire son Joseph Borne 3d January, '56—Mirriam theire daughter, borne January '58—dau Mary borne 15th June '61.

John Marsh son of John Marsh married by Majr Hathorne ye 20th March, 1661, to Sara Younge—theire dafter Sara born 1st 10th '6—theire daughter Ruth borne in August, 1668. John Marsh dyed in Barbadoes, August, 1668.

Hen Moses his son John by Remember, his wife, 19th November, 166—Remember borne 14th 9th mo., 1668—Edward borne 10th 9th mo., '70—Eleazer borne the 23d March, '72—3—son Samuell borne the 24th June, 1677.

John Mascal and Ellen Long were married the month March, 1649—theire son John born 25 December, 1650—Steephen 15th 12th '52—da Hitabell bor 15th May, '55—son Thos 14th August '57—son James 16th March '61—son Nicholas 14th April '64.

John Massey, his son Thomas borne by Sara his wife, ye 5th 10th mo., 1667, and dyed 19th 10th mo., 1667, dau Sara borne 25th July, 1669,—dau Abigaile borne the 26th 10th mo., 1671—son Thomas Borne the 22d March 1673—4—and deceased the 21st 9th mo., 1676.

Jeffery Massey deceased 9th 9th mo., 1676.

Francis Moore & Elizabeth Woodberye were married by Capt. Thomas Marshall ye last of August, 1666, theire son William borne 9th June 1667, and deceased 2d 7th mo., following

—their dau Mary borne ye 5th 7th mo., 1668
 —theire daughter Sara borne the 20th 12th
 mo, 1670—son Thomas 20th Aprill 1673—son
 Jonathan borne the 7th 6th mo., 1678—son
 Francis borne the

John Milk & Sara Weston were married the
 3d 2d mo., 1665—theire son John borne the
 8th 11th mo., 1668—Mary borne 22d 9th mo.,
 '70.

Manasses Marstone & Mercye Pearce were
 married 23d August, 1667—theire daughter
 Mercy borne 23d 4th mo., '69, and died the
 11th 7th mo., '69—theire son Benjamin borne
 30th July, 1670—theire son Samuëll borne ye
 20th 10th mo., 1674 & deceased 9 weeks after
 —theire 2d son Samuëll the 17th March, 1675,
 and deceased 21st July, 1676—daughter Marsey
 borne ye 7th August 1677—Mehitabell born
 14th May ('82.)

Isaac Meachum & Debora Perkins, widow,
 were maried the 28th of December, 1669—
 theire dau Debora born 15th 10th mo., '70, &
 deceased 10th mo., '71—theire son Isaack born
 the 13th 9th mo., 1672—son Jeremiah borne
 13th 9th mo., 1674—son Israell borne the 28th
 7th mo., 1676—son Ebenezer borne the 21st
 February, 1677—their son Icabod, alies. Ichabod,
 borne 11th 6th mo., 1679.

Thomas Maule & Naomy Lynsey were married
 by Majr William Hathorne the 22d of
 July, 1670—theire daughter Susana borne the
 15th 7th mo., 1671—daughter Elizabeth borne
 11th 7th mo., '73—their sonn Deliverance born
 21st 8th mo., '75, and dyed 28th 7th mo., '76
 —daughter Sarah borne 17th 7th mo '77
 —daughter Margaret borne the 20th March,
 1679-80—son Peleth born the 10th May 1682
 —his sonn Jon born 9th 8th mo., 1684—son
 Joseph born 16th 12th, 1686, and dyed ye 14th
 1st 1687.

Abigaile ye daughter of Paule Mansfield by
 Dameris his wife borne ye 28th June, 1668.
 Rebecca borne ye 5th March, '73-4.

Laurance Mazure & Mary Kebbin were married
 the 25th 8th mo., 1670—theire daughter
 Mary borne the 15th 12 mo., '72.

Thomas Meade & Mary Day, widdow, were
 married the last day of January, 1672.

Robert Moulton & Mary Cook were married
 by Majo — the 17th July, 1672—theire
 daughter Mary borne ye 2d June, 1673—son
 Robert borne 3d 7th mo., 1675—son Ebenezer
 borne 28th Aprill, 1678—daughter Abigaill
 borne the 28th 12th mo., 1681.

Jeremiah Meachum, son of Jeremiah Meachum
 & Mary Trask, daughter of Henry Trask
 were married ye 3d 11th mo., 1672—theire
 son Jeremiah borne the 21st 10th mo ,
 1673.

Richard Maber & Mary Allen were married
 the 21st 9th mo., 1670—theire daughter Dorcas
 was borne ye 29th July, 1672—theire son
 John borne the 1st March, 1674-5—son John
 2d born 15th 8th mo., 1679.

John Mascall Jun'r & Hester Babbadg were
 married ye 6th of October, 1674—their son
 John Borne the 5th August, 1675—son Stephen
 borne the 21st of May, 1677—Sarah
 Mascoll borne ye 20th day of Aprill, 1687—
 there son Benjamin born Aug't 15th, 1699.

Ephraim Marstone, his son Ephraim borne
 by Elizabeth his wife the 24th May, 1673—
 theire son Samuëll borne 2d 10th mo., 1676.

Peeter Morrall & Mary Butler, both late of
 Jersey were married the 27th 7th mo , 1675.

Walter Mountjoy & Elizabeth Owen, widow,
 were married 18th 11 mo., 1671.

Benjamin Mazure & Margaret Row were
 married 23d 8 mo., 1676—theire son Benjamin
 borne the 6th July, 1679.

John Mecarter & Rebecka Meachum were
 married the 27th of January, 1674—theire son
 John borne the 13th January, 1675—daughter
 Rebecka borne 4th 12 mo., 1677. Jeremiah
 borne 9th 7th mo., '79—Peter borne 1st
 9th mo., '81—Andrew born 6th June, '84—
 James born 17th 9th mo., 1686—Isaac born
 3d June, 1689, Rebecka born, the second
 daughter, 6th Feb'y, 1690.

John Marsey, his son Thomas borne by Sarah
 his wife the 8th March, 1672.

Benjamin Marstone & Abigaile Veren were

married ye 25th 9th mo., 1678—theire daughter Abigaile borne the 28th 6th mo., 1679.

Benjamin Marston, son of Benjamin Marston & Patience his wife, was borne at Salem, February 24th, 1696-7.

Lidia Marston, daught'r of Manasseh Marston, borne by Mary his wife, January 7th, 1684. Susannah born 29th Aprill, 1687.

Isaac Meachum, his daughter Deborah borne by Deborah his wife the 8th Aprill, 1681—his son John borne the 11th June, 1682.

John Mare & Joanna Brunson were married the 18th July, 1682, by the worshipfull Bar'w Gedney, Esq.

John Masters & Elizabeth Ormes were married the 17th July, 1678—theire son John borne the 24th 7th mo., 1681—the said Elizabeth the wife deceased the 29th 7th mo., '82—the said John theire son deceased the 27th 7 mo., 1682. Jno. Masters his daughter Eliz'a born by his wife Does last July, 1684—yr son John, borne 15th Feb., 1687—Jonathan born 10th Novemb'r, 1689—Sam'll borne 1st Octob'r, '93.

Jno. Macknallen was married to Mary Gilson ye 11th of Decemb., 1684—his son John born 5th Sep'r '85, by Mary his wife—his son Joseph borne 24th Sep'r, 1687.

Samuell Marsh married to Prissillah Tompkins, 14 August, 1679—theire daughter Susannah born 12 May, 1680—John borne ye 1st Septemb'r, 1681—their Hanah born 18th September, 1683—theire daughter Sarah born 18th July, 1685—Margaret born 8th day of Aprill, 1688.

Edw'd Maul dyed ye 15th Novemb'r, 1686.

Wife of Capt. Rich'd More dyed Octob'r 5th, 1686.

Joseph Mazurye married to Sara Peckworth 25th March, 1679-80—their son Joseph borne 25th March, 1680—Abigail borne in June, 1683—son Nath'll, borne 23d Feb'y, 1686-7—Benja. borne 10th 9th mo., 1689.

Oliver Manering, his daughter Elizabeth born 10th May, 1685—his daughter Sarah borne 25th July, 1687.

Tho's Makintire & Mary Moulton married—

theire son Thomas born Aprill 1701—theire son Nathan bo March 5th, 1703.

Susannah daught'r of Thomas Mason, borne by Chrestran his wife 23d August, 1687.

The widdow Neare died the 1st June, 1658. Sara, da'r of John Neale dyed 22d 5th mo., '58—his da'r Mary by Mary his wife borne 14th 1st mo., '55 & dyed ye 6th 5th mo., 58—Jonathan borne ye 6th 7th, '57.

Nicholas Nelling & Mary Hibbert were married by Majo'r William Hathorne the 8th 9th mo., 1660.

Francis Nurse, son of Francis Nurse bo by Rebecka his wife, 3d 12th, '60—son Benjamin borne 26th January, 1665.

Mr. Edward Norice, deceased ye 23d 10th, 1659.

John Neale, his son Joseph bo by Mary his wife 14th 1st, '59—the said John Neale the elder deceased the 12th May, 1672.

Anthony Needham, his da'r Eliza bo by Anna his wife ye 1st 10th, '59—yr da Ann bo 30th 6th, '58—son Anthony bo 11th 2d, 63—da'r Provided, bo 12th 2d, '61.

John Norton & Mary Sharp married by Majo'r Denison 3d Aprill, 1660—da'r Mary bor 4th 11th mo., '61, & deceased 4th 12th '61—da'r Mary borne 26 Aprill '64—dau'r Hanna 17th 8th mo., 1668—daughter Abigaile borne 30th 11th mo., '70—son George borne the 20th Aprill, 1672—Elizabeth borne 30th August, 1674.

Robert Nowell & Mary Tatchell were married 1st 11th mo., 1667—theire sons William & Robert, twins, borne 28th 8th mo., 1668, & William deceased 4 daies after—dau'r Mary borne 27th 12th, '69—theire son Robert borne the 5th 9 mo., 1672.

Jon Norman & Mary Ropes 17th 9th mo., 1663—theire son Jo'n b 19th 9, '64, & died ye 22d same month. 2d son John borne 12th 10th mo., 1666—theire daughter Mary borne the 14th of February, 1668—son Richard borne the 20th February, 1673—dau'r Abigaile borne ye 10th July, 1677.

Jeremiah Neale & Sarah Hart were married 15th June, 1668—theire son John borne t'c

16th April, 1669—Mary Neale borne 11th 3 mo., 1670—daughter Sara borne the 1st 9, '71—Sara the wife deceased 28th 7th mo., '72—the said Jeremiah Neale and Marye Bafum were marryed the 22d 7 mo., 1673—theire son Jeremiah borne the 25th 7 mo., 1674.

Sam'l Neale son of Jno. Neale, his son Jno borne 1st Novemb'r, 1689

Mary Norman, Daughter of Timothy Norman, borne 10th 9 mo., 1694.

John Nurss & Elizabeth Smith were married 1st 9 mo., '72—theire son John borne 12th 8th mo., '73, ye said Elizabeth his wife died the 22d 8th, '73—the said John Nurse & Elizabeth Verry were marryed ye 17th August, 1677—theire daughter Elizabeth borne the 18th March, 1677—8—theire son Samuell borne 20th August, 1679—daughter Sarah borne 10th 9 mo., 1680—son Jonathan borne 3d May, 1682—son Joseph borne 20th Sept., 1683—sone Benja. borne 20th Feb'y, 1686—Hanah borne 22d June, 1687.

Richard Norman, son of John Norman & Elizabeth Bullock were married 13th 11 mo, 1674.

Samuell Nurse & Mary Smith were married the 5th of Aprill, 1677—theire sonne Samuel borne the 7th January, 1677—daughter Margerett borne the 24th 12 mo., 1679—theire son George the 29th July, 1682, yr dater Mary born 25th Maye, 85—Daught'r Rebecka borne 15th Sept'r, '88.

John Neale & Ann Nicholls were married —theire son John borne the 15th 2d mo., 1673—theire son Thomas borne 14th 12th mo., 1675—son Joseph borne the 4th 10 mo., 1677—daughter Rebecka borne the 23d February, 1679.

Anthony Needham & Ann Potter were marryed the 10th of January, 1655—their daughter Rebeca borne the 21st December, 1656—Anna theire daughter borne the 31st 6 mo., 1658—their dau'r Elizabeth borne the 1st 10th mo., 1659—theire daughter Provided borne the 12th 2d mo., 1661—theire son Anthony Needham, borne the 11th Aprill, 1663—theire

daughter Mary borne the 30th 2d mo., 1665—their son Georg borne the 26th March, 1667—theire son Isaack borne the 15th Aprill, 1669—theire daughter Abigaile borne the 31st May, 1671—theire son Thomas borne the 25th July 1673—Dorithy, theire daughr borne the 25th August, 1675—theire daugr Rachel born the 17th March 1677—78.

Edw Norrice married to Mary Symonds 3d December, 1685—their Daught'r Mary borne 14th April 1687.

Fras Neale Junr his daught'r Sara born 4th 9th mo., 1688—theire dau Joane born 1st June, '90—1.

John Norton, son of John Norton and Mary his wife, born at Salem, 30th October, 1679.

John Ormes, his daur Eliza bo by Mary, his wife, 24th 10th mo., '60—theire da Mary bo 26th 8th, 1656—son John bo ye 28th 9th '58—son Joseph bo ye 15th March, '63—son Benjamin 14th July, '65—Jonathan borne a twin same time & dyed about half a yeare after—their daur Edonie borne the 1st June 1668—son James borne ye 14th of July 1670.

Willm Odry drowned 7th 11th mo., '61.

Thomas Oliver maryd to Bridgett Wasselbe, widow, this 26th July, 1666, by Major Willm Hathorne—theire daughter Christian borne 8th of May, 1667.

Mr. John Osbourne & Mrs Elizabeth Ruck were married the 5th of October, 1670.

Morgan Owen & Elizabeth Dickason were married July 1670—theire son John borne the 10th of March 1671.

Stephen Osgood, his son Joseph borne by Mary, his wife 1st 4th mo., 1673.

William Osborne & Hanna Burton were marryed 17th March, 1672—3—theire son Samuell borne ye 27th Aprill 1675—theire son John borne the 27th August 1677—daughter Hanna borne 2d 10th mo., 1679—theire son William borne the 3d May, 1682.

Jno Ormes, his son John born by Ann his wife March 15th, 1686—7.

Peter Osgood & Martha Ayre, married May

19th, 1690—his daughter Mary borne by Martha his wife, at Salem, 15th Aprill 1691—son Peter borne at Salem 13th March 1692-3—Samuel Osgood, son as aforesd borne at Salem the 6th day of November, 1695—their son Peter borne the 2d June, 1697—John Osgood born June 16th 1700—Wm bo Deer 23d, 1702—James bo Aug 1, 1705.

Jo'n Putnam married to Rebecka Prints the 3d 7th, '52—there da Rebecka bo 28th May, '53—da Sara bo 4th 7th mo., '54—da Priscilla bo 4th March, '57—so Jonathan bo 17th March, '59—James borne ye 4th Sept., '61—da Hana bo 2d 12 mo.—Jo'n Putnam ye elder & father to ye abovsd John Putnam, deceased 30th 10th mo., '62.

Christopher Phelps maryed to Eliza Sharp 9th 5th mo., 1658.

James Patch died 10th 6th mo., '53.

Thomas Putnam, son of John Putnam & Priscilla his wife, formerly Inhabitants of Abbotson in Rockinghamshire, (England) was marryed to Ann Holyocke 17th 8th mo., 1643, (who was Daughter to Mr. Edward Hollyock & Prudence his wife, formerly of Tamworth in Warwicksheere (England.) An Putnam, Daughter of the above Tho's & Ann Borne 25th 6 mo., ('45) there da'r Mary bo 17th 8 mo., '49—son Thomas bo 12 1 mo., '52—son Edward bo 4th 5 mo., '54—da'r Deliveranse bo 5th 7 mo., '56—da Elizabeth borne 30th 6 mo., '59—da Prudence b 28 12, '61—his wife Ann deceased the 1st 7 mo., 1665.

Leif't Tho. Putnam & Mary Wren, widdow, were married ye 14th 9 mo., 1636—Joseph bor 14th Sep'r, 1669.

Samuell son of Nathanyell Putnam, by Eliza his wife bo 18th 12th mo., 52—theire son Jo'n bo ye 26th 1st mo., 1657—son Joseph borne ye 29th 8, 1659—theire 2d son Nathanyell borne ye 24th 2d mo.. 1655—da Eliza borne 11th August '62—son Benjamin bo 24 10 mo., 1664—daughter Mary borne 15th 7 mo., '68.

Alic Potter dyed being ye wife of Nicholas Potter 26th 11th, 1658.

Nicholas Potter, his da'r Mary bo by Mary his wife ye 4th 11th '59, & dyed 29th 8th, '6—da'r Mary borne 10th 9 mo., '63—Sara bo 4th Octo'r, '62—Hana bor 25th 1st, '61, & dyed 28 8, '62.

(To be Continued in Vol. III.)

MISCELLANEA.

Answer to Query 1st, in last number, page 260—Rev'd George Curwen, son of Hon. Jonathan, was born 21st May, 1683, not 1682, as erroneously stated on page 229. For his marriage and other facts see same page.

And on page 230 of the last number, Capt. George Corwin is mentioned as being in the expedition against Canada, in 1660; it should be 1690.

G. R. C.

SIR:—I notice in the "Historical Collections of the Essex Institute," inquires respecting Rev. John Chipman, of Beverly.

He was married to Rebekah Hale, Feb. 12, 1719—to Hannah Warren Nov. 19, 1751.

These dates I have copied from the family record in the possession of his granddaughter, who still occupies, with her brother and his family, the old homestead in Beverly.

Who Hannah Warren was I could not ascertain. There is a tradition in the family that Gen. Joseph Warren dined at Mr. Chipman's a few days before he fell in battle, and it is supposed that she was a near connection of his. She had no children. Yours,

A. C. P.

Salem, Oct. 15, 1860.

ERRATA.

On page 263 (in note) for "every one of the parties accused," read "all the parties accused."

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